



Suetonius

Complete Works

DELPHI  CLASSICS

Ancient Classics Series

The Complete Works of
SUETONIUS

(69-122 AD)



Contents

The Translations

THE TWELVE CAESARS: ALEXANDER THOMSON TRANSLATION

THE TWELVE CAESARS: J. C. ROLFE TRANSLATION

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN

AUGUSTAN HISTORY

The Latin Texts

DE VITIS CAESARUM

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

The Dual Text

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT

The Biographies

LIFE OF SUETONIUS by Alexander Thomson

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SUETONIUS by J. C. Rolfe



Own the wisdom of the ancients on your eReader...

Historians



Epic Poets



Dramatists



Philosophers



www.delphiclassics.com

Free downloads and buy an entire series at a special discounted price

The Complete Works of
GAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS



By Delphi Classics, 2016

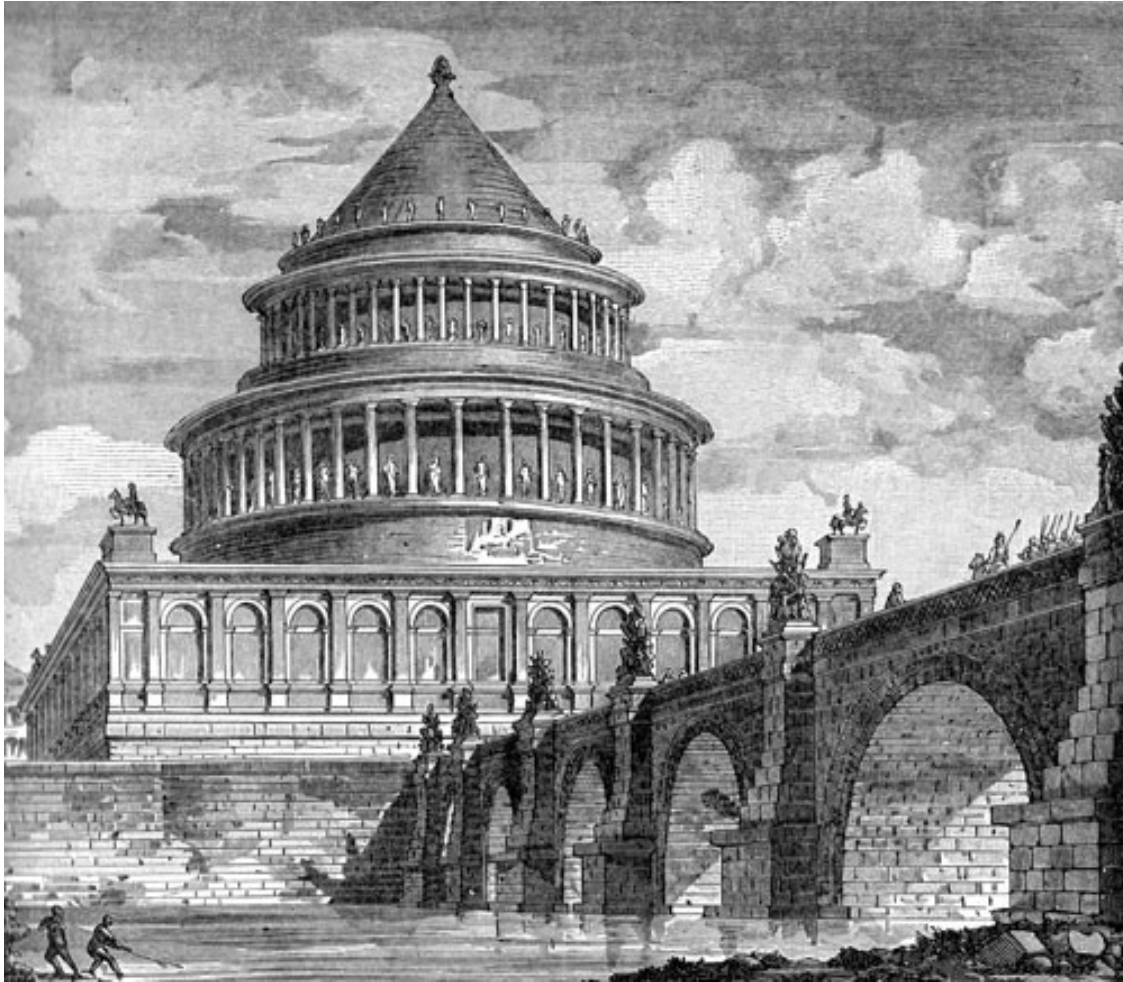
The Translations



The Forum, the heart of Ancient Rome — Suetonius was most likely born in Rome in 69 AD



An artist's impression of Ancient Rome



Another proposed view of the Ancient city

THE TWELVE CAESARS: ALEXANDER THOMSON TRANSLATION



Translated by Alexander Thomson

De Vita Caesarum is a set of twelve biographies, concerning the lives of the dictator Julius Caesar and the first eleven Emperors of the Roman Empire. They were written by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 69 – c. 122), a Roman historian belonging to the equestrian order, of whom we know very little. Suetonius was the Emperor Hadrian's personal secretary and completed writing the biographies in AD 121, dedicating the work to his friend, the Praetorian prefect Gaius Septicius Clarus. *De Vita Caesarum* is a significant ancient text and remains a primary source on Roman history and the lives of the first emperors, analysing the critical period of the Principate from the end of the Republic to the reign of Domitian.

Suetonius used the imperial archives to research eyewitness accounts, information and other evidence to produce the biographies. The writing offers entertaining anecdotes, 'court gossip', dramatic accounts of battles and amusing reflections. Suetonius usually takes the side of the Senate in conflicts against the Emperors, resulting with biased viewpoints, which he has been criticised for by critics. Interestingly, Suetonius was refused access to the official archives shortly after beginning his work, and so was forced to rely on second-hand accounts when it came to Claudius, being unable to directly quote the emperor.

The collection of biographies provide valuable information on the heritage, personal habits, physical appearance, lives and political careers of the first Roman Emperors, with many details being referred to that are not found in other sources. Suetonius is regarded as the main source on the lives of Caligula, Claudius and Vespasian, due to the loss of critical works by Tacitus.



A bust of the Emperor Hadrian, whom Suetonius served as personal secretary

CONTENTS

[PREFACE](#)

[CAIUS JULIUS CASAR.](#)

[D. OCTAVIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS.](#)

[TIBERIUS NERO CAESAR.](#)

[CAIUS CAESAR CALIGULA.](#)

[TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CAESAR.](#)

[NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR.](#)

[SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.](#)

[A. SALVIUS OTHO.](#)

[AULUS VITELLIUS.](#)

[T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.](#)

[TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.](#)

[TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.](#)



Julius Caesar, the first subject of the biographies

PREFACE

C. Suetonius Tranquillus was the son of a Roman knight who commanded a legion, on the side of Otho, at the battle which decided the fate of the empire in favour of Vitellius. From incidental notices in the following History, we learn that he was born towards the close of the reign of Vespasian, who died in the year 79 of the Christian era. He lived till the time of Hadrian, under whose administration he filled the office of secretary; until, with several others, he was dismissed for presuming on familiarities with the empress Sabina, of which we have no further account than that they were unbecoming his position in the imperial court. How long he survived this disgrace, which appears to have befallen him in the year 121, we are not informed; but we find that the leisure afforded him by his retirement, was employed in the composition of numerous works, of which the only portions now extant are collected in the present volume.

Several of the younger Pliny's letters are addressed to Suetonius, with whom he lived in the closest friendship. They afford some brief, but generally pleasant, glimpses of his habits and career; and in a letter, in which Pliny makes application on behalf of his friend to the emperor Trajan, for a mark of favour, he speaks of him as "a most excellent, honourable, and learned man, whom he had the pleasure of entertaining under his own roof, and with whom the nearer he was brought into communion, the more he loved him."

The plan adopted by Suetonius in his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, led him to be more diffuse on their personal conduct and habits than on public events. He writes *Memoirs* rather than *History*. He neither dwells on the civil wars which sealed the fall of the Republic, nor on the military expeditions which extended the frontiers of the empire; nor does he attempt to develop the causes of the great political changes which marked the period of which he treats.

When we stop to gaze in a museum or gallery on the antique busts of the Caesars, we perhaps endeavour to trace in their sculptured physiognomy the characteristics of those princes, who, for good or evil, were in their times masters of the destinies of a large portion of the human race. The pages of Suetonius will amply gratify this natural curiosity. In them we find a series of individual portraits sketched to the life, with perfect truth and rigorous impartiality. La Harpe remarks of Suetonius, "He is scrupulously exact, and strictly methodical. He omits nothing which concerns the person whose life he is writing; he relates everything, but paints nothing. His work is, in some sense, a collection of anecdotes, but it is very curious to read and consult."

Combining as it does amusement and information, Suetonius's "Lives of the Caesars" was held in such estimation, that, so soon after the invention of printing as the year 1500, no fewer than eighteen editions had been published, and nearly one hundred have since been added to the number. Critics of the highest rank have devoted themselves to the task of correcting and commenting on the text, and the work has been translated into most European languages. Of the English translations, that of Dr. Alexander Thomson, published in 1796, has been made the basis of the present. He informs us in his Preface, that a version of Suetonius was with him only a secondary object, his principal design being to form a just estimate of Roman literature, and to elucidate the state of government, and the manners of the times; for which the work of Suetonius seemed a fitting vehicle. Dr. Thomson's remarks appended to each successive reign, are reprinted nearly verbatim in the present edition. His translation, however, was very diffuse, and retained most of the inaccuracies of that of Clarke, on which it was founded; considerable care therefore has been bestowed in correcting it, with the view of producing, as far as possible, a literal and faithful version.

To render the works of Suetonius, as far as they are extant, complete, his Lives of eminent Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and Poets, of which a translation has not before appeared in English, are added. These Lives abound with anecdote and curious information connected with learning and literary men during the period of which the author treats.

T. F.

CAIUS JULIUS CASAR.

I. Julius Caesar, the Divine, lost his father when he was in the sixteenth year of his age; and the year following, being nominated to the office of high-priest of Jupiter, he repudiated Cossutia, who was very wealthy, although her family belonged only to the equestrian order, and to whom he had been contracted when he was a mere boy. He then married (2) Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who was four times consul; and had by her, shortly afterwards, a daughter named Julia. Resisting all the efforts of the dictator Sylla to induce him to divorce Cornelia, he suffered the penalty of being stripped of his sacerdotal office, his wife's dowry, and his own patrimonial estates; and, being identified with the adverse faction, was compelled to withdraw from Rome. After changing his place of concealment nearly every night, although he was suffering from a quartan ague, and having effected his release by bribing the officers who had tracked his footsteps, he at length obtained a pardon through the intercession of the vestal virgins, and of Mamercus Aemilius and Aurelius Cotta, his near relatives. We are assured that when Sylla, having withstood for a while the entreaties of his own best friends, persons of distinguished rank, at last yielded to their importunity, he exclaimed — either by a divine impulse, or from a shrewd conjecture: “Your suit is granted, and you may take him among you; but know,” he added, “that this man, for whose safety you are so extremely anxious, will, some day or other, be the ruin of the party of the nobles, in defence of which you are leagued with me; for in this one Caesar, you will find many a Marius.”

II. His first campaign was served in Asia, on the staff of the praetor, M. Thermus; and being dispatched into Bithynia, to bring thence a fleet, he loitered so long at the court of Nicomedes, as to give occasion to reports of a criminal intercourse between him and that prince; which received additional credit from his hasty return to Bithynia, under the pretext of recovering a debt due to a freed-man, his client. The rest of his service was more favourable to his reputation; and (3) when Mitylene was taken by storm, he was presented by Thermus with the civic crown.

III. He served also in Cilicia, under Servilius Isauricus, but only for a short time; as upon receiving intelligence of Sylla's death, he returned with all speed to Rome, in expectation of what might follow from a fresh agitation set on foot by Marcus Lepidus. Distrusting, however, the abilities of this leader, and finding the times less favourable for the execution of this project than he had at first imagined, he abandoned all thoughts of joining Lepidus, although he received

the most tempting offers.

IV. Soon after this civil discord was composed, he preferred a charge of extortion against Cornelius Dolabella, a man of consular dignity, who had obtained the honour of a triumph. On the acquittal of the accused, he resolved to retire to Rhodes, with the view not only of avoiding the public odium (4) which he had incurred, but of prosecuting his studies with leisure and tranquillity, under Apollonius, the son of Molon, at that time the most celebrated master of rhetoric. While on his voyage thither, in the winter season, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacusa, and detained by them, burning with indignation, for nearly forty days; his only attendants being a physician and two chamberlains. For he had instantly dispatched his other servants and the friends who accompanied him, to raise money for his ransom. Fifty talents having been paid down, he was landed on the coast, when, having collected some ships, he lost no time in putting to sea in pursuit of the pirates, and having captured them, inflicted upon them the punishment with which he had often threatened them in jest. At that time Mithridates was ravaging the neighbouring districts, and on Caesar's arrival at Rhodes, that he might not appear to lie idle while danger threatened the allies of Rome, he passed over into Asia, and having collected some auxiliary forces, and driven the king's governor out of the province, retained in their allegiance the cities which were wavering, and ready to revolt.

V. Having been elected military tribune, the first honour he received from the suffrages of the people after his return to Rome, he zealously assisted those who took measures for restoring the tribunitian authority, which had been greatly diminished during the usurpation of Sylla. He likewise, by an act, which Plotius at his suggestion propounded to the people, obtained the recall of Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, and others with him, who having been the adherents of Lepidus in the civil disturbances, had after that consul's death fled to Sertorius; which law he supported by a speech.

VI. During his quaestorship he pronounced funeral orations from the rostra, according to custom, in praise of his aunt (5) Julia, and his wife Cornelia. In the panegyric on his aunt, he gives the following account of her own and his father's genealogy, on both sides: "My aunt Julia derived her descent, by the mother, from a race of kings, and by her father, from the Immortal Gods. For the Marcii Reges, her mother's family, deduce their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, her father's, from Venus; of which stock we are a branch. We therefore unite in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the chiefest among men, and the divine majesty of Gods, to whom kings themselves are subject." To supply the place of Cornelia, he married Pompeia, the daughter of Quintus Pompeius, and grand-daughter of Lucius Sylla; but he afterwards divorced her, upon suspicion

of her having been debauched by Publius Clodius. For so current was the report, that Clodius had found access to her disguised as a woman, during the celebration of a religious solemnity, that the senate instituted an enquiry respecting the profanation of the sacred rites.

VII. Farther-Spain fell to his lot as quaestor; when there, as he was going the circuit of the province, by commission from the praetor, for the administration of justice, and had reached Gades, seeing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he sighed deeply, as if weary of his sluggish life, for having performed no memorable actions at an age at which Alexander had already conquered the world. He, therefore, immediately sued for his discharge, with the view of embracing the first opportunity, which might present itself in The City, of entering upon a more exalted career. In the stillness of the night following, he dreamt that he lay with his own mother; but his confusion was relieved, and his hopes were raised to the highest pitch, by the interpreters of his dream, who expounded it as an omen that he should possess universal empire; for (6) that the mother who in his sleep he had found submissive to his embraces, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all mankind.

VIII. Quitting therefore the province before the expiration of the usual term, he betook himself to the Latin colonies, which were then eagerly agitating the design of obtaining the freedom of Rome; and he would have stirred them up to some bold attempt, had not the consuls, to prevent any commotion, detained for some time the legions which had been raised for service in Cilicia. But this did not deter him from making, soon afterwards, a still greater effort within the precincts of the city itself.

IX. For, only a few days before he entered upon the aedileship, he incurred a suspicion of having engaged in a conspiracy with Marcus Crassus, a man of consular rank; to whom were joined Publius Sylla and Lucius Autronius, who, after they had been chosen consuls, were convicted of bribery. The plan of the conspirators was to fall upon the senate at the opening of the new year, and murder as many of them as should be thought necessary; upon which, Crassus was to assume the office of dictator, and appoint Caesar his master of the horse . When the commonwealth had been thus ordered according to their pleasure, the consulship was to have been restored to Sylla and Autronius. Mention is made of this plot by Tanusius Geminus in his history, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Curio, the father, in his orations . Cicero likewise seems to hint at this in a letter to Axius, where he says, that Caesar (7) had in his consulship secured to himself that arbitrary power to which he had aspired when he was edile. Tanusius adds, that Crassus, from remorse or fear, did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the senate; for which reason Caesar omitted to

give the signal, which, according to the plan concerted between them, he was to have made. The agreement, Curio says, was that he should shake off the toga from his shoulder. We have the authority of the same Curio, and of M. Actorius Naso, for his having been likewise concerned in another conspiracy with young Cneius Piso; to whom, upon a suspicion of some mischief being meditated in the city, the province of Spain was decreed out of the regular course . It is said to have been agreed between them, that Piso should head a revolt in the provinces, whilst the other should attempt to stir up an insurrection at Rome, using as their instruments the Lambrani, and the tribes beyond the Po. But the execution of this design was frustrated in both quarters by the death of Piso.

X. In his aedileship, he not only embellished the Comitium, and the rest of the Forum, with the adjoining halls, but adorned the Capitol also, with temporary piazzas, constructed for the purpose of displaying some part of the superabundant collections (8) he had made for the amusement of the people . He entertained them with the hunting of wild beasts, and with games, both alone and in conjunction with his colleague. On this account, he obtained the whole credit of the expense to which they had jointly contributed; insomuch that his colleague, Marcus Bibulus, could not forbear remarking, that he was served in the manner of Pollux. For as the temple erected in the Forum to the two brothers, went by the name of Castor alone, so his and Caesar's joint munificence was imputed to the latter only. To the other public spectacles exhibited to the people, Caesar added a fight of gladiators, but with fewer pairs of combatants than he had intended. For he had collected from all parts so great a company of them, that his enemies became alarmed; and a decree was made, restricting the number of gladiators which any one was allowed to retain at Rome.

XI. Having thus conciliated popular favour, he endeavoured, through his interest with some of the tribunes, to get Egypt assigned to him as a province, by an act of the people. The pretext alleged for the creation of this extraordinary government, was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled their king, whom the senate had complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman people. This was generally resented; but, notwithstanding, there was so much opposition from the faction of the nobles, that he could not carry his point. In order, therefore, to diminish their influence by every means in his power, he restored the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, on account of his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutoni, which had been demolished by Sylla; and when sitting in judgment upon murderers, he treated those as assassins, who, in the late proscription, had received money from the treasury, for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, although they were expressly excepted in the Cornelian laws.

XII. He likewise suborned some one to prefer an impeachment (9) for treason against Caius Rabirius, by whose especial assistance the senate had, a few years before, put down Lucius Saturninus, the seditious tribune; and being drawn by lot a judge on the trial, he condemned him with so much animosity, that upon his appealing to the people, no circumstance availed him so much as the extraordinary bitterness of his judge.

XIII. Having renounced all hope of obtaining Egypt for his province, he stood candidate for the office of chief pontiff, to secure which, he had recourse to the most profuse bribery. Calculating, on this occasion, the enormous amount of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have said to his mother, when she kissed him at his going out in the morning to the assembly of the people, "I will never return home unless I am elected pontiff." In effect, he left so far behind him two most powerful competitors, who were much his superiors both in age and rank, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all the tribes together.

XIV. After he was chosen praetor, the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered; and while every other member of the senate voted for inflicting capital punishment on the accomplices in that crime, he alone proposed that the delinquents should be distributed for safe custody among the towns of Italy, their property being confiscated. He even struck such terror into those who were advocates for greater severity, by representing to them what universal odium would be attached to their memories by the Roman people, that Decius Silanus, consul elect, did not hesitate to qualify his proposal, it not being very honourable to change it, by a lenient interpretation; as if it had been understood in a harsher sense than he intended, and Caesar would certainly have carried his point, having brought over to his side a great number of the senators, among whom was Cicero, the consul's brother, had not a speech by Marcus Cato infused new vigour into the resolutions of the senate. He persisted, however, in obstructing the measure, until a body of the Roman knights, who stood under arms as a guard, threatened him with instant death, if he continued his determined opposition. They even thrust at him with their drawn swords, so that those who sat next him moved away; (10) and a few friends, with no small difficulty, protected him, by throwing their arms round him, and covering him with their togas. At last, deterred by this violence, he not only gave way, but absented himself from the senate-house during the remainder of that year.

XV. Upon the first day of his praetorship, he summoned Quintus Catulus to render an account to the people respecting the repairs of the Capitol; proposing a decree for transferring the office of curator to another person. But being unable to withstand the strong opposition made by the aristocratical party, whom he

perceived quitting, in great numbers, their attendance upon the new consuls, and fully resolved to resist his proposal, he dropped the design.

XVI. He afterwards approved himself a most resolute supporter of Caecilius Metullus, tribune of the people, who, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, had proposed some laws of a violent tendency, until they were both dismissed from office by a vote of the senate. He ventured, notwithstanding, to retain his post and continue in the administration of justice; but finding that preparations were made to obstruct him by force of arms, he dismissed the lictors, threw off his gown, and betook himself privately to his own house, with the resolution of being quiet, in a time so unfavourable to his interests. He likewise pacified the mob, which two days afterwards flocked about him, and in a riotous manner made a voluntary tender of their assistance in the vindication of his (11) honour. This happening contrary to expectation, the senate, who met in haste, on account of the tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the house, and sending for him, after high commendation of his conduct, cancelled their former vote, and restored him to his office.

XVII. But he soon got into fresh trouble, being named amongst the accomplices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the quaestor, by Lucius Vettius the informer, and in the senate by Quintus Curius; to whom a reward had been voted, for having first discovered the designs of the conspirators. Curius affirmed that he had received his information from Catiline. Vettius even engaged to produce in evidence against him his own hand-writing, given to Catiline. Caesar, feeling that this treatment was not to be borne, appealed to Cicero himself, whether he had not voluntarily made a discovery to him of some particulars of the conspiracy; and so baulked Curius of his expected reward. He, therefore, obliged Vettius to give pledges for his behaviour, seized his goods, and after heavily fining him, and seeing him almost torn in pieces before the rostra, threw him into prison; to which he likewise sent Novius the quaestor, for having presumed to take an information against a magistrate of superior authority.

XVIII. At the expiration of his praetorship he obtained by lot the Farther-Spain, and pacified his creditors, who were for detaining him, by finding sureties for his debts. Contrary, however, to both law and custom, he took his departure before the usual equipage and outfit were prepared. It is uncertain whether this precipitancy arose from the apprehension of an impeachment, with which he was threatened on the expiration of his former office, or from his anxiety to lose no time in relieving the allies, who implored him to come to their aid. He had no (12) sooner established tranquillity in the province, than, without waiting for the arrival of his successor, he returned to Rome, with equal haste, to sue for a triumph, and the consulship. The day of election, however, being already fixed

by proclamation, he could not legally be admitted a candidate, unless he entered the city as a private person . On this emergency he solicited a suspension of the laws in his favour; but such an indulgence being strongly opposed, he found himself under the necessity of abandoning all thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be disappointed of the consulship.

XIX. Of the two other competitors for the consulship, Lucius Luceius and Marcus Bibulus, he joined with the former, upon condition that Luceius, being a man of less interest but greater affluence, should promise money to the electors, in their joint names. Upon which the party of the nobles, dreading how far he might carry matters in that high office, with a colleague disposed to concur in and second his measures, advised Bibulus to promise the voters as much as the other; and most of them contributed towards the expense, Cato himself admitting that bribery; under such circumstances, was for the public good . He was accordingly elected consul jointly with Bibulus. Actuated still by the same motives, the prevailing party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new consuls, such as the care of the woods and roads. Caesar, incensed at this indignity, endeavoured by the most assiduous and flattering attentions to gain to his side Cneius Pompey, at that time dissatisfied with the senate for the backwardness they shewed to confirm his acts, after his victories over Mithridates. He likewise brought about a reconciliation between Pompey and Marcus Crassus, who had been at variance from (13) the time of their joint consulship, in which office they were continually clashing; and he entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, which was displeasing to any of the three.

XX. Having entered upon his office, he introduced a new regulation, that the daily acts both of the senate and people should be committed to writing, and published . He also revived an old custom, that an officer should precede him, and his lictors follow him, on the alternate months when the fasces were not carried before him. Upon preferring a bill to the people for the division of some public lands, he was opposed by his colleague, whom he violently drove out of the forum. Next day the insulted consul made a complaint in the senate of this treatment; but such was the consternation, that no one having the courage to bring the matter forward or move a censure, which had been often done under outrages of less importance, he was so much dispirited, that until the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and did nothing but issue edicts to obstruct his colleague's proceedings. From that time, therefore, Caesar had the sole management of public affairs; insomuch that some wags, when they signed any instrument as witnesses, did not add "in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus," but, "of Julius and Caesar;" putting the same person down twice,

under his name and surname. The following verses likewise were currently repeated on this occasion:

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Caesare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.
Nothing was done in Bibulus's year:
No; Caesar only then was consul here.

(14) The land of Stellas, consecrated by our ancestors to the gods, with some other lands in Campania left subject to tribute, for the support of the expenses of the government, he divided, but not by lot, among upwards of twenty thousand freemen, who had each of them three or more children. He eased the publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum which they had engaged to pay into the public treasury; and openly admonished them not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion. He made various profuse grants to meet the wishes of others, no one opposing him; or if any such attempt was made, it was soon suppressed. Marcus Cato, who interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be dragged out of the senate-house by a lictor, and carried to prison. Lucius Lucullus, likewise, for opposing him with some warmth, he so terrified with the apprehension of being criminated, that, to deprecate the consul's resentment, he fell on his knees. And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day, by nine o'clock, transferred his enemy, Publius Clodius, from a patrician to a plebeian family; a change which he had long solicited in vain. At last, effectually to intimidate all those of the opposite party, he by great rewards prevailed upon Vettius to declare, that he had been solicited by certain persons to assassinate Pompey; and when he was brought before the rostra to name those who had been concerted between them, after naming one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of subornation, Caesar, despairing of success in this rash stratagem, is supposed to have taken off his informer by poison.

XXI. About the same time he married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Piso, who was to succeed him in the consulship, and gave his own daughter Julia to Cneius Pompey; rejecting Servilius Caepio, to whom she had been contracted, and by whose means chiefly he had but a little before baffled Bibulus. After this new alliance, he began, upon any debates in the senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first, whereas he used before to give that distinction to Marcus Crassus; and it was (15) the usual practice for the consul to observe throughout the year the method of consulting the senate which he had adopted on the calends (the first) of January.

XXII. Being, therefore, now supported by the interest of his father-in-law and son-in-law, of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul, as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he received only Cisalpine-Gaul, with the addition of Illyricum, by a decree proposed by Vatinius to the people; but soon afterwards obtained from the senate Gallia-Comata also, the senators being apprehensive, that if they should refuse it him, that province, also, would be granted him by the people. Elated now with his success, he could not refrain from boasting, a few days afterwards, in a full senate-house, that he had, in spite of his enemies, and to their great mortification, obtained all he desired, and that for the future he would make them, to their shame, submissive to his pleasure. One of the senators observing, sarcastically: "That will not be very easy for a woman to do," he jocosely replied, "Semiramis formerly reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons possessed great part of Asia."

XXIII. When the term of his consulship had expired, upon a motion being made in the senate by Caius Memmius and Lucius Domitius, the praetors, respecting the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house; but (16) they declining the business, after three days spent in vain altercation, he set out for his province. Immediately, however, his quaestor was charged with several misdemeanors, for the purpose of implicating Caesar himself. Indeed, an accusation was soon after preferred against him by Lucius Antistius, tribune of the people; but by making an appeal to the tribune's colleagues, he succeeded in having the prosecution suspended during his absence in the service of the state. To secure himself, therefore, for the time to come, he was particularly careful to secure the good-will of the magistrates at the annual elections, assisting none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffering any persons to be advanced to any office, who would not positively undertake to defend him in his absence for which purpose he made no scruple to require of some of them an oath, and even a written obligation.

XXIV. But when Lucius Domitius became a candidate for the consulship, and openly threatened that, upon his being elected consul, he would effect that which he could not accomplish when he was praetor, and divest him of the command of the armies, he sent for Crassus and Pompey to Lucca, a city in his province, and pressed them, for the purpose of disappointing Domitius, to sue again for the consulship, and to continue him in his command for five years longer; with both which requisitions they complied. Presumptuous now from his success, he added, at his own private charge, more legions to those which he had received from the republic; among the former of which was one levied in Transalpine Gaul, and called by a Gallic name, Alauda, which he trained and armed in the Roman fashion, and afterwards conferred on it the freedom of the city. From this

period he declined no occasion of war, however unjust and dangerous; attacking, without any provocation, as well the allies of Rome as the barbarous nations which were its enemies: insomuch, that the senate passed a decree for sending commissioners to examine into the condition of Gaul; and some members even proposed that he should be delivered up to the enemy. But so great had been the success of his enterprises, that he had the honour of obtaining more days (17) of supplication, and those more frequently, than had ever before been decreed to any commander.

XXV. During nine years in which he held the government of the province, his achievements were as follows: he reduced all Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenean forest, the Alps, mount Gebenna, and the two rivers, the Rhine and the Rhone, and being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only the nations in alliance with the republic, and such as had merited his favour; imposing upon this new acquisition an annual tribute of forty millions of sesterces. He was the first of the Romans who, crossing the Rhine by a bridge, attacked the Germanic tribes inhabiting the country beyond that river, whom he defeated in several engagements. He also invaded the Britons, a people formerly unknown, and having vanquished them, exacted from them contributions and hostages. Amidst such a series of successes, he experienced thrice only any signal disaster; once in Britain, when his fleet was nearly wrecked in a storm; in Gaul, at Gergovia, where one of his legions was put to the rout; and in the territory of the Germans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

XXVI. During this period he lost his mother, whose death was followed by that of his daughter, and, not long afterwards, of his granddaughter. Meanwhile, the republic being in consternation at the murder of Publius Clodius, and the senate passing a vote that only one consul, namely, Cneius Pompeius, should be chosen for the ensuing year, he prevailed with the tribunes of the people, who intended joining him in nomination with Pompey, to propose to the people a bill, enabling him, though absent, to become a candidate for his second consulship, when the term of his command should be near expiring, that he might not be obliged on that account to quit his province too soon, and before the conclusion of the war. Having attained this object, carrying his views still higher, and animated with the hopes of success, he omitted no (18) opportunity of gaining universal favour, by acts of liberality and kindness to individuals, both in public and private. With money raised from the spoils of the war, he began to construct a new forum, the ground-plot of which cost him above a hundred millions of sesterces. He promised the people a public entertainment of gladiators, and a feast in memory of his daughter, such as no one before him had ever given. The

more to raise their expectations on this occasion, although he had agreed with victuallers of all denominations for his feast, he made yet farther preparations in private houses. He issued an order, that the most celebrated gladiators, if at any time during the combat they incurred the displeasure of the public, should be immediately carried off by force, and reserved for some future occasion. Young gladiators he trained up, not in the school, and by the masters, of defence, but in the houses of Roman knights, and even senators, skilled in the use of arms, earnestly requesting them, as appears from his letters, to undertake the discipline of those novitiates, and to give them the word during their exercises. He doubled the pay of the legions in perpetuity; allowing them likewise corn, when it was in plenty, without any restriction; and sometimes distributing to every soldier in his army a slave, and a portion of land.

XXVII. To maintain his alliance and good understanding with Pompey, he offered him in marriage his sister's grand-daughter Octavia, who had been married to Caius Marcellus; and requested for himself his daughter, lately contracted to Faustus Sylla. Every person about him, and a great part likewise of the senate, he secured by loans of money at low interest, or none at all; and to all others who came to wait upon him, either by invitation or of their own accord, he made liberal presents; not neglecting even the freed-men and slaves, who were favourites with their masters and patrons. He offered also singular and ready aid to all who were under prosecution, or in debt, and to prodigal youths; excluding from (19) his bounty those only who were so deeply plunged in guilt, poverty, or luxury, that it was impossible effectually to relieve them. These, he openly declared, could derive no benefit from any other means than a civil war.

XXVIII. He endeavoured with equal assiduity to engage in his interest princes and provinces in every part of the world; presenting some with thousands of captives, and sending to others the assistance of troops, at whatever time and place they desired, without any authority from either the senate or people of Rome. He likewise embellished with magnificent public buildings the most powerful cities not only of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, but of Greece and Asia; until all people being now astonished, and speculating on the obvious tendency of these proceedings, Claudius Marcellus, the consul, declaring first by proclamation, that he intended to propose a measure of the utmost importance to the state, made a motion in the senate that some person should be appointed to succeed Caesar in his province, before the term of his command was expired; because the war being brought to a conclusion, peace was restored, and the victorious army ought to be disbanded. He further moved, that Caesar being absent, his claims to be a candidate at the next election of consuls should not be admitted, as Pompey himself had afterwards abrogated that privilege by a decree

of the people. The fact was, that Pompey, in his law relating to the choice of chief magistrates, had forgot to except Caesar, in the article in which he declared all such as were not present incapable of being candidates for any office; but soon afterwards, when the law was inscribed on brass, and deposited in the treasury, he corrected his mistake. Marcellus, not content with depriving Caesar of his provinces, and the privilege intended him by Pompey, likewise moved the senate, that the freedom of the city should be taken from those colonists whom, by the Vatinian law, he had settled at New Como; because it had been conferred upon them with ambitious views, and by a stretch of the laws.

(20) XXIX. Roused by these proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to say, that it would be a more difficult enterprise to reduce him, now that he was the chief man in the state, from the first rank of citizens to the second, than from the second to the lowest of all, Caesar made a vigorous opposition to the measure, partly by means of the tribunes, who interposed in his behalf, and partly through Servius Sulpicius, the other consul. The following year likewise, when Caius Marcellus, who succeeded his cousin Marcus in the consulship, pursued the same course, Caesar, by means of an immense bribe, engaged in his defence Aemilius Paulus, the other consul, and Caius Curio, the most violent of the tribunes. But finding the opposition obstinately bent against him, and that the consuls-elect were also of that party, he wrote a letter to the senate, requesting that they would not deprive him of the privilege kindly granted him by the people; or else that the other generals should resign the command of their armies as well as himself; fully persuaded, as it is thought, that he could more easily collect his veteran soldiers, whenever he pleased, than Pompey could his new-raised troops. At the same time, he made his adversaries an offer to disband eight of his legions and give up Transalpine-Gaul, upon condition that he might retain two legions, with the Cisalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, until he should be elected consul.

XXX. But as the senate declined to interpose in the business, and his enemies declared that they would enter into no compromise where the safety of the republic was at stake, he advanced into Hither-Gaul, and, having gone the circuit for the administration of justice, made a halt at Ravenna, resolved to have recourse to arms if the senate should proceed to extremity against the tribunes of the people who had espoused his cause. This was indeed his pretext for the civil war; but it is supposed that there were other motives for his conduct. Cneius Pompey used frequently to say, that he sought to throw every thing into confusion, because he was unable, with all his private wealth, to complete the works he had begun, and answer, at his return, the vast expectations which he had excited in the people. Others pretend that he was apprehensive of being (21)

called to account for what he had done in his first consulship, contrary to the auspices, laws, and the protests of the tribunes; Marcus Cato having sometimes declared, and that, too, with an oath, that he would prefer an impeachment against him, as soon as he disbanded his army. A report likewise prevailed, that if he returned as a private person, he would, like Milo, have to plead his cause before the judges, surrounded by armed men. This conjecture is rendered highly probable by Asinius Pollio, who informs us that Caesar, upon viewing the vanquished and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalia, expressed himself in these very words: "This was their intention: I, Caius Caesar, after all the great achievements I had performed, must have been condemned, had I not summoned the army to my aid!" Some think, that having contracted from long habit an extraordinary love of power, and having weighed his own and his enemies' strength, he embraced that occasion of usurping the supreme power; which indeed he had coveted from the time of his youth. This seems to have been the opinion entertained by Cicero, who tells us, in the third book of his Offices, that Caesar used to have frequently in his mouth two verses of Euripides, which he thus translates:

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.
Be just, unless a kingdom tempts to break the laws,
For sovereign power alone can justify the cause.

XXXI. When intelligence, therefore, was received, that the interposition of the tribunes in his favour had been utterly rejected, and that they themselves had fled from the city, he immediately sent forward some cohorts, but privately, to prevent any suspicion of his design; and, to keep up appearances, attended at a public spectacle, examined the model of a fencing-school which he proposed to build, and, as usual, sat down to table with a numerous party of his friends. But after sun-set, mules being put to his carriage from a neighbouring mill, he set forward on his journey with all possible privacy, and a small retinue. The lights going out, he lost his way, and (22) wandered about a long time, until at length, by the help of a guide, whom he found towards day-break, he proceeded on foot through some narrow paths, and again reached the road. Coming up with his troops on the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he halted for a while, and, revolving in his mind the importance of the step he was on the point of taking, he turned to those about him, and said: "We may still retreat; but if we pass this little bridge, nothing is left for us but to fight it out in arms."

XXXII. While he was thus hesitating, the following incident occurred. A person remarkable for his noble mien and graceful aspect, appeared close at hand, sitting and playing upon a pipe. When, not only the shepherds, but a number of soldiers also flocked from their posts to listen to him, and some trumpeters among them, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and sounding the advance with a piercing blast, crossed to the other side. Upon this, Caesar exclaimed, "Let us go whither the omens of the Gods and the iniquity of our enemies call us. The die is now cast."

XXXIII. Accordingly, having marched his army over the river, he shewed them the tribunes of the people, who, upon their being driven from the city, had come to meet him; and, in the presence of that assembly, called upon the troops to pledge him their fidelity, with tears in his eyes, and his garment rent from his bosom. It has been supposed, that upon this occasion he promised to every soldier a knight's estate; but that opinion is founded on a mistake. For when, in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that to recompense those who should support him in the defence of his honour, he would willingly part even with his ring; the soldiers at a distance, who could more easily see than hear him while he spoke, formed their conception of what he said, by the eye, not by the ear; and accordingly gave out, that he had promised to each of them the privilege (23) of wearing the gold ring, and an estate of four hundred thousand sesterces.

XXXIV. Of his subsequent proceedings I shall give a cursory detail, in the order in which they occurred . He took possession of Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria; and having obliged Lucius Domitius, who had been tumultuously nominated his successor, and held Corsinium with a garrison, to surrender, and dismissed him, he marched along the coast of the Upper Sea, to Brundisium, to which place the consuls and Pompey were fled with the intention of crossing the sea as soon as possible. After vain attempts, by all the obstacles he could oppose, to prevent their leaving the harbour, he turned his steps towards Rome, where he appealed to the senate on the present state of public affairs; and then set out for Spain, in which province Pompey had a numerous army, under the command of three lieutenants, Marcus Petreius, Lucius Afranius, and Marcus Varro; declaring amongst his friends, before he set forward, "That he was going against an army without a general, and should return thence against a general without an army." Though his progress was retarded both by the siege of Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn, yet in a short time he bore down all before him.

XXXV. Thence he returned to Rome, and crossing the sea to Macedonia, blocked up Pompey during almost four months, within a line of ramparts of

prodigious extent; and at last defeated him in the battle of Pharsalia. Pursuing him in his flight to Alexandria, where he was informed of his murder, he presently found himself also engaged, under all the disadvantages of time and place, in a very dangerous war, with king Ptolemy, who, he saw, had treacherous designs upon his life. It was winter, and he, within the walls of a well-provided and subtle enemy, was destitute of every thing, and wholly unprepared (24) for such a conflict. He succeeded, however, in his enterprise, and put the kingdom of Egypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother; being afraid to make it a province, lest, under an aspiring prefect, it might become the centre of revolt. From Alexandria he went into Syria, and thence to Pontus, induced by intelligence which he had received respecting Pharnaces. This prince, who was son of the great Mithridates, had seized the opportunity which the distraction of the times offered for making war upon his neighbours, and his insolence and fierceness had grown with his success. Caesar, however, within five days after entering his country, and four hours after coming in sight of him, overthrew him in one decisive battle. Upon which, he frequently remarked to those about him the good fortune of Pompey, who had obtained his military reputation, chiefly, by victory over so feeble an enemy. He afterwards defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain.

XXXVI. During the whole course of the civil war, he never once suffered any defeat, except in the case of his lieutenants; of whom Caius Curio fell in Africa, Caius Antonius was made prisoner in Illyricum, Publius Dolabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum, and Cneius Domitius Culvinus, an army in Pontus. In every encounter with the enemy where he himself commanded, he came off with complete success; nor was the issue ever doubtful, except on two occasions: once at Dyrrachium, when, being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said that "Pompey knew not how to conquer;" the other instance occurred in his last battle in Spain, when, despairing of the event, he even had thoughts of killing himself.

XXXVII. For the victories obtained in the several wars, he triumphed five different times; after the defeat of Scipio: four times in one month, each triumph succeeding the former by an interval of a few days; and once again after the conquest of Pompey's sons. His first and most glorious triumph was for the victories he gained in Gaul; the next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the last for that in Spain; and (25) they all differed from each other in their varied pomp and pageantry. On the day of the Gallic triumph, as he was proceeding along the street called Velabrum, after narrowly escaping a fall from his chariot by the

breaking of the axle-tree, he ascended the Capitol by torch-light, forty elephants carrying torches on his right and left. Amongst the pageantry of the Pontic triumph, a tablet with this inscription was carried before him: I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUERED; not signifying, as other mottos on the like occasion, what was done, so much as the dispatch with which it was done.

XXXVIII. To every foot-soldier in his veteran legions, besides the two thousand sesterces paid him in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thousand more, in the shape of prize-money. He likewise allotted them lands, but not in contiguity, that the former owners might not be entirely dispossessed. To the people of Rome, besides ten modii of corn, and as many pounds of oil, he gave three hundred sesterces a man, which he had formerly promised them, and a hundred more to each for the delay in fulfilling his engagement. He likewise remitted a year's rent due to the treasury, for such houses in Rome as did not pay above two thousand sesterces a year; and through the rest of Italy, for all such as did not exceed in yearly rent five hundred sesterces. To all this he added a public entertainment, and a distribution of meat, and, after his Spanish victory, two public dinners. For, considering the first he had given as too sparing, and unsuited to his profuse liberality, he, five days afterwards, added another, which was most plentiful.

XXXIX. The spectacles he exhibited to the people were of various kinds; namely, a combat of gladiators, and stage-plays in the several wards of the city, and in different languages; likewise Circensian games, wrestlers, and the representation of a sea-fight. In the conflict of gladiators presented in the Forum, Furius Leptinus, a man of praetorian family, entered the lists as a combatant, as did also Quintus Calpenus, formerly a senator, and a pleader of causes. The Pyrrhic dance was performed by some youths, who were sons to persons of the first distinction in Asia and Bithynia. In the plays, Decimus Laberius, who had been a Roman knight, acted in his own piece; and being presented on the spot with five hundred thousand sesterces, and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the orchestra, and resumed his place in the seats (27) allotted for the equestrian order. In the Circensian games; the circus being enlarged at each end, and a canal sunk round it, several of the young nobility drove chariots, drawn, some by four, and others by two horses, and likewise rode races on single horses. The Trojan game was acted by two distinct companies of boys, one differing from the other in age and rank. The hunting of wild beasts was presented for five days successively; and on the last day a battle was fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side. To afford room for this engagement, the goals were removed, and in their space two camps were pitched, directly opposite to each other. Wrestlers likewise performed for three

days successively, in a stadium provided for the purpose in the Campus Martius. A lake having been dug in the little Codeta, ships of the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, containing two, three, and four banks of oars, with a number of men on board, afforded an animated representation of a sea-fight. To these various diversions there flocked such crowds of spectators from all parts, that most of the strangers were obliged to lodge in tents erected in the streets, or along the roads near the city. Several in the throng were squeezed to death, amongst whom were two senators.

XL. Turning afterwards his attention to the regulation of the commonwealth, he corrected the calendar, which had for (28) some time become extremely confused, through the unwarrantable liberty which the pontiffs had taken in the article of intercalation. To such a height had this abuse proceeded, that neither the festivals designed for the harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, ordaining that in future it should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days without any intercalary month; and that every fourth year an intercalary day should be inserted. That the year might thenceforth commence regularly with the calends, or first of January, he inserted two months between November and December; so that the year in which this regulation was made consisted of fifteen months, including the month of intercalation, which, according to the division of time then in use, happened that year.

XLI. He filled up the vacancies in the senate, by advancing several plebeians to the rank of patricians, and also increased the number of praetors, aediles, quaestors, and inferior magistrates; restoring, at the same time, such as had been degraded by the censors, or convicted of bribery at elections. The choice of magistrates he so divided with the people, that, excepting only the candidates for the consulship, they nominated one half of them, and he the other. The method which he practised in those cases was, to recommend such persons as he had pitched upon, by bills dispersed through the several tribes to this effect: "Caesar the dictator to such a tribe (naming it). I recommend to you (naming likewise the persons), that by the favour of your votes they may attain to the honours for which they sue." He likewise admitted to offices the sons of those who had been proscribed. The trial of causes he restricted to two orders of judges, the equestrian and senatorial; excluding the tribunes of the treasury who had before made a third class. The revised census of the people he ordered to be taken neither in the usual manner or place, but street by street, by the principal inhabitants of the several quarters of the city; and he reduced the number of those who received corn at the public cost, from three hundred and twenty, to a hundred and fifty, thousand. To prevent any tumults on account of the census, he

ordered that the praetor should every year fill up by lot the vacancies occasioned by death, from those who were not enrolled for the receipt of corn.

(29) XLII. Eighty thousand citizens having been distributed into foreign colonies, he enacted, in order to stop the drain on the population, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, years of age, who was not in the military service, should absent himself from Italy for more than three years at a time; that no senator's son should go abroad, unless in the retinue of some high officer; and as to those whose pursuit was tending flocks and herds, that no less than a third of the number of their shepherds free-born should be youths. He likewise made all those who practised physic in Rome, and all teachers of the liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and induce others to settle there. With respect to debts, he disappointed the expectation which was generally entertained, that they would be totally cancelled; and ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to the valuation of their estates, at the rate at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil war; deducting from the debt what had been paid for interest either in money or by bonds; by virtue of which provision about a fourth part of the debt was lost. He dissolved all the guilds, except such as were of ancient foundation. Crimes were punished with greater severity; and the rich being more easily induced to commit them because they were only liable to banishment, without the forfeiture of their property, he stripped murderers, as Cicero observes, of their whole estates, and other offenders of one half.

XLIII. He was extremely assiduous and strict in the administration of justice. He expelled from the senate such members as were convicted of bribery; and he dissolved the marriage of a man of pretorian rank, who had married a lady two days after her divorce from a former husband, although there was no suspicion that they had been guilty of any illicit connection. He imposed duties on the importation of foreign goods. The use of litters for travelling, purple robes, and jewels, he permitted only to persons of a certain age and station, and on particular days. He enforced a rigid execution of the sumptuary laws; placing officers about the markets, to seize upon all meats exposed to sale contrary to the rules, and bring them to him; sometimes sending his lictors and soldiers to (30) carry away such victuals as had escaped the notice of the officers, even when they were upon the table.

XLIV. His thoughts were now fully employed from day to day on a variety of great projects for the embellishment and improvement of the city, as well as for guarding and extending the bounds of the empire. In the first place, he meditated the construction of a temple to Mars, which should exceed in grandeur every thing of that kind in the world. For this purpose, he intended to fill up the lake on

which he had entertained the people with the spectacle of a sea-fight. He also projected a most spacious theatre adjacent to the Tarpeian mount; and also proposed to reduce the civil law to a reasonable compass, and out of that immense and undigested mass of statutes to extract the best and most necessary parts into a few books; to make as large a collection as possible of works in the Greek and Latin languages, for the public use; the province of providing and putting them in proper order being assigned to Marcus Varro. He intended likewise to drain the Pomptine marshes, to cut a channel for the discharge of the waters of the lake Fucinus, to form a road from the Upper Sea through the ridge of the Appenine to the Tiber; to make a cut through the isthmus of Corinth, to reduce the Dacians, who had over-run Pontus and Thrace, within their proper limits, and then to make war upon the Parthians, through the Lesser Armenia, but not to risk a general engagement with them, until he had made some trial of their prowess in war. But in the midst of all his undertakings and projects, he was carried off by death; before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give an account of his person, dress, and manners; together with what relates to his pursuits, both civil and military.

XLV. It is said that he was tall, of a fair complexion, round limbed, rather full faced, with eyes black and piercing; and that he enjoyed excellent health, except towards the close of his life, when he was subject to sudden fainting-fits, and disturbance in his sleep. He was likewise twice seized with the falling sickness while engaged in active service. He was so nice in the care of his person, that he not only kept the hair of his head closely cut and had his face smoothly shaved, but (31) even caused the hair on other parts of the body to be plucked out by the roots, a practice for which some persons rallied him. His baldness gave him much uneasiness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the jibes of his enemies. He therefore used to bring forward the hair from the crown of his head; and of all the honours conferred upon him by the senate and people, there was none which he either accepted or used with greater pleasure, than the right of wearing constantly a laurel crown. It is said that he was particular in his dress. For he used the *Latus Clavus* with fringes about the wrists, and always had it girded about him, but rather loosely. This circumstance gave origin to the expression of Sylla, who often advised the nobles to beware of “the ill-girt boy.”

XLVI. He first inhabited a small house in the Suburra, but after his advancement to the pontificate, he occupied a palace belonging to the state in the *Via Sacra*. Many writers say that he liked his residence to be elegant, and his entertainments sumptuous; and that he entirely took down a villa near the grove of Aricia, which he had built from the foundation and finished at a vast expense, because it did not exactly suit his taste, although he had at that time but slender

means, and was in debt; and that he carried about in his expeditions tessellated and marble slabs for the floor of his tent.

XLVII. They likewise report that he invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls, the size of which he would compare together, and ascertain the weight by poisoning them in his hand; that he would purchase, at any cost, gems, carved works, statues, and pictures, executed by the eminent masters of antiquity; and that he would give for young and handy slaves a price so extravagant, that he forbade its being entered in the diary of his expenses.

XLVIII. We are also told, that in the provinces he constantly maintained two tables, one for the officers of the army, and the gentry of the country, and the other for Romans of the highest rank, and provincials of the first distinction. He was so very exact in the management of his domestic affairs, both little and great, that he once threw a baker into prison, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than his guests; and put to death a freed-man, who was a particular favourite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, although no complaint had been made to him of the affair.

XLIX. The only stain upon his chastity was his having cohabited with Nicomedes; and that indeed stuck to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to much bitter raillery. I will not dwell upon those well-known verses of Calvus Licinius:

Whate'er Bithynia and her lord possess'd,
Her lord who Caesar in his lust caress'd.

I pass over the speeches of Dolabella, and Curio, the father, in which the former calls him "the queen's rival, and the inner-side of the royal couch," and the latter, "the brothel of Nicomedes, and the Bithynian stew." I would likewise say nothing of the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaimed his colleague under the name of "the queen of Bithynia;" adding, that "he had formerly been in love with a king, but now coveted a kingdom." At which time, as Marcus Brutus relates, one Octavius, a man of a crazy brain, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a crowded assembly saluted Pompey by the title of king, addressed Caesar by that of queen. Caius Memmius likewise upbraided him with serving the king at table, among the rest of his catamites, in the presence of a large company, in which were some merchants from Rome, the names of whom he mentions. But Cicero was not content with writing in some of his letters, that he was conducted by the royal attendants into the king's bed-chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of purple, and that the youthful bloom of this scion of Venus had been tainted in Bithynia — but upon Caesar's pleading the cause of

Nysa, the daughter of (32) Nicomedes before the senate, and recounting the king's kindnesses to him, replied, "Pray tell us no more of that; for it is well known what he gave you, and you gave him." To conclude, his soldiers in the Gallic triumph, amongst other verses, such as they jocularly sung on those occasions, following the general's chariot, recited these, which since that time have become extremely common:

The Gauls to Caesar yield, Caesar to Nicomede,
Lo! Caesar triumphs for his glorious deed,
But Caesar's conqueror gains no victor's meed.

L. It is admitted by all that he was much addicted to women, as well as very expensive in his intrigues with them, and that he debauched many ladies of the highest quality; among whom were Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpicius; Lollia, the wife of Aulus Gabinius; Tertulla, the wife of Marcus Crassus; and Mucia, the wife of Cneius Pompey. For it is certain that the Curios, both father and son, and many others, made it a reproach to Pompey, "That to gratify his ambition, he married the daughter of a man, upon whose account he had divorced his wife, after having had three children by her; and whom he used, with a deep sigh, to call Aegisthus." But the mistress he most loved, was Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, for whom he purchased, in his first consulship after the commencement of their intrigue, a pearl which cost him six millions of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, assigned to her, for a trifling consideration, some valuable farms when they were exposed to public auction. Many persons expressing their surprise at the lowness of the price, Cicero wittily remarked, "To let you know the real value of the purchase, between ourselves, Tertia was deducted:" for Servilia was supposed to have prostituted her daughter Tertia to Caesar.

(34) LI. That he had intrigues likewise with married women in the provinces, appears from this distich, which was as much repeated in the Gallic Triumph as the former::

Watch well your wives, ye cits, we bring a blade,
A bald-pate master of the wenching trade.
Thy gold was spent on many a Gallic w — e;
Exhausted now, thou com'st to borrow more.

LII. In the number of his mistresses were also some queens; such as Eunoe, a Moor, the wife of Bogudes, to whom and her husband he made, as Naso reports,

many large presents. But his greatest favourite was Cleopatra, with whom he often revelled all night until the dawn of day, and would have gone with her through Egypt in dalliance, as far as Aethiopia, in her luxurious yacht, had not the army refused to follow him. He afterwards invited her to Rome, whence he sent her back loaded with honours and presents, and gave her permission to call by his name a son, who, according to the testimony of some Greek historians, resembled Caesar both in person and gait. Mark Antony declared in the senate, that Caesar had acknowledged the child as his own; and that Caius Matias, Caius Oppius, and the rest of Caesar's friends knew it to be true. On which occasion, Oppius, as if it had been an imputation which he was called upon to refute, published a book to shew, "that the child which Cleopatra fathered upon Caesar, was not his." Helvius Cinna, tribune of the people, admitted to several persons the fact, that he had a bill ready drawn, which Caesar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, allowing him, with the hope of leaving issue, to take any wife he chose, and as many of them as he pleased; and to leave no room for doubt of his infamous character for unnatural lewdness and adultery, Curio, the father, says, in one of his speeches, "He was every woman's man, and every man's woman."

LIII. It is acknowledged even by his enemies, that in regard to wine, he was abstemious. A remark is ascribed to Marcus Cato, "that Caesar was the only sober man amongst all those who were engaged in the design to subvert (35) the government." In the matter of diet, Caius Oppius informs us, "that he was so indifferent, that when a person in whose house he was entertained, had served him with stale, instead of fresh, oil, and the rest of the company would not touch it, he alone ate very heartily of it, that he might not seem to tax the master of the house with rusticity or want of attention."

LIV. But his abstinence did not extend to pecuniary advantages, either in his military commands, or civil offices; for we have the testimony of some writers, that he took money from the proconsul, who was his predecessor in Spain, and from the Roman allies in that quarter, for the discharge of his debts; and plundered at the point of the sword some towns of the Lusitanians, notwithstanding they attempted no resistance, and opened their gates to him upon his arrival before them. In Gaul, he rifled the chapels and temples of the gods, which were filled with rich offerings, and demolished cities oftener for the sake of their spoil, than for any ill they had done. By this means gold became so plentiful with him, that he exchanged it through Italy and the provinces of the empire for three thousand sesterces the pound. In his first consulship he purloined from the Capitol three thousand pounds' weight of gold, and substituted for it the same quantity of gilt brass. He bartered likewise to foreign

nations and princes, for gold, the titles of allies and kings; and squeezed out of Ptolemy alone near six thousand talents, in the name of himself and Pompey. He afterwards supported the expense of the civil wars, and of his triumphs and public spectacles, by the most flagrant rapine and sacrilege.

LV. In eloquence and warlike achievements, he equalled at least, if he did not surpass, the greatest of men. After his prosecution of Dolabella, he was indisputably reckoned one of the most distinguished advocates. Cicero, in recounting to Brutus the famous orators, declares, "that he does not see that Caesar was inferior to any one of them;" and says, "that he (36) had an elegant, splendid, noble, and magnificent vein of eloquence." And in a letter to Cornelius Nepos, he writes of him in the following terms: "What! Of all the orators, who, during the whole course of their lives, have done nothing else, which can you prefer to him? Which of them is more pointed or terse in his periods, or employs more polished and elegant language?" In his youth, he seems to have chosen Strabo Caesar for his model; from whose oration in behalf of the Sardinians he has transcribed some passages literally into his *Divination*. In his delivery he is said to have had a shrill voice, and his action was animated, but not ungraceful. He has left behind him some speeches, among which are ranked a few that are not genuine, such as that on behalf of Quintus Metellus. These Augustus supposes, with reason, to be rather the production of blundering short-hand writers, who were not able to keep pace with him in the delivery, than publications of his own. For I find in some copies that the title is not "For Metellus," but "What he wrote to Metellus;" whereas the speech is delivered in the name of Caesar, vindicating Metellus and himself from the aspersions cast upon them by their common defamers. The speech addressed "To his soldiers in Spain," Augustus considers likewise as spurious. We meet with two under this title; one made, as is pretended, in the first battle, and the other in the last; at which time, Asinius Pollio says, he had not leisure to address the soldiers, on account of the suddenness of the enemy's attack.

LVI. He has likewise left *Commentaries* of his own actions both in the war in Gaul, and in the civil war with Pompey; for the author of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish wars* is not known with any certainty. Some think they are the production of Oppius, and some of Hirtius; the latter of whom composed the last book, which is imperfect, of the *Gallic war*. Of Caesar's *Commentaries*, Cicero, in his *Brutus*, speaks thus: "He wrote his *Commentaries* in a manner deserving of great approbation: they are plain, precise, and elegant, without any affectation of rhetorical ornament. In having thus prepared materials for others who might be inclined to write his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some silly creatures to enter upon such a work, who will needs be dressing up

his actions in all the extravagance a (37) bombast; but he has discouraged wise men from ever attempting the subject.” Hirtius delivers his opinion of these Commentaries in the following terms: “So great is the approbation with which they are universally perused, that, instead of rousing, he seems to have precluded, the efforts of any future historian. Yet, with respect to this work, we have more reason to admire him than others; for they only know how well and correctly he has written, but we know, likewise, how easily and quickly he did it.” Pollio Asinius thinks that they were not drawn up with much care, or with a due regard to truth; for he insinuates that Caesar was too hasty of belief in regard to what was performed by others under his orders; and that, he has not given a very faithful account of his own acts, either by design, or through defect of memory; expressing at the same time an opinion that Caesar intended a new and more correct edition. He has left behind him likewise two books on Analogy, with the same number under the title of Anti-Cato, and a poem entitled The Itinerary. Of these books, he composed the first two in his passage over the Alps, as he was returning to the army after making his circuit in Hither-Gaul; the second work about the time of the battle of Munda; and the last during the four-and-twenty days he employed in his journey from Rome to Farther-Spain. There are extant some letters of his to the senate, written in a manner never practised by any before him; for they are distinguished into pages in the form of a memorandum book whereas the consuls and commanders till then, used constantly in their letters to continue the line quite across the sheet, without any folding or distinction of pages. There are extant likewise some letters from him to Cicero, and others to his friends, concerning his domestic affairs; in which, if there was occasion for secrecy, he wrote in cyphers; that is, he used the alphabet in such a manner, that not a single word could be made out. The way to decipher those epistles was to substitute the fourth for the first letter, as d for a, and so for the other letters respectively. Some things likewise pass under his name, said to have been written by him when a boy, or a very young man; as the Encomium of Hercules, a tragedy entitled Oedipus, and a collection of Apophthegms; all which Augustus forbid to be published, in a short and plain letter to Pompeius Macer, who was employed by him in the arrangement of his libraries.

(38) LVII. He was perfect in the use of arms, an accomplished rider, and able to endure fatigue beyond all belief. On a march, he used to go at the head of his troops, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, with his head bare in all kinds of weather. He would travel post in a light carriage without baggage, at the rate of a hundred miles a day; and if he was stopped by floods in the rivers, he swam across, or floated on skins inflated with wind, so that he often anticipated intelligence of his movements.

LVIII. In his expeditions, it is difficult to say whether his caution or his daring was most conspicuous. He never marched his army by roads which were exposed to ambuscades, without having previously examined the nature of the ground by his scouts. Nor did he cross over to Britain, before he had carefully examined, in person, the navigation, the harbours, and the most convenient point of landing in the island. When intelligence was brought to him of the siege of his camp in Germany, he made his way to his troops, through the enemy's stations, in a Gaulish dress. He crossed the sea from Brundisium and Dyrrachium, in the winter, through the midst of the enemy's fleets; and the troops, under orders to join him, being slow in their movements, notwithstanding repeated messages to hurry them, but to no purpose, he at last went privately, and alone, aboard a small vessel in the night time, with his head muffled up; nor did he make himself known, or suffer the master to put about, although the wind blew strong against them, until they were ready to sink.

LIX. He was never deterred from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by superstition. When a victim, which he was about to offer in sacrifice, made its (39) escape, he did not therefore defer his expedition against Scipio and Juba. And happening to fall, upon stepping out of the ship, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by exclaiming, "I hold thee fast, Africa." To chide the prophecies which were spread abroad, that the name of the Scipios was, by the decrees of fate, fortunate and invincible in that province, he retained in the camp a profligate wretch, of the family of the Cornelii, who, on account of his scandalous life, was surnamed Salutio.

LX. He not only fought pitched battles, but made sudden attacks when an opportunity offered; often at the end of a march, and sometimes during the most violent storms, when nobody could imagine he would stir. Nor was he ever backward in fighting, until towards the end of his life. He then was of opinion, that the oftener he had been crowned with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards; and that nothing he could gain by a victory would compensate for what he might lose by a miscarriage. He never defeated the enemy without driving them from their camp; and giving them no time to rally their forces. When the issue of a battle was doubtful, he sent away all the horses, and his own first, that having no means of flight, they might be under the greater necessity of standing their ground.

LXI. He rode a very remarkable horse, with feet almost like those of a man, the hoofs being divided in such a manner as to have some resemblance to toes. This horse he had bred himself, and the soothsayers having interpreted these circumstances into an omen that its owner would be master of the world, he brought him up with particular care, and broke him in himself, as the horse

would suffer no one else to mount him. A statue of this horse was afterwards erected by Caesar's order before the temple of Venus Genitrix.

LXII. He often rallied his troops, when they were giving way, by his personal efforts; stopping those who fled, keeping others in their ranks, and seizing them by their throat turned them towards the enemy; although numbers were so terrified, that an eagle-bearer, thus stopped, made a thrust at him with (40) the spear-head; and another, upon a similar occasion, left the standard in his hand.

LXIII. The following instances of his resolution are equally, and even more remarkable. After the battle of Pharsalia, having sent his troops before him into Asia, as he was passing the straits of the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with Lucius Cassius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war; and so far from endeavouring to escape, he went alongside his ship, and calling upon him to surrender, Cassius humbly gave him his submission.

LXIV. At Alexandria, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden sally of the enemy into a boat, and several others hurrying in with him, he leaped into the sea, and saved himself by swimming to the next ship, which lay at the distance of two hundred paces; holding up his left hand out of the water, for fear of wetting some papers which he held in it; and pulling his general's cloak after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

LXV. He never valued a soldier for his moral conduct or his means, but for his courage only; and treated his troops with a mixture of severity and indulgence; for he did not always keep a strict hand over them, but only when the enemy was near. Then indeed he was so strict a disciplinarian, that he would give no notice of a march or a battle until the moment of action, in order that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden movement; and he would frequently draw them out of the camp without any necessity for it, especially in rainy weather, and upon holy-days. Sometimes, giving them orders not to lose sight of him, he would suddenly depart by day or by night, and lengthen the marches in order to tire them out, as they followed him at a distance.

LXVI. When at any time his troops were dispirited by reports of the great force of the enemy, he rallied their courage; not by denying the truth of what was said, or by diminishing the facts, but, on the contrary, by exaggerating every particular. (41) Accordingly, when his troops were in great alarm at the expected arrival of king Juba, he called them together, and said, "I have to inform you that in a very few days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light-armed foot, and three hundred elephants. Let none of you, therefore, presume to make further enquiry, or indulge in conjectures, but take my word for what I tell you, which I have from undoubted intelligence; otherwise I shall put them aboard an old crazy vessel, and leave them exposed to

the mercy of the winds, to be transported to some other country.”

LXVII. He neither noticed all their transgressions, nor punished them according to strict rule. But for deserters and mutineers he made the most diligent enquiry, and their punishment was most severe: other delinquencies he would connive at. Sometimes, after a great battle ending in victory, he would grant them a relaxation from all kinds of duty, and leave them to revel at pleasure; being used to boast, “that his soldiers fought nothing the worse for being well oiled.” In his speeches, he never addressed them by the title of “Soldiers,” but by the kinder phrase of “Fellow-soldiers;” and kept them in such splendid order, that their arms were ornamented with silver and gold, not merely for parade, but to render the soldiers more resolute to save them in battle, and fearful of losing them. He loved his troops to such a degree, that when he heard of the defeat of those under Titurius, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, until he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he engaged their devoted affection, and raised their valour to the highest pitch.

LXVIII. Upon his entering on the civil war, the centurions of every legion offered, each of them, to maintain a horseman at his own expense, and the whole army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay; those amongst them who were rich, charging themselves with the maintenance of the poor. No one of them, during the whole course of the war, deserted to the enemy; and many of those who were made prisoners, though they were offered their lives, upon condition of bearing arms against him, refused to accept the terms. They endured want, and other hardships, not only (42) when they were besieged themselves, but when they besieged others, to such a degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they lived upon, said, “I have to do with wild beasts,” and ordered it immediately to be taken away; because, if his troops should see it, their spirit might be broken by perceiving the endurance and determined resolution of the enemy. With what bravery they fought, one instance affords sufficient proof; which is, that after an unsuccessful engagement at Dyrrachium, they called for punishment; insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than to punish them. In other battles, in different quarters, they defeated with ease immense armies of the enemy, although they were much inferior to them in number. In short, one cohort of the sixth legion held out a fort against four legions belonging to Pompey, during several hours; being almost every one of them wounded by the vast number of arrows discharged against them, and of which there were found within the ramparts a hundred and thirty thousand. This is no way surprising, when we consider the conduct of some individuals amongst them; such as that of Cassius Scaeva, a centurion, or Caius Acilius, a common

soldier, not to speak of others. Scaeva, after having an eye struck out, being run through the thigh and the shoulder, and having his shield pierced in an hundred and twenty places, maintained obstinately the guard of the gate of a fort, with the command of which he was intrusted. Acilius, in the sea-fight at Marseilles, having seized a ship of the enemy's with his right hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable instance of resolution in Cynaegirus amongst the Greeks, boarded the enemy's ship, bearing down all before him with the boss of his shield.

LXIX. They never once mutinied during all the ten years of the Gallic war, but were sometimes refractory in the course of the civil war. However, they always returned quickly to their duty, and that not through the indulgence, but in submission to the authority, of their general; for he never yielded to them when they were insubordinate, but constantly resisted their demands. He disbanded the whole ninth legion with ignominy at Placentia, although Pompey was still in arms, and would (43) not receive them again into his service, until they had not only made repeated and humble entreaties, but until the ringleaders in the mutiny were punished.

LXX. When the soldiers of the tenth legion at Rome demanded their discharge and rewards for their service, with violent threats and no small danger to the city, although the war was then raging in Africa, he did not hesitate, contrary to the advice of his friends, to meet the legion, and disband it. But addressing them by the title of "Quirites," instead of "Soldiers," he by this single word so thoroughly brought them round and changed their determination, that they immediately cried out, they were his "soldiers," and followed him to Africa, although he had refused their service. He nevertheless punished the most mutinous among them, with the loss of a third of their share in the plunder, and the land destined for them.

LXXI. In the service of his clients, while yet a young man, he evinced great zeal and fidelity. He defended the cause of a noble youth, Masintha, against king Hiempsal, so strenuously, that in a scuffle which took place upon the occasion, he seized by the beard the son of king Juba; and upon Masintha's being declared tributary to Hiempsal, while the friends of the adverse party were violently carrying him off, he immediately rescued him by force, kept him concealed in his house a long time, and when, at the expiration of his praetorship, he went to Spain, he took him away in his litter, in the midst of his lictors bearing the fasces, and others who had come to attend and take leave of him.

LXXII. He always treated his friends with such kindness and good-nature, that when Caius Oppius, in travelling with him through a forest, was suddenly taken ill, he resigned to him the only place there was to shelter them at night, and lay

upon the ground in the open air. When he had placed himself at the head of affairs, he advanced some of his faithful adherents, though of mean extraction, to the highest offices; and when he was censured for this partiality, he openly said, "Had I been assisted by robbers and cut-throats in the defence of my honour, I should have made them the same recompense."

(44) LXXIII. The resentment he entertained against any one was never so implacable that he did not very willingly renounce it when opportunity offered. Although Caius Memmius had published some extremely virulent speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal acrimony, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood candidate for the consulship. When C. Calvus, after publishing some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he wrote to him, of his own accord, the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself observed, fixed such a stain upon his character in his verses upon Mamurra as never could be obliterated, he begged his pardon, invited him to supper the same day; and continued to take up his lodging with his father occasionally, as he had been accustomed to do.

LXXIV. His temper was also naturally averse to severity in retaliation. After he had captured the pirates, by whom he had been taken, having sworn that he would crucify them, he did so indeed; but he first ordered their throats to be cut. He could never bear the thought of doing any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, who had dogged him in the night when he was sick and a fugitive, with the design of carrying him to Sylla, and from whose hands he had escaped with some difficulty by giving him a bribe. Philemon, his amanuensis, who had promised his enemies to poison him, he put to death without torture. When he was summoned as a witness against Publicus Clodius, his wife Pompeia's gallant, who was prosecuted for the profanation of religious ceremonies, he declared he knew nothing of the affair, although his mother Aurelia, and his sister Julia, gave the court an exact and full account of the circumstances. And being asked why then he had divorced his wife? "Because," he said, "my family should not only be free from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it."

LXXV. Both in his administration and his conduct towards the vanquished party in the civil war, he showed a wonderful moderation and clemency. For while Pompey declared that he would consider those as enemies who did not take arms in defence of the republic, he desired it to be understood, that he (45) should regard those who remained neuter as his friends. With regard to all those to whom he had, on Pompey's recommendation, given any command in the army, he left them at perfect liberty to go over to him, if they pleased. When some proposals were made at Ileria for a surrender, which gave rise to a free

communication between the two camps, and Afranius and Petreius, upon a sudden change of resolution, had put to the sword all Caesar's men who were found in the camp, he scorned to imitate the base treachery which they had practised against himself. On the field of Pharsalia, he called out to the soldiers "to spare their fellow-citizens," and afterwards gave permission to every man in his army to save an enemy. None of them, so far as appears, lost their lives but in battle, excepting only Afranius, Faustus, and young Lucius Caesar; and it is thought that even they were put to death without his consent. Afranius and Faustus had borne arms against him, after obtaining their pardon; and Lucius Caesar had not only in the most cruel manner destroyed with fire and sword his freed-men and slaves, but cut to pieces the wild beasts which he had prepared for the entertainment of the people. And finally, a little before his death, he permitted all whom he had not before pardoned, to return into Italy, and to bear offices both civil and military. He even replaced the statues of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down by the populace. And after this, whatever was devised or uttered, he chose rather to check than to punish it. Accordingly, having detected certain conspiracies and nocturnal assemblies, he went no farther than to intimate by a proclamation that he knew of them; and as to those who indulged themselves in the liberty of reflecting severely upon him, he only warned them in a public speech not to persist in their offence. He bore with great moderation a virulent libel written against him by Aulus Caecinna, and the abusive lampoons of Pitholaus, most highly reflecting on his reputation.

LXXVI. His other words and actions, however, so far outweigh all his good qualities, that it is thought he abused his power, and was justly cut off. For he not only obtained excessive honours, such as the consulship every year, the dictatorship for life, and the censorship, but also the title of emperor, (46) and the surname of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, besides having his statue amongst the kings, and a lofty couch in the theatre. He even suffered some honours to be decreed to him, which were unbefitting the most exalted of mankind; such as a gilded chair of state in the senate-house and on his tribunal, a consecrated chariot, and banners in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, statues among the gods, a bed of state in the temples, a priest, and a college of priests dedicated to himself, like those of Pan; and that one of the months should be called by his name. There were, indeed, no honours which he did not either assume himself, or grant to others, at his will and pleasure. In his third and fourth consulship, he used only the title of the office, being content with the power of dictator, which was conferred upon him with the consulship; and in both years he substituted other consuls in his room, during the three last months; so that in the intervals he held no assemblies of the people, for the election of magistrates, excepting only

tribunes and ediles of the people; and appointed officers, under the name of praefects, instead of the praetors, to administer the affairs of the city during his absence. The office of consul having become vacant, by the sudden death of one of the consuls the day before the calends of January [the 1st Jan.], he conferred it on a person who requested it of him, for a few hours. Assuming the same licence, and regardless of the customs of his country, he appointed magistrates to hold their offices for terms of years. He granted the insignia of the consular dignity to ten persons of pretorian rank. He admitted into the senate some men who had been made free of the city, and even natives of Gaul, who were semi-barbarians. (47) He likewise appointed to the management of the mint, and the public revenue of the state, some servants of his own household; and entrusted the command of three legions, which he left at Alexandria, to an old catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

LXXVII. He was guilty of the same extravagance in the language he publicly used, as Titus Ampius informs us; according to whom he said, "The republic is nothing but a name, without substance or reality. Sylla was an ignorant fellow to abdicate the dictatorship. Men ought to consider what is becoming when they talk with me, and look upon what I say as a law." To such a pitch of arrogance did he proceed, that when a soothsayer announced to him the unfavourable omen, that the entrails of a victim offered for sacrifice were without a heart, he said, "The entrails will be more favourable when I please; and it ought not to be regarded as a prodigy that a beast should be found wanting a heart."

LXXVIII. But what brought upon him the greatest odium, and was thought an unpardonable insult, was his receiving the whole body of the conscript fathers sitting, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, when they waited upon him with a number of decrees, conferring on him the highest dignities. Some say that, on his attempting to rise, he was held down by Cornelius Balbus; others, that he did not attempt to rise at all, but frowned on Caius Trebatius, who suggested to him that he should stand up to receive the senate. This behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him, because, when one of the tribunes of the people, Pontius Aquila, would not rise up to him, as he passed by the tribunes' seat during his triumph, he was so much offended, that he cried out, "Well then, you tribune, Aquila, oust me from the government." And for some days afterwards, he never promised a favour to any person, without this proviso, "if Pontus Aquila will give me leave."

LXXIX. To this extraordinary mark of contempt for the senate, he added another affront still more outrageous. For when, after the sacred rites of the Latin festival, he was returning home, amidst the immoderate and unusual acclamations (48) of the people, a man in the crowd put a laurel crown, encircled

with a white fillet, on one of his statues; upon which, the tribunes of the people, Epidius Marullus, and Caesetius Flavus, ordered the fillet to be removed from the crown, and the man to be taken to prison. Caesar, being much concerned either that the idea of royalty had been suggested to so little purpose, or, as was said, that he was thus deprived of the merit of refusing it, reprimanded the tribunes very severely, and dismissed them from their office. From that day forward, he was never able to wipe off the scandal of affecting the name of king, although he replied to the populace, when they saluted him by that title, "I am Caesar, and no king." And at the feast of the Lupercalia, when the consul Antony placed a crown upon his head in the rostra several times, he as often put it away, and sent it to the Capitol for Jupiter, the Best and the Greatest. A report was very current, that he had a design of withdrawing to Alexandria or Ilium, whither he proposed to transfer the imperial power, to drain Italy by new levies, and to leave the government of the city to be administered by his friends. To this report it was added, that in the next meeting of the senate, Lucius Cotta, one of the fifteen, would make a motion, that as there was in the Sibylline books a prophecy, that the Parthians would never be subdued but by a king, Caesar should have that title conferred upon him.

LXXX. For this reason the conspirators precipitated the execution of their design, that they might not be obliged to give their assent to the proposal. Instead, therefore, of caballing any longer separately, in small parties, they now united their counsels; the people themselves being dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, both privately and publicly (49) condemning the tyranny under which they lived, and calling on patriots to assert their cause against the usurper. Upon the admission of foreigners into the senate, a hand-bill was posted up in these words: "A good deed! let no one shew a new senator the way to the house." These verses were likewise currently repeated:

The Gauls he dragged in triumph through the town,
Caesar has brought into the senate-house,
And changed their plaids for the patrician gown.

Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit: iidem in curiam
Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

When Quintus Maximus, who had been his deputy in the consulship for the last three months, entered the theatre, and the lictor, according to custom, bid the people take notice who was coming, they all cried out, "He is no consul." After the removal of Caesetius and Marullus from their office, they were found to have

a great many votes at the next election of consuls. Some one wrote under the statue of Lucius Brutus, "Would you were now alive!" and under the statue of Caesar himself these lines:

Because he drove from Rome the royal race,
Brutus was first made consul in their place.
This man, because he put the consuls down,
Has been rewarded with a royal crown.
Brutus, quia reges ejecit, consul primus factus est:
Hic, quia consules ejecit, rex postremo factus est.

About sixty persons were engaged in the conspiracy against him, of whom Caius Cassius, and Marcus and Decimus Brutus were the chief. It was at first debated amongst them, whether they should attack him in the Campus Martius when he was taking the votes of the tribes, and some of them should throw him off the bridge, whilst others should be ready to stab him upon his fall; or else in the Via Sacra, or at the entrance of the theatre. But after public notice had been given by proclamation for the senate to assemble upon the ides of March [15th March], in the senate-house built by Pompey, they approved both of the time and place, as most fitting for their purpose.

LXXXI. Caesar had warning given him of his fate by indubitable (50) omens. A few months before, when the colonists settled at Capua, by virtue of the Julian law, were demolishing some old sepulchres, in building country-houses, and were the more eager at the work, because they discovered certain vessels of antique workmanship, a tablet of brass was found in a tomb, in which Capys, the founder of Capua, was said to have been buried, with an inscription in the Greek language to this effect "Whenever the bones of Capys come to be discovered, a descendant of Iulus will be slain by the hands of his kinsmen, and his death revenged by fearful disasters throughout Italy." Lest any person should regard this anecdote as a fabulous or silly invention, it was circulated upon the authority of Caius Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar's. A few days likewise before his death, he was informed that the horses, which, upon his crossing the Rubicon, he had consecrated, and turned loose to graze without a keeper, abstained entirely from eating, and shed floods of tears. The soothsayer Spurinna, observing certain ominous appearances in a sacrifice which he was offering, advised him to beware of some danger, which threatened to befall him before the ides of March were past. The day before the ides, birds of various kinds from a neighbouring grove, pursuing a wren which flew into Pompey's senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in its beak, tore it in pieces. Also, in the night on which the day of his

murder dawned, he dreamt at one time that he was soaring above the clouds, and, at another, that he had joined hands with Jupiter. His wife Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the pediment of the house was falling down, and her husband stabbed on her bosom; immediately upon which the chamber doors flew open. On account of these omens, as well as his infirm health, he was in some doubt whether he should not remain at home, and defer to some other opportunity the business which he intended to propose to the senate; but Decimus Brutus advising him not to disappoint the senators, who were numerously assembled, and waited his coming, he was prevailed upon to go, and accordingly (51) set forward about the fifth hour. In his way, some person having thrust into his hand a paper, warning him against the plot, he mixed it with some other documents which he held in his left hand, intending to read it at leisure. Victim after victim was slain, without any favourable appearances in the entrails; but still, disregarding all omens, he entered the senate-house, laughing at Spurinna as a false prophet, because the ides of March were come, without any mischief having befallen him. To which the soothsayer replied, "They are come, indeed, but not past."

LXXXII. When he had taken his seat, the conspirators stood round him, under colour of paying their compliments; and immediately Tullius Cimber, who had engaged to commence the assault, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request, Caesar made signs that he should defer his petition to some other time. Tullius immediately seized him by the toga, on both shoulders; at which Caesar crying out, "Violence is meant!" one of the Cassii wounded him a little below the throat. Caesar seized him by the arm, and ran it through with his style; and endeavouring to rush forward was stopped by another wound. Finding himself now attacked on all hands with naked poniards, he wrapped the toga about his head, and at the same moment drew the skirt round his legs with his left hand, that he might fall more decently with the lower part of his body covered. He was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, uttering a groan only, but no cry, at the first wound; although some authors relate, that when Marcus Brutus fell upon him, he exclaimed, "What! art thou, too, one of them? Thou, my son!" The whole assembly instantly (52) dispersing, he lay for some time after he expired, until three of his slaves laid the body on a litter, and carried it home, with one arm hanging down over the side. Among so many wounds, there was none that was mortal, in the opinion of the surgeon Antistius, except the second, which he received in the breast. The conspirators meant to drag his body into the Tiber as soon as they had killed him; to confiscate his estate, and rescind all his enactments; but they were deterred by fear of Mark Antony, and Lepidus, Caesar's master of the horse, and abandoned their intentions.

LXXXIII. At the instance of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in Mark Antony's house. He had made it on the ides of the preceding September, at his Lavican villa, and committed it to the custody of the chief of the Vestal Virgins. Quintus Tubero informs us, that in all the wills he had signed, from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cneius Pompey was appointed his heir, and that this had been publicly notified to the army. But in his last will, he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters; namely, Caius Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius for the remaining fourth. Other heirs [in remainder] were named at the close of the will, in which he also adopted Caius Octavius, who was to assume his name, into his family; and nominated most of those who were concerned in his death among the guardians of his son, if he should have any; as well as Decimus Brutus amongst his heirs of the second order. He bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces each man.

LXXXIV. Notice of his funeral having been solemnly proclaimed, a pile was erected in the Campus Martius, near the tomb of his daughter Julia; and before the Rostra was placed a gilded tabernacle, on the model of the temple of Venus Genitrix; within which was an ivory bed, covered with purple and cloth of gold. At the head was a trophy, with the [bloodstained] robe in which he was slain. It being considered that the whole day would not suffice for carrying the funeral oblations in solemn procession before the corpse, directions were given for every one, without regard to order, to carry them from the city into the Campus Martius, by what way they pleased. To raise pity and indignation for his murder, in the plays acted at the funeral, a passage was sung from Pacuvius's tragedy, entitled, "The Trial for Arms:"

That ever I, unhappy man, should save

Wretches, who thus have brought me to the grave!

And some lines also from Attilius's tragedy of "Electra," to the same effect. Instead of a funeral panegyric, the consul Antony ordered a herald to proclaim to the people the decree of the senate, in which they had bestowed upon him all honours, divine and human; with the oath by which they had engaged themselves for the defence of his person; and to these he added only a few words of his own. The magistrates and others who had formerly filled the highest offices, carried the bier from the Rostra into the Forum. While some proposed that the body should be burnt in the sanctuary of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and others in Pompey's senate-house; on a sudden, two men, with swords by their sides, and spears in their hands, set fire to the bier with lighted torches. The throng around immediately heaped upon it dry faggots, the tribunals

and benches of the adjoining courts, and whatever else came to hand. Then the musicians and players stripped off the dresses they wore on the present occasion, taken from the wardrobe of his triumph at spectacles, rent them, and threw them into the flames. The legionaries, also, of his (54) veteran bands, cast in their armour, which they had put on in honour of his funeral. Most of the ladies did the same by their ornaments, with the bullae, and mantles of their children. In this public mourning there joined a multitude of foreigners, expressing their sorrow according to the fashion of their respective countries; but especially the Jews, who for several nights together frequented the spot where the body was burnt.

LXXXV. The populace ran from the funeral, with torches in their hands, to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and were repelled with difficulty. Going in quest of Cornelius Cinna, who had in a speech, the day before, reflected severely upon Caesar, and mistaking for him Helvius Cinna, who happened to fall into their hands, they murdered the latter, and carried his head about the city on the point of a spear. They afterwards erected in the Forum a column of Numidian marble, formed of one stone nearly twenty feet high, and inscribed upon it these words, TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. At this column they continued for a long time to offer sacrifices, make vows, and decide controversies, in which they swore by Caesar.

LXXXVI. Some of Caesar's friends entertained a suspicion, that he neither desired nor cared to live any longer, on account of his declining health; and for that reason slighted all the omens of religion, and the warnings of his friends. Others are of opinion, that thinking himself secure in the late decree of the senate, and their oaths, he dismissed his Spanish guards who attended him with drawn swords. Others again suppose, that he chose rather to face at once the dangers which threatened him on all sides, than to be for ever on the watch against them. Some tell us that he used to say, the commonwealth was more interested in the safety of his person than himself: for that he had for some time been satiated with power and glory; but that the commonwealth, if any thing should befall him, would have no rest, and, involved in another civil war, would be in a worse state than before.

(55) LXXXVII. This, however, was generally admitted, that his death was in many respects such as he would have chosen. For, upon reading the account delivered by Xenophon, how Cyrus in his last illness gave instructions respecting his funeral, Caesar deprecated a lingering death, and wished that his own might be sudden and speedy. And the day before he died, the conversation at supper, in the house of Marcus Lepidus, turning upon what was the most eligible way of dying, he gave his opinion in favour of a death that is sudden and

unexpected.

LXXXVIII. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked amongst the Gods, not only by a formal decree, but in the belief of the vulgar. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and it was supposed to be the soul of Caesar, now received into heaven: for which reason, likewise, he is represented on his statue with a star on his brow. The senate-house in which he was slain, was ordered to be shut up, and a decree made that the ides of March should be called parricidal, and the senate should never more assemble on that day.

LXXXIX. Scarcely any of those who were accessory to his murder, survived him more than three years, or died a natural death. They were all condemned by the senate: some were taken off by one accident, some by another. Part of them perished at sea, others fell in battle; and some slew themselves with the same poniard with which they had stabbed Caesar.

(56) The termination of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey forms a new epoch in the Roman History, at which a Republic, which had subsisted with unrivalled glory during a period of about four hundred and sixty years, relapsed into a state of despotism, whence it never more could emerge. So sudden a transition from prosperity to the ruin of public freedom, without the intervention of any foreign enemy, excites a reasonable conjecture, that the constitution in which it could take place, however vigorous in appearance, must have lost that soundness of political health which had enabled it to endure through so many ages. A short view of its preceding state, and of that in which it was at the time of the revolution now mentioned, will best ascertain the foundation of such a conjecture.

Though the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, made an essential change in the political form of the state, they did not carry their detestation of regal authority so far as to abolish the religious institutions of Numa Pompilius, the second of their kings, according to which, the priesthood, with all the influence annexed to that order, was placed in the hands of the aristocracy. By this wise policy a restraint was put upon the fickleness and violence of the people in matters of government, and a decided superiority given to the Senate both in the deliberative and executive parts of administration. This advantage was afterwards indeed diminished by the creation of Tribunes of the people; a set of men whose ambition often embroiled the Republic in civil dissensions, and who at last abused their authority to such a degree, that they became instruments of aggrandizement to any leading men in the state who could purchase their friendship. In general, however, the majority of the Tribunes being actuated by

views which comprehended the interests of the multitude, rather than those of individuals, they did not so much endanger the liberty, as they interrupted the tranquillity, of the public; and when the occasional commotions subsided, there remained no permanent ground for the establishment of personal usurpation.

In every government, an object of the last importance to the peace and welfare of society is the morals of the people; and in proportion as a community is enlarged by propagation, or the accession of a multitude of new members, a more strict attention is requisite to guard against that dissolution of manners to which a crowded and extensive capital has a natural tendency. Of this (57) the Romans became sensible in the growing state of the Republic. In the year of the City 312, two magistrates were first created for taking an account of the number of the people, and the value of their estates; and soon after, they were invested with the authority not only of inspecting the morals of individuals, but of inflicting public censure for any licentiousness of conduct, or violation of decency. Thus both the civil and religious institutions concurred to restrain the people within the bounds of good order and obedience to the laws; at the same time that the frugal life of the ancient Romans proved a strong security against those vices which operate most effectually towards sapping the foundations of a state.

But in the time of Julius Caesar the barriers of public liberty were become too weak to restrain the audacious efforts of ambitious and desperate men. The veneration for the constitution, usually a powerful check to treasonable designs, had been lately violated by the usurpations of Marius and Sylla. The salutary terrors of religion no longer predominated over the consciences of men. The shame of public censure was extinguished in general depravity. An eminent historian, who lived at that time, informs us, that venality universally prevailed amongst the Romans; and a writer who flourished soon after, observes, that luxury and dissipation had encumbered almost all so much with debt, that they beheld with a degree of complacency the prospect of civil war and confusion.

The extreme degree of profligacy at which the Romans were now arrived is in nothing more evident, than that this age gave birth to the most horrible conspiracy which occurs in the annals of humankind, viz. that of Catiline. This was not the project of a few desperate and abandoned individuals, but of a number of men of the most illustrious rank in the state; and it appears beyond doubt, that Julius Caesar was accessory to the design, which was no less than to extirpate the Senate, divide amongst themselves both the public and private treasures, and set Rome on fire. The causes which prompted to this tremendous project, it is generally admitted, were luxury, prodigality, irreligion, a total corruption of manners, and above all, as the immediate cause, the pressing

necessity in which the conspirators were involved by their extreme dissipation.

The enormous debt in which Caesar himself was early involved, countenances an opinion that his anxiety to procure the province of Gaul proceeded chiefly from this cause. But during nine years in which he held that province, he acquired such riches as must have rendered him, without competition, the most opulent person in the state. If nothing more, therefore, than a (58) splendid establishment had been the object of his pursuit, he had attained to the summit of his wishes. But when we find him persevering in a plan of aggrandizement beyond this period of his fortunes, we can ascribe his conduct to no other motive than that of outrageous ambition. He projected the building of a new Forum at Rome, for the ground only of which he was to pay 800,000 pounds; he raised legions in Gaul at his own charges: he promised such entertainments to the people as had never been known at Rome from the foundation of the city. All these circumstances evince some latent design of procuring such a popularity as might give him an uncontrolled influence in the management of public affairs. Pompey, we are told, was wont to say, that Caesar not being able, with all his riches, to fulfil the promises which he had made, wished to throw everything into confusion. There may have been some foundation for this remark: but the opinion of Cicero is more probable, that Caesar's mind was seduced with the temptations of chimerical glory. It is observable that neither Cicero nor Pompey intimates any suspicion that Caesar was apprehensive of being impeached for his conduct, had he returned to Rome in a private station. Yet, that there was reason for such an apprehension, the positive declaration of L. Domitius leaves little room to doubt: especially when we consider the number of enemies that Caesar had in the Senate, and the coolness of his former friend Pompey ever after the death of Julia. The proposed impeachment was founded upon a notorious charge of prosecuting measures destructive of the interests of the commonwealth, and tending ultimately to an object incompatible with public freedom. Indeed, considering the extreme corruption which prevailed amongst the Romans at this time, it is more than probable that Caesar would have been acquitted of the charge, but at such an expense as must have stripped him of all his riches, and placed him again in a situation ready to attempt a disturbance of the public tranquillity. For it is said, that he purchased the friendship of Curio, at the commencement of the civil war, with a bribe little short of half a million sterling.

Whatever Caesar's private motive may have been for taking arms against his country, he embarked in an enterprise of a nature the most dangerous: and had Pompey conducted himself in any degree suitable to the reputation which he had formerly acquired, the contest would in all probability have terminated in favour of public freedom. But by dilatory measures in the beginning, by imprudently

withdrawing his army from Italy into a distant province, and by not pursuing the advantage he had gained by the vigorous repulse of Caesar's troops in their attack upon his camp, this commander lost every opportunity of extinguishing a war which was to determine the fate, and even the existence, of the Republic. It was accordingly determined on the plains of Pharsalia, where Caesar obtained a victory which was not more decisive than unexpected. He was now no longer amenable either to the tribunal of the Senate or the power of the laws, but triumphed at once over his enemies and the constitution of his country.

It is to the honour of Caesar, that when he had obtained the supreme power, he exercised it with a degree of moderation beyond what was generally expected by those who had fought on the side of the Republic. Of his private life either before or after this period, little is transmitted in history. Henceforth, however, he seems to have lived chiefly at Rome, near which he had a small villa, upon an eminence, commanding a beautiful prospect. His time was almost entirely occupied with public affairs, in the management of which, though he employed many agents, he appears to have had none in the character of actual minister. He was in general easy of access: but Cicero, in a letter to a friend, complains of having been treated with the indignity of waiting a considerable time amongst a crowd in an anti-chamber, before he could have an audience. The elevation of Caesar placed him not above discharging reciprocally the social duties in the intercourse of life. He returned the visits of those who waited upon him, and would sup at their houses. At table, and in the use of wine, he was habitually temperate. Upon the whole, he added nothing to his own happiness by all the dangers, the fatigues, and the perpetual anxiety which he had incurred in the pursuit of unlimited power. His health was greatly impaired: his former cheerfulness of temper, though not his magnanimity, appears to have forsaken him; and we behold in his fate a memorable example of illustrious talents rendered, by inordinate ambition, destructive to himself, and irretrievably pernicious to his country.

From beholding the ruin of the Roman Republic, after intestine divisions, and the distractions of civil war, it will afford some relief to take a view of the progress of literature, which flourished even during those calamities.

The commencement of literature in Rome is to be dated from the reduction of the Grecian States, when the conquerors imported into their own country the valuable productions of the Greek language, and the first essay of Roman genius was in dramatic composition. Livius Andronicus, who flourished about 240 years before the Christian aera, formed the Fescennine verses into a kind of regular drama, upon the model of the Greeks. He was followed some time after by Ennius, who, besides dramatic and other compositions, (60) wrote the annals

of the Roman Republic in heroic verse. His style, like that of Andronicus, was rough and unpolished, in conformity to the language of those times; but for grandeur of sentiment and energy of expression, he was admired by the greatest poets in the subsequent ages. Other writers of distinguished reputation in the dramatic department were Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Afranius, Caecilius, Terence, Accius, etc. Accius and Pacuvius are mentioned by Quintilian as writers of extraordinary merit. Of twenty-five comedies written by Plautus, the number transmitted to posterity is nineteen; and of a hundred and eight which Terence is said to have translated from Menander, there now remain only six. Excepting a few inconsiderable fragments, the writings of all the other authors have perished. The early period of Roman literature was distinguished for the introduction of satire by Lucilius, an author celebrated for writing with remarkable ease, but whose compositions, in the opinion of Horace, though Quintilian thinks otherwise, were debased with a mixture of feculency. Whatever may have been their merit, they also have perished, with the works of a number of orators, who adorned the advancing state of letters in the Roman Republic. It is observable, that during this whole period, of near two centuries and a half, there appeared not one historian of eminence sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion.

Julius Caesar himself is one of the most eminent writers of the age in which he lived. His commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars are written with a purity, precision, and perspicuity, which command approbation. They are elegant without affectation, and beautiful without ornament. Of the two books which he composed on Analogy, and those under the title of Anti-Cato, scarcely any fragment is preserved; but we may be assured of the justness of the observations on language, which were made by an author so much distinguished by the excellence of his own compositions. His poem entitled *The Journey*, which was probably an entertaining narrative, is likewise totally lost.

The most illustrious prose writer of this or any other age is M. Tullius Cicero; and as his life is copiously related in biographical works, it will be sufficient to mention his writings. From his earliest years, he applied himself with unremitting assiduity to the cultivation of literature, and, whilst he was yet a boy, wrote a poem, called *Glaucus Pontius*, which was extant in Plutarch's time. Amongst his juvenile productions was a translation into Latin verse, of Aratus on the *Phaenomena* of the Heavens; of which many fragments are still extant. He also published a poem of the heroic kind, in honour of his countryman C. Marius, who was born at Arpinum, the birth-place of Cicero. (61) This production was greatly admired by Atticus; and old Scaevola was so much pleased with it, that in an epigram written on the subject, he declares that it

would live as long as the Roman name and learning subsisted. From a little specimen which remains of it, describing a memorable omen given to Marina from an oak at Arpinum, there is reason to believe that his poetical genius was scarcely inferior to his oratorical, had it been cultivated with equal industry. He published another poem called *Limon*, of which Donatus has preserved four lines in the life of Terence, in praise of the elegance and purity of that poet's style. He composed in the Greek language, and in the style and manner of Isocrates, a Commentary or Memoirs of the Transactions of his Consulship. This he sent to Atticus, with a desire, if he approved it, to publish it in Athens and the cities of Greece. He sent a copy of it likewise to Posidonius of Rhodes, and requested of him to undertake the same subject in a more elegant and masterly manner. But the latter returned for answer, that, instead of being encouraged to write by the perusal of his tract, he was quite deterred from attempting it.

Upon the plan of those Memoirs, he afterwards composed a Latin poem in three books, in which he carried down the history to the end of his exile, but did not publish it for several years, from motives of delicacy. The three books were severally inscribed to the three Muses; but of this work there now remain only a few fragments, scattered in different parts of his other writings. He published, about the same time, a collection of the principal speeches which he had made in his consulship, under the title of his Consular Orations. They consisted originally of twelve; but four are entirely lost, and some of the rest are imperfect. He now published also, in Latin verse, a translation of the Prognostics of Aratus, of which work no more than two or three small fragments now remain. A few years after, he put the last hand to his Dialogues upon the Character and Idea of the perfect Orator. This admirable work remains entire; a monument both of the astonishing industry and transcendent abilities of its author. At his Cuman villa, he next began a Treatise on Politics, or on the best State of a City, and the Duties of a Citizen. He calls it a great and a laborious work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in it. This likewise was written in the form of a dialogue, in which the speakers were Scipio, Laelius, Philus, Manilius, and other great persons in the former times of the Republic. It was comprised in six books, and survived him for several ages, though it is now unfortunately lost. From the fragments which remain, it appears to have been a masterly production, in which all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with elegance and accuracy.

(62) Amidst all the anxiety for the interests of the Republic, which occupied the thoughts of this celebrated personage, he yet found leisure to write several philosophical tracts, which still subsist, to the gratification of the literary world. He composed a treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, containing a

comprehensive view of religion, faith, oaths, ceremonies, etc. In elucidating this important subject, he not only delivers the opinions of all the philosophers who had written anything concerning it, but weighs and compares attentively all the arguments with each other; forming upon the whole such a rational and perfect system of natural religion, as never before was presented to the consideration of mankind, and approaching nearly to revelation. He now likewise composed in two books, a discourse on Divination, in which he discusses at large all the arguments that may be advanced for and against the actual existence of such a species of knowledge. Like the preceding works, it is written in the form of dialogue, and in which the chief speaker is Laelius. The same period gave birth to his treatise on Old Age, called *Cato Major*; and to that on Friendship, written also in dialogue, and in which the chief speaker is Laelius. This book, considered merely as an essay, is one of the most entertaining productions of ancient times; but, beheld as a picture drawn from life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of men of the first distinction for virtue and wisdom in the Roman Republic, it becomes doubly interesting to every reader of observation and taste. Cicero now also wrote his discourse on Fate, which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Puteoli; and he executed about the same time a translation of Plato's celebrated Dialogue, called *Timaeus*, on the nature and origin of the universe. He was employing himself also on a history of his own times, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic. Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but from this time he never saw his son, and it is probable that he left the work unfinished. Afterwards, however, some copies of it were circulated; from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars.

During a voyage which he undertook to Sicily, he wrote his treatise on Topics, or the Art of finding Arguments on any Question. This was an abstract from Aristotle's treatise on the same subject; and though he had neither Aristotle nor any other book to assist him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed along the coast of Calabria. The last (63) work composed by Cicero appears to have been his *Offices*, written for the use of his son, to whom it is addressed. This treatise contains a system of moral conduct, founded upon the noblest principles of human action, and recommended by arguments drawn from the purest sources of philosophy.

Such are the literary productions of this extraordinary man, whose comprehensive understanding enabled him to conduct with superior ability the most abstruse disquisitions into moral and metaphysical science. Born in an age

posterior to Socrates and Plato, he could not anticipate the principles inculcated by those divine philosophers, but he is justly entitled to the praise, not only of having prosecuted with unerring judgment the steps which they trod before him, but of carrying his researches to greater extent into the most difficult regions of philosophy. This too he had the merit to perform, neither in the station of a private citizen, nor in the leisure of academic retirement, but in the bustle of public life, amidst the almost constant exertions of the bar, the employment of the magistrate, the duty of the senator, and the incessant cares of the statesman; through a period likewise chequered with domestic afflictions and fatal commotions in the Republic. As a philosopher, his mind appears to have been clear, capacious, penetrating, and insatiable of knowledge. As a writer, he was endowed with every talent that could captivate either the judgment or taste. His researches were continually employed on subjects of the greatest utility to mankind, and those often such as extended beyond the narrow bounds of temporal existence. The being of a God, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the eternal distinction of good and evil; these were in general the great objects of his philosophical enquiries, and he has placed them in a more convincing point of view than they ever were before exhibited to the pagan world. The variety and force of the arguments which he advances, the splendour of his diction, and the zeal with which he endeavours to excite the love and admiration of virtue, all conspire to place his character, as a philosophical writer, including likewise his incomparable eloquence, on the summit of human celebrity.

The form of dialogue, so much used by Cicero, he doubtless adopted in imitation of Plato, who probably took the hint of it from the colloquial method of instruction practised by Socrates. In the early stage of philosophical enquiry, this mode of composition was well adapted, if not to the discovery, at least to the confirmation of moral truth; especially as the practice was then not uncommon, for speculative men to converse together on important subjects, for mutual information. In treating of any subject respecting which the different sects of philosophers differed (64) from each other in point of sentiment, no kind of composition could be more happily suited than dialogue, as it gave alternately full scope to the arguments of the various disputants. It required, however, that the writer should exert his understanding with equal impartiality and acuteness on the different sides of the question; as otherwise he might betray a cause under the appearance of defending it. In all the dialogues of Cicero, he manages the arguments of the several disputants in a manner not only the most fair and interesting, but also such as leads to the most probable and rational conclusion.

After enumerating the various tracts composed and published by Cicero, we

have now to mention his Letters, which, though not written for publication, deserve to be ranked among the most interesting remains of Roman literature. The number of such as are addressed to different correspondents is considerable, but those to Atticus alone, his confidential friend, amount to upwards of four hundred; among which are many of great length. They are all written in the genuine spirit of the most approved epistolary composition; uniting familiarity with elevation, and ease with elegance. They display in a beautiful light the author's character in the social relations of life; as a warm friend, a zealous patron, a tender husband, an affectionate brother, an indulgent father, and a kind master. Beholding them in a more extensive view, they exhibit an ardent love of liberty and the constitution of his country: they discover a mind strongly actuated with the principles of virtue and reason; and while they abound in sentiments the most judicious and philosophical, they are occasionally blended with the charms of wit, and agreeable effusions of pleasantry. What is likewise no small addition to their merit, they contain much interesting description of private life, with a variety of information relative to public transactions and characters of that age. It appears from Cicero's correspondence, that there was at that time such a number of illustrious Romans, as never before existed in any one period of the Republic. If ever, therefore, the authority of men the most respectable for virtue, rank, and abilities, could have availed to overawe the first attempts at a violation of public liberty, it must have been at this period; for the dignity of the Roman senate was now in the zenith of its splendour.

Cicero has been accused of excessive vanity, and of arrogating to himself an invidious superiority, from his extraordinary talents but whoever peruses his letters to Atticus, must readily acknowledge, that this imputation appears to be destitute of truth. In those excellent productions, though he adduces the strongest arguments for and against any object of consideration, that the (65) most penetrating understanding can suggest, weighs them with each other, and draws from them the most rational conclusions, he yet discovers such a diffidence in his own opinion, that he resigns himself implicitly to the judgment and direction of his friend; a modesty not very compatible with the disposition of the arrogant, who are commonly tenacious of their own opinion, particularly in what relates to any decision of the understanding.

It is difficult to say, whether Cicero appears in his letters more great or amiable: but that he was regarded by his contemporaries in both these lights, and that too in the highest degree, is sufficiently evident. We may thence infer, that the great poets in the subsequent age must have done violence to their own liberality and discernment, when, in compliment to Augustus, whose sensibility would have been wounded by the praises of Cicero, and even by the mention of

his name, they have so industriously avoided the subject, as not to afford the most distant intimation that this immortal orator and philosopher had ever existed. Livy however, there is reason to think, did some justice to his memory: but it was not until the race of the Caesars had become extinct, that he received the free and unanimous applause of impartial posterity. Such was the admiration which Quintilian entertained of his writings, that he considered the circumstance or being delighted with them, as an indubitable proof of judgment and taste in literature. *Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.*

In this period is likewise to be placed M. Terentius Varro, the celebrated Roman grammarian, and the Nestor of ancient learning. The first mention made of him is, that he was lieutenant to Pompey in his piratical wars, and obtained in that service a naval crown. In the civil wars he joined the side of the Republic, and was taken by Caesar; by whom he was likewise proscribed, but obtained a remission of the sentence. Of all the ancients, he has acquired the greatest fame for his extensive erudition; and we may add, that he displayed the same industry in communicating, as he had done in collecting it. His works originally amounted to no less than five hundred volumes, which have all perished, except a treatise *De Lingua Latina*, and one *De Re Rustica*. Of the former of these, which is addressed to Cicero, three books at the beginning are also lost. It appears from the introduction of the fourth book, that they all related to etymology. The first contained such observations as might be made against it; the second, such as might be made in its favour; and the third, observations upon it. He next proceeds to investigate the origin of (66) Latin words. In the fourth book, he traces those which relate to place; in the fifth, those connected with the idea of time; and in the sixth, the origin of both these classes, as they appear in the writings of the poets. The seventh book is employed on declension; in which the author enters upon a minute and extensive enquiry, comprehending a variety of acute and profound observations on the formation of Latin nouns, and their respective natural declinations from the nominative case. In the eighth, he examines the nature and limits of usage and analogy in language; and in the ninth and last book on the subject, takes a general view of what is the reverse of analogy, viz. anomaly. The precision and perspicuity which Varro displays in this work merit the highest encomiums, and justify the character given him in his own time, of being the most learned of the Latin grammarians. To the loss of the first three books, are to be added several chasms in the others; but fortunately they happen in such places as not to affect the coherency of the author's doctrine, though they interrupt the illustration of it. It is observable that this great grammarian makes use of *quom* for *quum*, *heis* for *his*, and generally *queis* for *quibus*. This practice having become rather obsolete at the time in which he

wrote, we must impute his continuance of it to his opinion of its propriety, upon its established principles of grammar, and not to any prejudice of education, or an affectation of singularity. As Varro makes no mention of Caesar's treatise on Analogy, and had commenced author long before him, it is probable that Caesar's production was of a much later date; and thence we may infer, that those two writers differed from each other, at least with respect to some particulars on that subject.

This author's treatise *De Re Rustica* was undertaken at the desire of a friend, who, having purchased some lands, requested of Varro the favour of his instructions relative to farming, and the economy of a country life, in its various departments. Though Varro was at this time in his eightieth year, he writes with all the vivacity, though without the levity, of youth, and sets out with invoking, not the Muses, like Homer and Ennius, as he observes, but the twelve deities supposed to be chiefly concerned in the operations of agriculture. It appears from the account which he gives, that upwards of fifty Greek authors had treated of this subject in prose, besides Hesiod and Menecrates the Ephesian, who both wrote in verse; exclusive likewise of many Roman writers, and of Mago the Carthaginian, who wrote in the Punic language. Varro's work is divided into three books, the first of which treats of agriculture; the second, of rearing of cattle; and the third, of feeding animals for the use of the table. (67) In the last of these, we meet with a remarkable instance of the prevalence of habit and fashion over human sentiment, where the author delivers instructions relative to the best method of fattening rats.

We find from Quintilian, that Varro likewise composed satires in various kinds of verse. It is impossible to behold the numerous fragments of this venerable author without feeling the strongest regret for the loss of that vast collection of information which he had compiled, and of judicious observations which he had made on a variety of subjects, during a life of eighty-eight years, almost entirely devoted to literature. The remark of St. Augustine is well founded, That it is astonishing how Varro, who read such a number of books, could find time to compose so many volumes; and how he who composed so many volumes, could be at leisure to peruse such a variety of books, and to gain so much literary information.

Catullus is said to have been born at Verona, of respectable parents; his father and himself being in the habit of intimacy with Julius Caesar. He was brought to Rome by Mallius, to whom several of his epigrams are addressed. The gentleness of his manners, and his application to study, we are told, recommended him to general esteem; and he had the good fortune to obtain the patronage of Cicero. When he came to be known as a poet, all these

circumstances would naturally contribute to increase his reputation for ingenuity; and accordingly we find his genius applauded by several of his contemporaries. It appears that his works are not transmitted entire to posterity; but there remain sufficient specimens by which we may be enabled to appreciate his poetical talents.

Quintilian, and Diomed the grammarian, have ranked Catullus amongst the iambic writers, while others have placed him amongst the lyric. He has properly a claim to each of these stations; but his versification being chiefly iambic, the former of the arrangements seems to be the most suitable. The principal merit of Catullus's Iambics consists in a simplicity of thought and expression. The thoughts, however, are often frivolous, and, what is yet more reprehensible, the author gives way to gross obscenity: in vindication of which, he produces the following couplet, declaring that a good poet ought to be chaste in his own person, but that his verses need not be so.

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam

Ipsium: versiculos nihil necesse est.

This sentiment has been frequently cited by those who were inclined to follow the example of Catullus; but if such a practice be in any case admissible, it is only where the poet personates (68) a profligate character; and the instances in which it is adopted by Catullus are not of that description. It had perhaps been a better apology, to have pleaded the manners of the times; for even Horace, who wrote only a few years after, has suffered his compositions to be occasionally debased by the same kind of blemish.

Much has been said of this poet's invective against Caesar, which produced no other effect than an invitation to sup at the dictator's house. It was indeed scarcely entitled to the honour of the smallest resentment. If any could be shewn, it must have been for the freedom used by the author, and not for any novelty in his lampoon. There are two poems on this subject, viz. the twenty-ninth and fifty-seventh, in each of which Caesar is joined with Mamurra, a Roman knight, who had acquired great riches in the Gallic war. For the honour of Catullus's gratitude, we should suppose that the latter is the one to which historians allude: but, as poetical compositions, they are equally unworthy of regard. The fifty seventh is nothing more than a broad repetition of the raillery, whether well or ill founded, with which Caesar was attacked on various occasions, and even in the senate, after his return from Bithynia. Caesar had been taunted with this subject for upwards of thirty years; and after so long a familiarity with reproach, his sensibility to the scandalous imputation must now have been much diminished, if not entirely extinguished. The other poem is partly in the same strain, but extended to greater length, by a mixture of common jocular ribaldry of the

Roman soldiers, expressed nearly in the same terms which Caesar's legions, though strongly attached to his person, scrupled not to sport publicly in the streets of Rome, against their general, during the celebration of his triumph. In a word, it deserves to be regarded as an effusion of Saturnalian licentiousness, rather than of poetry. With respect to the Iambics of Catullus, we may observe in general, that the sarcasm is indebted for its force, not so much to ingenuity of sentiment, as to the indelicate nature of the subject, or coarseness of expression.

The descriptive poems of Catullus are superior to the others, and discover a lively imagination. Amongst the best of his productions, is a translation of the celebrated ode of Sappho:

Ille mi par esse Deo videtur,
me, etc.

This ode is executed both with spirit and elegance; it is, however, imperfect; and the last stanza seems to be spurious. Catullus's epigrams are entitled to little praise, with regard either to sentiment or point; and on the whole, his merit, as a poet, appears to have been magnified beyond its real extent. He is said to have died about the thirtieth year of his age.

(69) Lucretius is the author of a celebrated poem, in six books, *De Rerum Natura*; a subject which had been treated many ages before by Empedocles, a philosopher and poet of Agrigentum. Lucretius was a zealous partizan of Democritus, and the sect of Epicurus, whose principles concerning the eternity of matter, the materiality of the soul, and the non-existence of a future state of rewards and punishments, he affects to maintain with a certainty equal to that of mathematical demonstration. Strongly prepossessed with the hypothetical doctrines of his master, and ignorant of the physical system of the universe, he endeavours to deduce from the phenomena of the material world conclusions not only unsupported by legitimate theory, but repugnant to the principles of the highest authority in metaphysical disquisition. But while we condemn his speculative notions as degrading to human nature, and subversive of the most important interests of mankind, we must admit that he has prosecuted his visionary hypothesis with uncommon ingenuity. Abstracting from it the rhapsodical nature of this production, and its obscurity in some parts, it has great merit as a poem. The style is elevated, and the versification in general harmonious. By the mixture of obsolete words, it possesses an air of solemnity well adapted to abstruse researches; at the same time that by the frequent resolution of diphthongs, it instils into the Latin the sonorous and melodious powers of the Greek language.

While Lucretius was engaged in this work, he fell into a state of insanity,

occasioned, as is supposed, by a philtre, or love-potion, given him by his wife Lucilia. The complaint, however, having lucid intervals, he employed them in the execution of his plan, and, soon after it was finished, laid violent hands upon himself, in the forty-third year of his age. This fatal termination of his life, which perhaps proceeded from insanity, was ascribed by his friends and admirers to his concern for the banishment of one Memmius, with whom he was intimately connected, and for the distracted state of the republic. It was, however, a catastrophe which the principles of Epicurus, equally erroneous and irreconcilable to resignation and fortitude, authorized in particular circumstances. Even Atticus, the celebrated correspondent of Cicero, a few years after this period, had recourse to the same desperate expedient, by refusing all sustenance, while he laboured under a lingering disease.

It is said that Cicero revised the poem of Lucretius after the death of the author, and this circumstance is urged by the abettors of atheism, as a proof that the principles contained in the work had the sanction of his authority. But no inference in favour of Lucretius's doctrine can justly be drawn from this circumstance. (70) Cicero, though already sufficiently acquainted with the principles of the Epicurean sect, might not be averse to the perusal of a production, which collected and enforced them in a nervous strain of poetry; especially as the work was likely to prove interesting to his friend Atticus, and would perhaps afford subject for some letters or conversation between them. It can have been only with reference to composition that the poem was submitted to Cicero's revisal: for had he been required to exercise his judgment upon its principles, he must undoubtedly have so much mutilated the work, as to destroy the coherency of the system. He might be gratified with the shew of elaborate research, and confident declamation, which it exhibited, but he must have utterly disapproved of the conclusions which the author endeavoured to establish. According to the best information, Lucretius died in the year from the building of Rome 701, when Pompey was the third time consul. Cicero lived several years beyond this period, and in the two last years of his life, he composed those valuable works which contain sentiments diametrically repugnant to the visionary system of Epicurus. The argument, therefore, drawn from Cicero's revisal, so far from confirming the principle of Lucretius, affords the strongest tacit declaration against their validity; because a period sufficient for mature consideration had elapsed, before Cicero published his own admirable system of philosophy. The poem of Lucretius, nevertheless, has been regarded as the bulwark of atheism — of atheism, which, while it impiously arrogates the support of reason, both reason and nature disclaim.

Many more writers flourished in this period, but their works have totally

perished. Sallust was now engaged in historical productions; but as they were not yet completed, they will be noticed in the next division of the review.

D. OCTAVIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS.

I. That the family of the Octavii was of the first distinction in Velitrae, is rendered evident by many circumstances. For in the most frequented part of the town, there was, not long since, a street named the Octavian; and an altar was to be seen, consecrated to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbouring people, the enemy making a sudden attack, while he was sacrificing to Mars, he immediately snatched the entrails of the victim from off the fire, and offered them half raw upon the altar; after which, marching out to battle, he returned victorious. This incident gave rise to a law, by which it was enacted, that in all future times the entrails should be offered to Mars in the same manner; and the rest of the victim be carried to the Octavii.

II. This family, as well as several in Rome, was admitted into the senate by Tarquinius Priscus, and soon afterwards placed by Servius Tullius among the patricians; but in process of time it transferred itself to the plebeian order, and, after the lapse of a long interval, was restored by Julius Caesar to the rank of patricians. The first person of the family raised by the suffrages of the people to the magistracy, was Caius Rufus. He obtained the quaestorship, and had two sons, Cneius and Caius; from whom are descended the two branches of the Octavian family, which have had very different fortunes. For Cneius, and his descendants in uninterrupted succession, held all the highest offices of the state; whilst Caius and his posterity, whether from their circumstances or their choice, remained in the equestrian order until the father of Augustus. The great-grandfather of Augustus served as a military tribune in the second Punic war in Sicily, under the command of Aemilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the public offices of his own municipality, and grew old in the tranquil enjoyment of an ample patrimony. Such is the account given (72) by different authors. Augustus himself, however, tells us nothing more than that he was descended of an equestrian family, both ancient and rich, of which his father was the first who obtained the rank of senator. Mark Antony upbraidingly tells him that his great-grandfather was a freedman of the territory of Thurium, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a usurer. This is all the information I have any where met with, respecting the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side.

III. His father Caius Octavius was, from his earliest years, a person both of opulence and distinction: for which reason I am surprised at those who say that he was a money-dealer, and was employed in scattering bribes, and canvassing for the candidates at elections, in the Campus Martius. For being bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he attained with ease to honourable posts, and

discharged the duties of them with much distinction. After his praetorship, he obtained by lot the province of Macedonia; in his way to which he cut off some banditti, the relics of the armies of Spartacus and Catiline, who had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurium; having received from the senate an extraordinary commission for that purpose. In his government of the province, he conducted himself with equal justice and resolution; for he defeated the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated the allies of the republic in such a manner, that there are extant letters from M. Tullius Cicero, in which he advises and exhorts his brother Quintus, who then held the proconsulship of Asia with no great reputation, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome.

IV. After quitting Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the consulship, he died suddenly, leaving behind him a daughter, the elder Octavia, by Ancharia; and another daughter, Octavia the younger, as well as Augustus, by Atia, who was the daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus, and Julia, sister to Caius Julius Caesar. Balbus was, by the father's (73) side, of a family who were natives of Aricia, and many of whom had been in the senate. By the mother's side he was nearly related to Pompey the Great; and after he had borne the office of praetor, was one of the twenty commissioners appointed by the Julian law to divide the land in Campania among the people. But Mark Antony, treating with contempt Augustus's descent even by the mother's side, says that his great grand-father was of African descent, and at one time kept a perfumer's shop, and at another, a bake-house, in Aricia. And Cassius of Parma, in a letter, taxes Augustus with being the son not only of a baker, but a usurer. These are his words: "Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer of Nerulum taking from the newest bake-house of Aricia, kneaded into some shape, with his hands all discoloured by the fingering of money."

V. Augustus was born in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius, upon the ninth of the calends of October [the 23rd September], a little before sunrise, in the quarter of the Palatine Hill, and the street called The Ox-Heads, where now stands a chapel dedicated to him, and built a little after his death. For, as it is recorded in the proceedings of the senate, when Caius Laetorius, a young man of a patrician family, in pleading before the senators for a lighter sentence, upon his being convicted of adultery, alleged, besides his youth and quality, that he was the possessor, and as it were the guardian, of the ground which the Divine Augustus first touched upon his coming into the world; and entreated that (74) he might find favour, for the sake of that deity, who was in a peculiar manner his; an act of the senate was passed, for the consecration of that part of his house in which Augustus was born.

VI. His nursery is shewn to this day, in a villa belonging to the family, in the suburbs of Velitrae; being a very small place, and much like a pantry. An opinion prevails in the neighbourhood, that he was also born there. Into this place no person presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a belief, for a long time prevalent, that such as rashly enter it are seized with great horror and consternation, which a short while since was confirmed by a remarkable incident. For when a new inhabitant of the house had, either by mere chance, or to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that apartment, in the course of the night, a few hours afterwards, he was thrown out by some sudden violence, he knew not how, and was found in a state of stupefaction, with the coverlid of his bed, before the door of the chamber.

VII. While he was yet an infant, the surname of Thurinus was given him, in memory of the birth-place of his family, or because, soon after he was born, his father Octavius had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near Thurium. That he was surnamed Thurinus, I can affirm upon good foundation, for when a boy, I had a small bronze statue of him, with that name upon it in iron letters, nearly effaced by age, which I presented to the emperor, by whom it is now revered amongst the other tutelary deities in his chamber. He is also often called Thurinus contemptuously, by Mark Antony in his letters; to which he makes only this reply: "I am surprised that my former name should be made a subject of reproach." He afterwards assumed the name of Caius Caesar, and then of Augustus; the former in compliance with the will of his great-uncle, and the latter upon a motion of Munatius Plancus in the senate. For when some proposed to confer upon him the name of Romulus, as being, in a manner, a second founder of the city, it was resolved that he should rather be called Augustus, a surname not only new, but of more dignity, because places devoted to religion, and those in which anything (75) is consecrated by augury, are denominated august, either from the word auctus, signifying augmentation, or ab avium gestu, gustuve, from the flight and feeding of birds; as appears from this verse of Ennius:

When glorious Rome by august augury was built.

VIII. He lost his father when he was only four years of age; and, in his twelfth year, pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grand-mother Julia. Four years afterwards, having assumed the robe of manhood, he was honoured with several military rewards by Caesar in his African triumph, although he took no part in the war, on account of his youth. Upon his uncle's expedition to Spain against the sons of Pompey, he was followed by his nephew, although he was scarcely recovered from a dangerous sickness; and after being shipwrecked at sea, and

travelling with very few attendants through roads that were infested with the enemy, he at last came up with him. This activity gave great satisfaction to his uncle, who soon conceived an increasing affection for him, on account of such indications of character. After the subjugation of Spain, while Caesar was meditating an expedition against the Dacians and Parthians, he was sent before him to Apollonia, where he applied himself to his studies; until receiving intelligence that his uncle was murdered, and that he was appointed his heir, he hesitated for some time whether he should call to his aid the legions stationed in the neighbourhood; but he abandoned the design as rash and premature. However, returning to Rome, he took possession of his inheritance, although his mother was apprehensive that such a measure might be attended with danger, and his step-father, Marcius Philippus, a man of consular rank, very earnestly dissuaded him from it. From this time, collecting together a strong military force, he first held the government in conjunction with Mark Antony and Marcus Lepidus, then with Antony only, for nearly twelve years, and at last in his own hands during a period of four and forty.

IX. Having thus given a very short summary of his life, I shall prosecute the several parts of it, not in order of time, but arranging his acts into distinct classes, for the sake of (76) perspicuity. He was engaged in five civil wars, namely those of Modena, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium; the first and last of which were against Antony, and the second against Brutus and Cassius; the third against Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's brother, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, the son of Cneius Pompeius.

X. The motive which gave rise to all these wars was the opinion he entertained that both his honour and interest were concerned in revenging the murder of his uncle, and maintaining the state of affairs he had established. Immediately after his return from Apollonia, he formed the design of taking forcible and unexpected measures against Brutus and Cassius; but they having foreseen the danger and made their escape, he resolved to proceed against them by an appeal to the laws in their absence, and impeach them for the murder. In the mean time, those whose province it was to prepare the sports in honour of Caesar's last victory in the civil war, not daring to do it, he undertook it himself. And that he might carry into effect his other designs with greater authority, he declared himself a candidate in the room of a tribune of the people who happened to die at that time, although he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate. But the consul, Mark Antony, from whom he had expected the greatest assistance, opposing him in his suit, and even refusing to do him so much as common justice, unless gratified with a large bribe, he went over to the party of the nobles, to whom he perceived Sylla to be odious, chiefly

for endeavouring to drive Decius Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, which had been given him by Caesar, and confirmed to him by the senate. At the instigation of persons about him, he engaged some ruffians to murder his antagonist; but the plot being discovered, and dreading a similar attempt upon himself, he gained over Caesar's veteran soldiers, by distributing among them all the money he could collect. Being now commissioned by the senate to command the troops he had gathered, with the rank of praetor, and in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, who had accepted the consulship, to carry assistance to Decius Brutus, he put an end to the war by two battles in three months. Antony writes, that in the former of these he ran away, and two days afterwards made his appearance (77) without his general's cloak and his horse. In the last battle, however, it is certain that he performed the part not only of a general, but a soldier; for, in the heat of the battle; when the standard-bearer of his legion was severely wounded, he took the eagle upon his shoulders, and carried it a long time.

XI. In this war, Hirtius being slain in battle, and Pansa dying a short time afterwards of a wound, a report was circulated that they both were killed through his means, in order that, when Antony fled, the republic having lost its consuls, he might have the victorious armies entirely at his own command. The death of Pansa was so fully believed to have been caused by undue means, that Glyco, his surgeon, was placed in custody, on a suspicion of having poisoned his wound. And to this, Aquilius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius, the other consul, in the confusion of the battle, with his own hands.

XII. But upon intelligence that Antony, after his defeat, had been received by Marcus Lepidus, and that the rest of the generals and armies had all declared for the senate, he, without any hesitation, deserted from the party of the nobles; alleging as an excuse for his conduct, the actions and sayings of several amongst them; for some said, "he was a mere boy," and others threw out, "that he ought to be promoted to honours, and cut off," to avoid the making any suitable acknowledgment either to him or the veteran legions. And the more to testify his regret for having before attached himself to the other faction, he fined the Nursini in a large sum of money, which they were unable to pay, and then expelled them from the town, for having inscribed upon a monument, erected at the public charge to their countrymen who were slain in the battle of Modena, "That they fell in the cause of liberty."

XIII. Having entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, he brought the war at Philippi to an end in two battles, although he was at that time weak, and suffering from sickness. In the first battle he was driven from his camp, (78) and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded

by Antony. And now, intoxicated with success, he sent the head of Brutus to be cast at the foot of Caesar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners not only with cruelty, but with abusive language; insomuch that he is said to have answered one of them who humbly intreated that at least he might not remain unburied, "That will be in the power of the birds." Two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or settle it between themselves by the sword; and was a spectator of both their deaths: for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly executed, the son likewise killed himself upon the spot. On this account, the rest of the prisoners, and amongst them Marcus Favonius, Cato's rival, being led up in fetters, after they had saluted Antony, the general, with much respect, reviled Octavius in the foulest language. After this victory, dividing between them the offices of the state, Mark Antony undertook to restore order in the east, while Caesar conducted the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settled them in colonies on the lands belonging to the municipalities. But he had the misfortune to please neither the soldiers nor the owners of the lands; one party complaining of the injustice done them, in being violently ejected from their possessions, and the other, that they were not rewarded according to their merit.

XIV. At this time he obliged Lucius Antony, who, presuming upon his own authority as consul, and his brother's power, was raising new commotions, to fly to Perugia, and forced him, by famine, to surrender at last, although not without having been exposed to great hazards, both before the war and during its continuance. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the equestrian order in the theatre, at the public spectacles, Caesar ordered him to be removed by an officer; and a rumour being thence spread by his enemies, that he had (79) put the man to death by torture, the soldiers flocked together so much enraged, that he narrowly escaped with his life. The only thing that saved him, was the sudden appearance of the man, safe and sound, no violence having been offered him. And whilst he was sacrificing under the walls of Perugia, he nearly fell into the hands of a body of gladiators, who sallied out of the town.

XV. After the taking of Perugia, he sentenced a great number of the prisoners to death, making only one reply to all who implored pardon, or endeavoured to excuse themselves, "You must die." Some authors write, that three hundred of the two orders, selected from the rest, were slaughtered, like victims, before an altar raised to Julius Caesar, upon the ides of March [15th April] . Nay, there are some who relate, that he entered upon the war with no other view, than that his secret enemies, and those whom fear more than affection kept quiet, might be detected, by declaring themselves, now they had an opportunity, with Lucius Antony at their head; and that having defeated them, and confiscated their

estates, he might be enabled to fulfil his promises to the veteran soldiers.

XVI. He soon commenced the Sicilian war, but it was protracted by various delays during a long period; at one time for the purpose of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, even in the summer; at another, while patching up a peace, to which he was forced by the clamours of the people, in consequence of a famine occasioned by Pompey's cutting off the supply of corn by sea. But at last, having built a new fleet, and obtained twenty thousand manumitted slaves, who were given him for the oar, he formed the Julian harbour at Baiae, by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernian lakes; and having exercised his forces there during the whole winter, he defeated Pompey betwixt Mylae and Naulochus; although (80) just as the engagement commenced, he suddenly fell into such a profound sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal. This, I suppose, gave occasion for Antony's reproach: "You were not able to take a clear view of the fleet, when drawn up in line of battle, but lay stupidly upon your back, gazing at the sky; nor did you get up and let your men see you, until Marcus Agrippa had forced the enemies' ships to sheer off." Others imputed to him both a saying and an action which were indefensible; for, upon the loss of his fleets by storm, he is reported to have said: "I will conquer in spite of Neptune;" and at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession as usual. Indeed he scarcely ever ran more or greater risks in any of his wars than in this. Having transported part of his army to Sicily, and being on his return for the rest, he was unexpectedly attacked by Demochares and Apollophanes, Pompey's admirals, from whom he escaped with great difficulty, and with one ship only. Likewise, as he was travelling on foot through the Locrian territory to Rhegium, seeing two of Pompey's vessels passing by that coast, and supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and was very nearly taken prisoner. On this occasion, as he was making his escape by some bye-ways, a slave belonging to Aemilius Paulus, who accompanied him, owing him a grudge for the proscription of Paulus, the father of Aemilius, and thinking he had now an opportunity of revenging it, attempted to assassinate him. After the defeat of Pompey, one of his colleagues, Marcus Lepidus, whom he had summoned to his aid from Africa, affecting great superiority, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself the principal management of affairs in a threatening manner, he divested him of his command, but, upon his humble submission, granted him his life, but banished him for life to Circeii.

XVII. The alliance between him and Antony, which had always been precarious, often interrupted, and ill cemented by repeated reconciliations, he at last entirely dissolved. And to make it known to the world how far Antony had

degenerated from patriotic feelings, he caused a will of his, which had been left at Rome, and in which he had nominated Cleopatra's children, amongst others, as his heirs, to be opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent to him all his relations and friends, among whom were Caius Sosius and Titus Domitius, at that time consuls. He likewise spoke favourably in public of the people of Bologna, for joining in the association with the rest of Italy to support his cause, because they had, in former times, been under the protection of the family of the Antonii. And not long afterwards he defeated him in a naval engagement near Actium, which was prolonged to so late an hour, that, after the victory, he was obliged to sleep on board his ship. From Actium he went to the isle of Samoa to winter; but being alarmed with the accounts of a mutiny amongst the soldiers he had selected from the main body of his army sent to Brundisium after the victory, who insisted on their being rewarded for their service and discharged, he returned to Italy. In his passage thither, he encountered two violent storms, the first between the promontories of Peloponnesus and Aetolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains; in both which a part of his Liburnian squadron was sunk, the spars and rigging of his own ship carried away, and the rudder broken in pieces. He remained only twenty-seven days at Brundisium, until the demands of the soldiers were settled, and then went, by way of Asia and Syria, to Egypt, where laying siege to Alexandria, whither Antony had fled with Cleopatra, he made himself master of it in a short time. He drove Antony to kill himself, after he had used every effort to obtain conditions of peace, and he saw his corpse. Cleopatra he anxiously wished to save for his triumph; and when she was supposed to have been bit to death by an asp, he sent for the Psylli to (82) endeavour to suck out the poison. He allowed them to be buried together in the same grave, and ordered a mausoleum, begun by themselves, to be completed. The eldest of Antony's two sons by Fulvia he commanded to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Caesar, to which he had fled, after many fruitless supplications for his life, and put him to death. The same fate attended Caesario, Cleopatra's son by Caesar, as he pretended, who had fled for his life, but was retaken. The children which Antony had by Cleopatra he saved, and brought up and cherished in a manner suitable to their rank, just as if they had been his own relations.

XVIII. At this time he had a desire to see the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great, which, for that purpose, were taken out of the cell in which they rested; and after viewing them for some time, he paid honours to the memory of that prince, by offering a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked if he wished to see the tombs of the Ptolemies also; he replied, "I wish to see a king, not dead men." He reduced Egypt into the form of

a province and to render it more fertile, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the canals, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges itself; but which during a long series of years had become nearly choked up with mud. To perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, he built the city of Nicopolis on that part of the coast, and established games to be celebrated there every five years; enlarging likewise an old temple of Apollo, he ornamented with naval trophies the spot on which he had pitched his camp, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

(83) XIX. He afterwards quashed several tumults and insurrections, as well as several conspiracies against his life, which were discovered, by the confession of accomplices, before they were ripe for execution; and others subsequently. Such were those of the younger Lepidus, of Varro Muraena, and Fannius Caepio; then that of Marcus Egnatius, afterwards that of Plautius Rufus, and of Lucius Paulus, his grand-daughter's husband; and besides these, another of Lucius Audasius, an old feeble man, who was under prosecution for forgery; as also of Asinius Epicadus, a Parthian mongrel, and at last that of Telephus, a lady's prompter; for he was in danger of his life from the plots and conspiracies of some of the lowest of the people against him. Audasius and Epicadus had formed the design of carrying off to the armies his daughter Julia, and his grandson Agrippa, from the islands in which they were confined. Telephus, wildly dreaming that the government was destined to him by the fates, proposed to fall both upon Octavius and the senate. Nay, once, a soldier's servant belonging to the army in Illyricum, having passed the porters unobserved, was found in the night-time standing before his chamber-door, armed with a hunting-dagger. Whether the person was really disordered in the head, or only counterfeited madness, is uncertain; for no confession was obtained from him by torture.

XX. He conducted in person only two foreign wars; the Dalmatian, whilst he was yet but a youth; and, after Antony's final defeat, the Cantabrian. He was wounded in the former of these wars; in one battle he received a contusion in the right knee from a stone — and in another, he was much hurt in (84) one leg and both arms, by the fall of a fridge . His other wars he carried on by his lieutenants; but occasionally visited the army, in some of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or remained at no great distance, proceeding from Rome as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia.

XXI. He conquered, however, partly in person, and partly by his lieutenants, Cantabria, Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatia, with all Illyricum and Rhaetia, besides the two Alpine nations, the Vindelici and the Salassii . He also checked the incursions of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals with vast armies, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elbe; removing two other tribes

who submitted, the Ubii and Sicambri, into Gaul, and settling them in the country bordering on the Rhine. Other nations also, which broke into revolt, he reduced to submission. But he never made war upon any nation without just and necessary cause; and was so far from being ambitious either to extend the empire, or advance his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of some barbarous tribes to swear in the temple of Mars the Avenger, that they would faithfully observe their engagements, and not violate the peace which they had implored. Of some he demanded a new description of hostages, their women, having found from experience that they cared little for their men when given as hostages; but he always afforded them the means of getting back their hostages whenever they wished it. Even those who engaged most frequently and with the greatest perfidy in their rebellion, he never punished more severely than by selling their captives, on the terms (85) of their not serving in any neighbouring country, nor being released from their slavery before the expiration of thirty years. By the character which he thus acquired, for virtue and moderation, he induced even the Indians and Scythians, nations before known to the Romans by report only, to solicit his friendship, and that of the Roman people, by ambassadors. The Parthians readily allowed his claim to Armenia; restoring at his demand, the standards which they had taken from Marcus Crassus and Mark Antony, and offering him hostages besides. Afterwards, when a contest arose between several pretenders to the crown of that kingdom, they refused to acknowledge any one who was not chosen by him.

XXII. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been shut twice only, from the era of the building of the city to his own time, he closed thrice in a much shorter period, having established universal peace both by sea and land. He twice entered the city with the honours of an Ovation, namely, after the war of Philippi, and again after that of Sicily. He had also three curule triumphs for his several victories in (86) Dalmatia, at Actium, and Alexandria; each of which lasted three days.

XXIII. In all his wars, he never received any signal or ignominious defeat, except twice in Germany, under his lieutenants Lollius and Varus. The former indeed had in it more of dishonour than disaster; but that of Varus threatened the security of the empire itself; three legions, with the commander, his lieutenants, and all the auxiliaries, being cut off. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, he gave orders for keeping a strict watch over the city, to prevent any public disturbance, and prolonged the appointments of the prefects in the provinces, that the allies might be kept in order by experience of persons to whom they were used. He made a vow to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, “if he would be pleased to restore the state to more

prosperous circumstances.” This had formerly been resorted to in the Cimbrian and Marsian wars. In short, we are informed that he was in such consternation at this event, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knocked his head against the door-posts, crying out, “O, Quintilius Varus! Give me back my legions!” And (87) ever after, he observed the anniversary of this calamity, as a day of sorrow and mourning.

XXIV. In military affairs he made many alterations, introducing some practices entirely new, and reviving others, which had become obsolete. He maintained the strictest discipline among the troops; and would not allow even his lieutenants the liberty to visit their wives, except reluctantly, and in the winter season only. A Roman knight having cut off the thumbs of his two young sons, to render them incapable of serving in the wars, he exposed both him and his estate to public sale. But upon observing the farmers of the revenue very greedy for the purchase, he assigned him to a freedman of his own, that he might send him into the country, and suffer him to retain his freedom. The tenth legion becoming mutinous, he disbanded it with ignominy; and did the same by some others which petulantly demanded their discharge; withholding from them the rewards usually bestowed on those who had served their stated time in the wars. The cohorts which yielded their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley. Centurions, as well as common sentinels, who deserted their posts when on guard, he punished with death. For other misdemeanors he inflicted upon them various kinds of disgrace; such as obliging them to stand all day before the praetorium, sometimes in their tunics only, and without their belts, sometimes to carry poles ten feet long, or sods of turf.

XXV. After the conclusion of the civil wars, he never, in any of his military harangues, or proclamations, addressed them by the title of “Fellow-soldiers,” but as “Soldiers” only. Nor would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his sons or step-sons, when they were in command; judging the former epithet to convey the idea of a degree of condescension inconsistent with military discipline, the maintenance of order, and his own majesty, and that of his house. Unless at Rome, in case of incendiary fires, or under the apprehension of public disturbances during a scarcity of provisions, he never employed in his army slaves who had been made freedmen, except upon two occasions; on one, for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and on the other, to guard (88) the banks of the river Rhine. Although he obliged persons of fortune, both male and female, to give up their slaves, and they received their manumission at once, yet he kept them together under their own standard, unmixed with soldiers who were better born, and armed likewise after different fashion. Military rewards, such as trappings, collars, and other decorations of gold and silver, he distributed

more readily than camp or mural crowns, which were reckoned more honourable than the former. These he bestowed sparingly, without partiality, and frequently even on common soldiers. He presented M. Agrippa, after the naval engagement in the Sicilian war, with a sea-green banner. Those who shared in the honours of a triumph, although they had attended him in his expeditions, and taken part in his victories, he judged it improper to distinguish by the usual rewards for service, because they had a right themselves to grant such rewards to whom they pleased. He thought nothing more derogatory to the character of an accomplished general than precipitancy and rashness; on which account he had frequently in his mouth those proverbs:

Speude bradeos,

Hasten slowly,

And

‘Asphalaes gar est’ ameinon, hae erasus strataelataes.

The cautious captain’s better than the bold.

And “That is done fast enough, which is done well enough.”

He was wont to say also, that “a battle or a war ought never to be undertaken, unless the prospect of gain overbalanced the fear of loss. For,” said he, “men who pursue small advantages with no small hazard, resemble those who fish with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line should happen to break, could never be compensated by all the fish they might take.”

XXVI. He was advanced to public offices before the age at which he was legally qualified for them; and to some, also, of a new kind, and for life. He seized the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, quartering his legions in a threatening manner near the city, and sending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. When the senate demurred, (89) a centurion, named Cornelius, who was at the head of the chief deputation, throwing back his cloak, and shewing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the senate-house, “This will make him consul, if ye will not.” His second consulship he filled nine years afterwards; his third, after the interval of only one year, and held the same office every year successively until the eleventh. From this period, although the consulship was frequently offered him, he always declined it, until, after a long interval, not less than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after that, for a thirteenth; that he might successively introduce into the forum, on their entering public life, his two sons, Caius and Lucius, while he was invested with the highest office in the state. In his five consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year; but in the rest, during only nine, six, four, or three months, and in his

second no more than a few hours. For having sat for a short time in the morning, upon the calends of January [1st January], in his curule chair, before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he abdicated the office, and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all at Rome, but upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the Isle of Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarragona.

XXVII. During ten years he acted as one of the triumvirate for settling the commonwealth, in which office he for some time opposed his colleagues in their design of a proscription; but after it was begun, he prosecuted it with more determined rigour than either of them. For whilst they were often prevailed upon, by the interest and intercession of friends, to shew mercy, he alone strongly insisted that no one should be spared, and even proscribed Caius Toranius, his guardian; who had (90) been formerly the colleague of his father Octavius in the aedileship. Junius Saturnius adds this farther account of him: that when, after the proscription was over, Marcus Lepidus made an apology in the senate for their past proceedings, and gave them hopes of a more mild administration for the future, because they had now sufficiently crushed their enemies; he, on the other hand, declared that the only limit he had fixed to the proscription was, that he should be free to act as he pleased. Afterwards, however, repenting of his severity, he advanced T. Vinius Philopoemen to the equestrian rank, for having concealed his patron at the time he was proscribed. In this same office he incurred great odium upon many accounts. For as he was one day making an harangue, observing among the soldiers Pinarius, a Roman knight, admit some private citizens, and engaged in taking notes, he ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes, as a busy-body and a spy upon him. He so terrified with his menaces Tedi-
us Afer, the consul elect, for having reflected upon some action of his, that he threw himself from a great height, and died on the spot. And when Quintus Gallius, the praetor, came to compliment him with a double tablet under his cloak, suspecting that it was a sword he had concealed, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he caused him to be dragged from his tribunal by centurions and soldiers, and tortured like a slave: and although he made no confession, ordered him to be put to death, after he had, with his own hands, plucked out his eyes. His own account of the matter, however, is, that Quintus Gallius sought a private conference with him, for the purpose of assassinating him; that he therefore put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city; when he perished either in a storm at sea, or by falling into the hands of robbers.

He accepted of the tribunitian power for life, but more than once chose a colleague in that office for two lustra successively. He also had the supervision of morality and observance of the laws, for life, but without the title of censor;

yet he thrice (91) took a census of the people, the first and third time with a colleague, but the second by himself.

XXVIII. He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the republic; first, immediately after he had crushed Antony, remembering that he had often charged him with being the obstacle to its restoration. The second time was in consequence of a long illness, when he sent for the magistrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire. But reflecting at the same time that it would be both hazardous to himself to return to the condition of a private person, and might be dangerous to the public to have the government placed again under the control of the people, he resolved to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention, is hard to say. His good intentions he often affirmed in private discourse, and also published an edict, in which it was declared in the following terms: "May it be permitted me to have the happiness of establishing the commonwealth on a safe and sound basis, and thus enjoy the reward of which I am ambitious, that of being celebrated for moulding it into the form best adapted to present circumstances; so that, on my leaving the world, I may carry with me the hope that the foundations which I have laid for its future government, will stand firm and stable."

XXIX. The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to inundations of the Tiber, as well as to fires, was so much improved under his administration, that he boasted, not without reason, that he "found it of brick, but left it of marble." He also rendered (92) it secure for the time to come against such disasters, as far as could be effected by human foresight. A great number of public buildings were erected by him, the most considerable of which were a forum, containing the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, and the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol. The reason of his building a new forum was the vast increase in the population, and the number of causes to be tried in the courts, for which, the two already existing not affording sufficient space, it was thought necessary to have a third. It was therefore opened for public use before the temple of Mars was completely finished; and a law was passed, that causes should be tried, and judges chosen by lot, in that place. The temple of Mars was built in fulfilment of a vow made during the war of Philippi, undertaken by him to avenge his father's murder. He ordained that the senate should always assemble there when they met to deliberate respecting wars and triumphs; that thence should be despatched all those who were sent into the provinces in the command of armies; and that in those who returned victorious from the wars, should lodge the trophies of their triumphs. He erected the temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the

Palatine hill which had been struck with lightning, and which, on that account, the soothsayers declared the God to have chosen. He added porticos to it, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when advanced in years, (93) used frequently there to hold the senate, and examine the rolls of the judges.

He dedicated the temple to Apollo Tonans, in acknowledgment of his escape from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition; when, as he was travelling in the night, his litter was struck by lightning, which killed the slave who carried a torch before him. He likewise constructed some public buildings in the name of others; for instance, his grandsons, his wife, and sister. Thus he built the portico and basilica of Lucius and Caius, and the porticos of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus . He also often exhorted other persons of rank to embellish the city by new buildings, or repairing and improving the old, according to their means. In consequence of this recommendation, many were raised; such as the temple of Hercules and the Muses, by Marcius Philippus; a temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius; the Court of Freedom by Asinius Pollio; a temple of Saturn by Munatius Plancus; a theatre by Cornelius Balbus; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus; and several other noble edifices by Marcus Agrippa.

(94) XXX. He divided the city into regions and districts, ordaining that the annual magistrates should take by lot the charge of the former; and that the latter should be superintended by wardens chosen out of the people of each neighbourhood. He appointed a nightly watch to be on their guard against accidents from fire; and, to prevent the frequent inundations, he widened and cleansed the bed of the Tiber, which had in the course of years been almost dammed up with rubbish, and the channel narrowed by the ruins of houses . To render the approaches to the city more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of repairing the Flaminian way as far as Ariminum, and distributed the repairs of the other roads amongst several persons who had obtained the honour of a triumph; to be defrayed out of the money arising from the spoils of war. Temples decayed by time, or destroyed by fire, he either repaired or rebuilt; and enriched them, as well as many others, with splendid offerings. On a single occasion, he deposited in the cell of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with jewels and pearls to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces.

XXXI. The office of Pontifex Maximus, of which he could (95) not decently deprive Lepidus as long as he lived, he assumed as soon as he was dead. He then caused all prophetic books, both in Latin and Greek, the authors of which were either unknown, or of no great authority, to be brought in; and the whole collection, amounting to upwards of two thousand volumes, he committed to the flames, preserving only the Sibylline oracles; but not even those without a strict

examination, to ascertain which were genuine. This being done, he deposited them in two gilt coffers, under the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo. He restored the calendar, which had been corrected by Julius Caesar, but through negligence was again fallen into confusion, to its former regularity; and upon that occasion, called the month Sextilis, by his own name, August, rather than September, in which he was born; because in it he had obtained his first consulship, and all his most considerable victories . He increased the number, dignity, and revenues of the priests, and especially those of the Vestal Virgins. And when, upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be taken, and many persons made interest that their daughters' names might be omitted in the lists for election, he replied with an oath, "If either of my own grand-daughters were old enough, I would have proposed her."

He likewise revived some old religious customs, which had become obsolete; as the augury of public health, the office of (96) high priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, with the Secular, and Compitalian games. He prohibited young boys from running in the Lupercalia; and in respect of the Secular games, issued an order, that no young persons of either sex should appear at any public diversions in the night-time, unless in the company of some elderly relation. He ordered the household gods to be decked twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalian festival.

Next to the immortal gods, he paid the highest honours to the memory of those generals who had raised the Roman state from its low origin to the highest pitch of grandeur. He accordingly repaired or rebuilt the public edifices erected by them; preserving the former inscriptions, and placing statues of them all, with triumphal emblems, in both the porticos of his forum, issuing an edict on the occasion, in which he made the following declaration: "My design in so doing is, that the Roman people may require from me, and all succeeding princes, a conformity to those illustrious examples." He likewise removed the statue of Pompey from the senate-house, in which Caius Caesar had been killed, and placed it under a marble arch, fronting the palace attached to Pompey's theatre.

XXXII. He corrected many ill practices, which, to the detriment of the public, had either survived the licentious habits of the late civil wars, or else originated in the long peace. Bands of robbers showed themselves openly, completely armed, under colour of self-defence; and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were forcibly carried off, and kept to work in the houses of correction . Several associations were formed under the specious (97) name of a new college, which banded together for the perpetration of all kinds of villany. The banditti he quelled by establishing posts of soldiers in suitable stations for the purpose; the houses of correction were

subjected to a strict superintendence; all associations, those only excepted which were of ancient standing, and recognised by the laws, were dissolved. He burnt all the notes of those who had been a long time in arrear with the treasury, as being the principal source of vexatious suits and prosecutions. Places in the city claimed by the public, where the right was doubtful, he adjudged to the actual possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals the names of those over whom prosecutions had been long impending, where nothing further was intended by the informers than to gratify their own malice, by seeing their enemies humiliated; laying it down as a rule, that if any one chose to renew a prosecution, he should incur the risk of the punishment which he sought to inflict. And that crimes might not escape punishment, nor business be neglected by delay, he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days which were spent in celebrating honorary games. To the three classes of judges then existing, he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferior order, who were called *Ducenarii*, and decided all litigations about trifling sums. He chose judges from the age of thirty years and upwards; that is five years younger than had been usual before. And a great many declining the office, he was with much difficulty prevailed upon to allow each class of judges a twelve-month's vacation in turn; and the courts to be shut during the months of November and December.

XXXIII. He was himself assiduous in his functions as a judge, and would sometimes prolong his sittings even into the night : if he were indisposed, his litter was placed before (98) the tribunal, or he administered justice reclining on his couch at home; displaying always not only the greatest attention, but extreme lenity. To save a culprit, who evidently appeared guilty of parricide, from the extreme penalty of being sewn up in a sack, because none were punished in that manner but such as confessed the fact, he is said to have interrogated him thus: "Surely you did not kill your father, did you?" And when, in a trial of a cause about a forged will, all those who had signed it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law, he ordered that his colleagues on the tribunal should not only be furnished with the two tablets by which they decided, "guilty or not guilty," but with a third likewise, ignoring the offence of those who should appear to have given their signatures through any deception or mistake. All appeals in causes between inhabitants of Rome, he assigned every year to the praetor of the city; and where provincials were concerned, to men of consular rank, to one of whom the business of each province was referred.

XXXIV. Some laws he abrogated, and he made some new ones; such as the sumptuary law, that relating to adultery and the violation of chastity, the law against bribery in elections, and likewise that for the encouragement of marriage. Having been more severe in his reform of this law than the rest, he found the

people utterly averse to submit to it, unless the penalties were abolished or mitigated, besides allowing an interval of three years after a wife's death, and increasing the premiums on marriage. The equestrian order clamoured loudly, at a spectacle in the theatre, for its total repeal; whereupon he sent for the children of Germanicus, and shewed them partly sitting upon his own lap, and partly on their father's; intimating by his looks and gestures, that they ought not to think it a grievance to follow the example of that young man. But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by marrying girls under the age of puberty, and by frequent change of wives, he limited the time for consummation after espousals, and imposed restrictions on divorce.

XXXV. By two separate scrutinies he reduced to their former number and splendour the senate, which had been swamped by a disorderly crowd; for they were now more than a (99) thousand, and some of them very mean persons, who, after Caesar's death, had been chosen by dint of interest and bribery, so that they had the nickname of Orcini among the people . The first of these scrutinies was left to themselves, each senator naming another; but the last was conducted by himself and Agrippa. On this occasion he is believed to have taken his seat as he presided, with a coat of mail under his tunic, and a sword by his side, and with ten of the stoutest men of senatorial rank, who were his friends, standing round his chair. Cordus Cremutius relates that no senator was suffered to approach him, except singly, and after having his bosom searched [for secreted daggers]. Some he obliged to have the grace of declining the office; these he allowed to retain the privileges of wearing the distinguishing dress, occupying the seats at the solemn spectacles, and of feasting publicly, reserved to the senatorial order . That those who were chosen and approved of, might perform their functions under more solemn obligations, and with less inconvenience, he ordered that every senator, before he took his seat in the house, should pay his devotions, with an offering of frankincense and wine, at the altar of that God in whose temple the senate then assembled, and that their stated meetings should be only twice in the month, namely, on the calends and ides; and that in the months of September and October, a certain number only, chosen by lot, such as the law required to give validity to a decree, should be required to attend. For himself, he resolved to choose every six (100) months a new council, with whom he might consult previously upon such affairs as he judged proper at any time to lay before the full senate. He also took the votes of the senators upon any subject of importance, not according to custom, nor in regular order, but as he pleased; that every one might hold himself ready to give his opinion, rather than a mere vote of assent.

XXXVI. He also made several other alterations in the management of public

affairs, among which were these following: that the acts of the senate should not be published; that the magistrates should not be sent into the provinces immediately after the expiration of their office; that the proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mules and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons; that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the city-quaestors to the praetors, or those who had already served in the latter office; and that the decemviri should call together the court of One hundred, which had been formerly summoned by those who had filled the office of quaestor.

XXXVII. To augment the number of persons employed in the administration of the state, he devised several new offices; such as surveyors of the public buildings, of the roads, the aqueducts, and the bed of the Tiber; for the distribution of corn to the people; the praefecture of the city; a triumvirate for the election of the senators; and another for inspecting the several troops of the equestrian order, as often as it was necessary. He revived the office of censor, which had been long disused, and increased the number of praetors. He likewise required that whenever the consulship was conferred on him, he should have two colleagues instead of one; but his proposal (101) was rejected, all the senators declaring by acclamation that he abated his high majesty quite enough in not filling the office alone, and consenting to share it with another.

XXXVIII. He was unsparing in the reward of military merit, having granted to above thirty generals the honour of the greater triumph; besides which, he took care to have triamphal decorations voted by the senate for more than that number. That the sons of senators might become early acquainted with the administration of affairs, he permitted them, at the age when they took the garb of manhood, to assume also the distinction of the senatorian robe, with its broad border, and to be present at the debates in the senate-house. When they entered the military service, he not only gave them the rank of military tribunes in the legions, but likewise the command of the auxiliary horse. And that all might have an opportunity of acquiring military experience, he commonly joined two sons of senators in command of each troop of horse. He frequently reviewed the troops of the equestrian order, reviving the ancient custom of a cavalcade, which had been long laid aside. But he did not suffer any one to be obliged by an accuser to dismount while he passed in review, as had formerly been the practice. As for such as were infirm with age, or (102) any way deformed, he allowed them to send their horses before them, coming on foot to answer to their names, when the muster roll was called over soon afterwards. He permitted those who had attained the age of thirty-five years, and desired not to keep their horse any longer, to have the privilege of giving it up.

XXXIX. With the assistance of ten senators, he obliged each of the Roman knights to give an account of his life: in regard to those who fell under his displeasure, some were punished; others had a mark of infamy set against their names. The most part he only reprimanded, but not in the same terms. The mildest mode of reproof was by delivering them tablets, the contents of which, confined to themselves, they were to read on the spot. Some he disgraced for borrowing money at low interest, and letting it out again upon usurious profit.

XL. In the election of tribunes of the people, if there was not a sufficient number of senatorian candidates, he nominated others from the equestrian order; granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in whichever of the two orders they pleased. As most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the civil wars, and therefore durst not sit to see the public games in the theatre in the seats allotted to their order, for fear of the penalty provided by the law in that case, he enacted, that none were liable to it, who had themselves, or whose parents had ever, possessed a knight's estate. He took the census of the Roman people street by street: and that the people might not be too often taken from their business to receive the distribution of corn, it was his intention to deliver tickets three times a year for four months respectively; but at their request, he continued the former regulation, that they should receive their (103) share monthly. He revived the former law of elections, endeavouring, by various penalties, to suppress the practice of bribery. Upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sesterces each, that they might look for nothing from any of the candidates. Considering it of extreme importance to preserve the Roman people pure, and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he not only bestowed the freedom of the city with a sparing hand, but laid some restriction upon the practice of manumitting slaves. When Tiberius interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in behalf of a Greek client of his, he wrote to him for answer, "I shall not grant it, unless he comes himself, and satisfies me that he has just grounds for the application." And when Livia begged the freedom of the city for a tributary Gaul, he refused it, but offered to release him from payment of taxes, saying, "I shall sooner suffer some loss in my exchequer, than that the citizenship of Rome be rendered too common." Not content with interposing many obstacles to either the partial or complete emancipation of slaves, by quibbles respecting the number, condition and difference of those who were to be manumitted; he likewise enacted that none who had been put in chains or tortured, should ever obtain the freedom of the city in any degree. He endeavoured also to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans; and upon seeing once, in an assembly of the people, a

crowd in grey cloaks, he exclaimed with indignation, "See there,
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatem."

Rome's conquering sons, lords of the wide-spread globe,
Stalk proudly in the toga's graceful robe.

And he gave orders to the ediles not to permit, in future, any Roman to be present in the forum or circus unless they took off their short coats, and wore the toga.

(104) XLI. He displayed his munificence to all ranks of the people on various occasions. Moreover, upon his bringing the treasure belonging to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money so plentiful, that interest fell, and the price of land rose considerably. And afterwards, as often as large sums of money came into his possession by means of confiscations, he would lend it free of interest, for a fixed term, to such as could give security for the double of what was borrowed. The estate necessary to qualify a senator, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces, the former standard, he ordered, for the future, to be twelve hundred thousand; and to those who had not so much, he made good the deficiency. He often made donations to the people, but generally of different sums; sometimes four hundred, sometimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty sesterces upon which occasions, he extended his bounty even to young boys, who before were not used to receive anything, until they arrived at eleven years of age. In a scarcity of corn, he would frequently let them have it at a very low price, or none at all; and doubled the number of the money tickets.

XLII. But to show that he was a prince who regarded more the good of his people than their applause, he reprimanded them very severely, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearness of wine. "My son-in-law, Agrippa," he said, "has sufficiently provided for quenching your thirst, by the great plenty of water with which he has supplied the town." Upon their demanding a gift which he had promised them, he said, "I am a man of my word." But upon their importuning him for one which he had not promised, he issued a proclamation upbraiding them for their scandalous impudence; at the same time telling them, "I shall now give you nothing, whatever I may have intended to do." With the same strict firmness, when, upon a promise he had made of a donative, he found many slaves had been emancipated and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared that no one should receive anything who was not included in the promise, and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, in order that the amount he had set apart might hold out. On one occasion, in a season of great scarcity, which it was difficult to remedy, he ordered out of the city the troops of slaves brought for sale, the gladiators (105) belonging to the masters of defence,

and all foreigners, excepting physicians and the teachers of the liberal sciences. Part of the domestic slaves were likewise ordered to be dismissed. When, at last, plenty was restored, he writes thus "I was much inclined to abolish for ever the practice of allowing the people corn at the public expense, because they trust so much to it, that they are too lazy to till their lands; but I did not persevere in my design, as I felt sure that the practice would some time or other be revived by some one ambitious of popular favour." However, he so managed the affair ever afterwards, that as much account was taken of husbandmen and traders, as of the idle populace.

XLIII. In the number, variety, and magnificence of his public spectacles, he surpassed all former example. Four-and-twenty times, he says, he treated the people with games upon his own account, and three-and-twenty times for such magistrates as were either absent, or not able to afford the expense. The performances took place sometimes in the different streets of the city, and upon several stages, by players in all languages. The same he did not only in the forum and amphitheatre, but in the circus likewise, and in the septa : and sometimes he exhibited only the hunting of wild beasts. He entertained the people with wrestlers in the Campus Martius, where wooden seats were erected for the purpose; and also with a naval fight, for which he excavated the ground near the Tiber, where there is now the grove of the Caesars. During these two entertainments he stationed guards in the city, lest, by robbers taking advantage of the small number of people left at home, it might be exposed to depredations. In the circus he exhibited chariot and foot races, and combats with wild beasts, in which the performers were often youths of the highest rank. His favourite spectacle was the Trojan game, acted by a select number of boys, in parties differing in age and station; thinking (106) that it was a practice both excellent in itself, and sanctioned by ancient usage, that the spirit of the young nobles should be displayed in such exercises. Caius Nonius Asprenas, who was lamed by a fall in this diversion, he presented with a gold collar, and allowed him and his posterity to bear the surname of Torquati. But soon afterwards he gave up the exhibition of this game, in consequence of a severe and bitter speech made in the senate by Asinius Pollio, the orator, in which he complained bitterly of the misfortune of Aeserninus, his grandson, who likewise broke his leg in the same diversion.

Sometimes he engaged Roman knights to act upon the stage, or to fight as gladiators; but only before the practice was prohibited by a decree of the senate. Thenceforth, the only exhibition he made of that kind, was that of a young man named Lucius, of a good family, who was not quite two feet in height, and weighed only seventeen pounds, but had a stentorian voice. In one of his public

spectacles, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first ever sent to Rome from that nation, through the middle of the amphitheatre, and placed them in the second tier of seats above him. He used likewise, at times when there were no public entertainments, if any thing was brought to Rome which was uncommon, and might gratify curiosity, to expose it to public view, in any place whatever; as he did a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger upon a stage, and a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed in consequence of a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the Thensae, reclining on a litter. Another time, in the games celebrated for the opening of the theatre of Marcellus, the joints of his curule chair happening to give way, he fell on his back. And in the games exhibited by his (107) grandsons, when the people were in such consternation, by an alarm raised that the theatre was falling, that all his efforts to re-assure them and keep them quiet, failed, he moved from his place, and seated himself in that part of the theatre which was thought to be exposed to most danger.

XLIV. He corrected the confusion and disorder with which the spectators took their seats at the public games, after an affront which was offered to a senator at Puteoli, for whom, in a crowded theatre, no one would make room. He therefore procured a decree of the senate, that in all public spectacles of any sort, and in any place whatever, the first tier of benches should be left empty for the accommodation of senators. He would not even permit the ambassadors of free nations, nor of those which were allies of Rome, to sit in the orchestra; having found that some manumitted slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married plebeians their particular rows of seats. To the boys he assigned their own benches, and to their tutors the seats which were nearest it; ordering that none clothed in black should sit in the centre of the circle. Nor would he allow any women to witness the combats of gladiators, except from the upper part of the theatre, although they formerly used to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the spectators. To the vestal virgins he granted seats in the theatre, reserved for them only, opposite the praetor's bench. He excluded, however, the whole female sex from seeing the wrestlers: so that in the games which he exhibited upon his accession to the office of high-priest, he deferred producing a pair of combatants which the people called for, until the next morning; and intimated by proclamation, "his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o'clock."

XLV. He generally viewed the Circensian games himself, from the upper rooms of the houses of his friends or freedmen; sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the gods, and sitting in company with his wife and

children. He (108) occasionally absented himself from the spectacles for several hours, and sometimes for whole days; but not without first making an apology, and appointing substitutes to preside in his stead. When present, he never attended to anything else either to avoid the reflections which he used to say were commonly made upon his father, Caesar, for perusing letters and memorials, and making rescripts during the spectacles; or from the real pleasure he took in attending those exhibitions; of which he made no secret, he often candidly owning it. This he manifested frequently by presenting honorary crowns and handsome rewards to the best performers, in the games exhibited by others; and he never was present at any performance of the Greeks, without rewarding the most deserving, according to their merit. He took particular pleasure in witnessing pugilistic contests, especially those of the Latins, not only between combatants who had been trained scientifically, whom he used often to match with the Greek champions; but even between mobs of the lower classes fighting in streets, and tilting at random, without any knowledge of the art. In short, he honoured with his patronage all sorts of people who contributed in any way to the success of the public entertainments. He not only maintained, but enlarged, the privileges of the wrestlers. He prohibited combats of gladiators where no quarter was given. He deprived the magistrates of the power of correcting the stage-players, which by an ancient law was allowed them at all times, and in all places; restricting their jurisdiction entirely to the time of performance and misdemeanours in the theatres. He would, however, admit, of no abatement, and exacted with the utmost rigour the greatest exertions of the wrestlers and gladiators in their several encounters. He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio, a performer of the highest class, had a married woman with her hair cropped, and dressed in boy's clothes, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipped through all the three theatres, and then banished him. Hylas, an actor of pantomimes, upon a complaint against him by the praetor, he commanded to be scourged in the court of his own house, which, however, was open to the public. And Pylades he not only banished from the city, but from Italy also, for pointing with his finger at a spectator by whom he was hissed, and turning the eyes of the audience upon him.

(109) XLVI. Having thus regulated the city and its concerns, he augmented the population of Italy by planting in it no less than twenty-eight colonies, and greatly improved it by public works, and a beneficial application of the revenues. In rights and privileges, he rendered it in a measure equal to the city itself, by inventing a new kind of suffrage, which the principal officers and magistrates of the colonies might take at home, and forward under seal to the city, against the

time of the elections. To increase the number of persons of condition, and of children among the lower ranks, he granted the petitions of all those who requested the honour of doing military service on horseback as knights, provided their demands were seconded by the recommendation of the town in which they lived; and when he visited the several districts of Italy, he distributed a thousand sesterces a head to such of the lower class as presented him with sons or daughters.

XLVII. The more important provinces, which could not with ease or safety be entrusted to the government of annual magistrates, he reserved for his own administration: the rest he distributed by lot amongst the proconsuls: but sometimes he made exchanges, and frequently visited most of both kinds in person. Some cities in alliance with Rome, but which by their great licentiousness were hastening to ruin, he deprived of their independence. Others, which were much in debt, he relieved, and rebuilt such as had been destroyed by earthquakes. To those that could produce any instance of their having deserved well of the Roman people, he presented the freedom of Latium, or even that of the City. There is not, I believe, a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. After forcing Sextus Pompeius to take refuge in those provinces, he was indeed preparing to cross over from Sicily to them, but was prevented by continual and violent storms, and afterwards there was no occasion or call for such a voyage.

XLVIII. Kingdoms, of which he had made himself master by the right of conquest, a few only excepted, he either restored to their former possessors, or conferred upon aliens. Between (110) kings of alliance with Rome, he encouraged most intimate union; being always ready to promote or favour any proposal of marriage or friendship amongst them; and, indeed, treated them all with the same consideration, as if they were members and parts of the empire. To such of them as were minors or lunatics he appointed guardians, until they arrived at age, or recovered their senses; and the sons of many of them he brought up and educated with his own.

XLIX. With respect to the army, he distributed the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces, he stationed a fleet at Misenum, and another at Ravenna, for the protection of the Upper and Lower Seas . A certain number of the forces were selected, to occupy the posts in the city, and partly for his own body-guard; but he dismissed the Spanish guard, which he retained about him till the fall of Antony; and also the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards, until the defeat of Varus. Yet he never permitted a greater force than three cohorts in the city, and had no (pretorian) camps . The rest he quartered in the neighbourhood of the nearest towns, in winter and summer camps. All the troops

throughout the empire he reduced to one fixed model with regard to their pay and their pensions; determining these according to their rank in the army, the time they had served, and their private means; so that after their discharge, they might not be tempted by age or necessities to join the agitators for a revolution. For the purpose of providing a fund always ready to meet their pay and pensions, he instituted a military exchequer, and appropriated new taxes to that object. In order to obtain the earliest intelligence of what was passing in the provinces, he established posts, consisting at first of young men stationed at moderate distances along the military roads, and afterwards of regular couriers with fast vehicles; which appeared to him the most commodious, because the persons who were the bearers of dispatches, written on the spot, might then be questioned about the business, as occasion occurred.

L. In sealing letters-patent, rescripts, or epistles, he at first used the figure of a sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander (111) the Great, and at last his own, engraved by the hand of Dioscorides; which practice was retained by the succeeding emperors. He was extremely precise in dating his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day or night at which they were dispatched.

LI. Of his clemency and moderation there are abundant and signal instances. For, not to enumerate how many and what persons of the adverse party he pardoned, received into favour, and suffered to rise to the highest eminence in the state; he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus and Cassius Patavinus, who were both plebeians, one of them with a fine, and the other with an easy banishment; although the former had published, in the name of young Agrippa, a very scurrilous letter against him, and the other declared openly, at an entertainment where there was a great deal of company, "that he neither wanted inclination nor courage to stab him." In the trial of Aemilius Aelianus, of Cordova, when, among other charges exhibited against him, it was particularly insisted upon, that he used to calumniate Caesar, he turned round to the accuser, and said, with an air and tone of passion, "I wish you could make that appear; I shall let Aelianus know that I have a tongue too, and shall speak sharper of him than he ever did of me." Nor did he, either then or afterwards, make any farther inquiry into the affair. And when Tiberius, in a letter, complained of the affront with great earnestness, he returned him an answer in the following terms: "Do not, my dear Tiberius, give way to the ardour of youth in this affair; nor be so indignant that any person should speak ill of me. It is enough, for us, if we can prevent any one from really doing us mischief."

LII. Although he knew that it had been customary to decree temples in honour of the proconsuls, yet he would not permit them to be erected in any of the provinces, unless in the joint names of himself and Rome. Within the limits of

the city, he positively refused any honour of that kind. He melted down all the silver statues which had been erected to him, and converted the whole into tripods, which he consecrated to the Palatine Apollo. And when the people importuned him to accept the dictatorship, he bent down on one knee, with his toga thrown over his shoulders, and his breast exposed to view, begging to be excused.

(112) LIII. He always abhorred the title of Lord, as ill-omened and offensive. And when, in a play, performed at the theatre, at which he was present, these words were introduced, "O just and gracious lord," and the whole company, with joyful acclamations, testified their approbation of them, as applied to him, he instantly put a stop to their indecent flattery, by waving his hand, and frowning sternly, and next day publicly declared his displeasure, in a proclamation. He never afterwards would suffer himself to be addressed in that manner, even by his own children or grand-children, either in jest or earnest and forbad them the use of all such complimentary expressions to one another. He rarely entered any city or town, or departed from it, except in the evening or the night, to avoid giving any person the trouble of complimenting him. During his consulships, he commonly walked the streets on foot; but at other times, rode in a close carriage. He admitted to court even plebeians, in common with people of the higher ranks; receiving the petitions of those who approached him with so much affability, that he once jocosely rebuked a man, by telling him, "You present your memorial with as much hesitation as if you were offering money to an elephant." On senate days, he used to pay his respects to the Conscript Fathers only in the house, addressing them each by name as they sat, without any prompter; and on his departure, he bade each of them farewell, while they retained their seats. In the same manner, he maintained with many of them a constant intercourse of mutual civilities, giving them his company upon occasions of any particular festivity in their families; until he became advanced in years, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding. Being informed that Gallus Terrinius, a senator, with whom he had only a slight acquaintance, had suddenly lost his sight, and under that privation had resolved to starve himself to death, he paid him a visit, and by his consolatory admonitions diverted him from his purpose.

LIV. On his speaking in the senate, he has been told by (113) one of the members, "I did not understand you," and by another, "I would contradict you, could I do it with safety." And sometimes, upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were conducted in the senate, as to quit the house in anger, some of the members have repeatedly exclaimed: "Surely, the senators ought to have liberty of speech on matters of government." Antistius Labeo, in the election of a new senate, when each, as he was named, chose

another, nominated Marcus Lepidus, who had formerly been Augustus's enemy, and was then in banishment; and being asked by the latter, "Is there no other person more deserving?" he replied, "Every man has his own opinion." Nor was any one ever molested for his freedom of speech, although it was carried to the extent of insolence.

LV. Even when some infamous libels against him were dispersed in the senate-house, he was neither disturbed, nor did he give himself much trouble to refute them. He would not so much as order an enquiry to be made after the authors; but only proposed, that, for the future, those who published libels or lampoons, in a borrowed name, against any person, should be called to account.

LVI. Being provoked by some petulant jests, which were designed to render him odious, he answered them by a proclamation; and yet he prevented the senate from passing an act, to restrain the liberties which were taken with others in people's wills. Whenever he attended at the election of magistrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and begged the votes of the people in the usual manner. He likewise gave his own vote in his tribe, as one of the people. He suffered himself to be summoned as a witness upon trials, and not only to be questioned, but to be cross-examined, with the utmost patience. In building his Forum, he restricted himself in the site, not presuming to compel the owners of the neighbouring houses to give up their property. He never recommended his sons to the people, without adding these words, "If they deserve it." And upon the audience rising on their entering the theatre, while they were yet minors, and giving them applause in a standing position, he made it a matter of serious complaint.

(114) He was desirous that his friends should be great and powerful in the state, but have no exclusive privileges, or be exempt from the laws which governed others. When Asprenas Nonius, an intimate friend of his, was tried upon a charge of administering poison at the instance of Cassius Severus, he consulted the senate for their opinion what was his duty under the circumstances: "For," said he, "I am afraid, lest, if I should stand by him in the cause, I may be supposed to screen a guilty man; and if I do not, to desert and prejudge a friend." With the unanimous concurrence, therefore, of the senate, he took his seat amongst his advocates for several hours, but without giving him the benefit of speaking to character, as was usual. He likewise appeared for his clients; as on behalf of Scutarius, an old soldier of his, who brought an action for slander. He never relieved any one from prosecution but in a single instance, in the case of a man who had given information of the conspiracy of Muraena; and that he did only by prevailing upon the accuser, in open court, to drop his prosecution.

LVII. How much he was beloved for his worthy conduct in all these respects,

it is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the senate in his honour, which may seem to have resulted from compulsion or deference. The Roman knights voluntarily, and with one accord, always celebrated his birth for two days together; and all ranks of the people, yearly, in performance of a vow they had made, threw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, as an offering for his welfare. They likewise, on the calends [first] of January, presented for his acceptance new-year's gifts in the Capitol, though he was not present with which donations he purchased some costly images of the Gods, which he erected in several streets of the city; as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, Jupiter Tragoedus, and others. When his house on the Palatine hill was accidentally destroyed by fire, the veteran soldiers, the judges, the tribes, and even the people, individually, contributed, according to the ability of each, for rebuilding it; but he would (115) accept only of some small portion out of the several sums collected, and refused to take from any one person more than a single denarius . Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they attended him not only with joyful acclamations, but with songs. It is also remarked, that as often as he entered the city, the infliction of punishment was suspended for the time.

LVIII. The whole body of the people, upon a sudden impulse, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. It was announced to him first at Antium, by a deputation from the people, and upon his declining the honour, they repeated their offer on his return to Rome, in a full theatre, when they were crowned with laurel. The senate soon afterwards adopted the proposal, not in the way of acclamation or decree, but by commissioning M. Messala, in an unanimous vote, to compliment him with it in the following terms: "With hearty wishes for the happiness and prosperity of yourself and your family, Caesar Augustus, (for we think we thus most effectually pray for the lasting welfare of the state), the senate, in agreement with the Roman people, salute you by the title of FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY." To this compliment Augustus replied, with tears in his eyes, in these words (for I give them exactly as I have done those of Messala): "Having now arrived at the summit of my wishes, O Conscript Fathers, what else have I to beg of the Immortal (116) Gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me to the last moments of my life?"

LIX. To the physician Antonius Musa, who had cured him of a dangerous illness, they erected a statue near that of Aesculapius, by a general subscription. Some heads of families ordered in their wills, that their heirs should lead victims to the Capitol, with a tablet carried before them, and pay their vows, "Because Augustus still survived." Some Italian cities appointed the day upon which he first visited them, to be thenceforth the beginning of their year. And most of the

provinces, besides erecting temples and altars, instituted games, to be celebrated to his honour, in most towns, every five years.

LX. The kings, his friends and allies, built cities in their respective kingdoms, to which they gave the name of Caesarea; and all with one consent resolved to finish, at their common expense, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, at Athens, which had been begun long before, and consecrate it to his Genius. They frequently also left their kingdoms, laid aside the badges of royalty, and assuming the toga, attended and paid their respects to him daily, in the manner of clients to their patrons; not only at Rome, but when he was travelling through the provinces.

LXI. Having thus given an account of the manner in which he filled his public offices both civil and military, and his conduct in the government of the empire, both in peace and war; I shall now describe his private and domestic life, his habits at home and among his friends and dependents, and the fortune attending him in those scenes of retirement, from his youth to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first consulship, and his sister Octavia, when he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He behaved towards them both with the utmost kindness whilst living, and after their decease paid the highest honours to their memory.

(117) LXII. He was contracted when very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but upon his reconciliation with Antony after their first rupture, the armies on both sides insisting on a family alliance between them, he married Antony's step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, although at that time she was scarcely marriageable; and upon a difference arising with his mother-in-law Fulvia, he divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon afterwards he took to wife Scribonia, who had before been twice married to men of consular rank, and was a mother by one of them. With her likewise he parted, being quite tired out, as he himself writes, with the perverseness of her temper; and immediately took Livia Drusilla, though then pregnant, from her husband Tiberius Nero; and she had never any rival in his love and esteem.

LXIII. By Scribonia he had a daughter named Julia, but no children by Livia, although extremely desirous of issue. She, indeed, conceived once, but miscarried. He gave his daughter Julia in the first instance to Marcellus, his sister's son, who had just completed his minority; and, after his death, to Marcus Agrippa, having prevailed with his sister to yield her son-in-law to his wishes; for at that time Agrippa was married to one of the Marcellas, and had children by her. Agrippa dying also, he for a long time thought of several matches for Julia in even the equestrian order, and at last resolved upon selecting Tiberius for his

step-son; and he obliged him to part with his wife at that time pregnant, and who had already brought him a child. Mark Antony writes, "That he first contracted Julia to his son, and afterwards to Cotiso, king of the Getae, demanding at the same time the king's daughter in marriage for himself."

(118) LXIV. He had three grandsons by Agrippa and Julia, namely, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa; and two grand-daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to Lucius Paulus, the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus, his sister's grandson. Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase from their father, advanced them, while yet very young, to offices in the state, and when they were consuls-elect, sent them to visit the provinces and armies. In bringing up his daughter and grand-daughters, he accustomed them to domestic employments, and even spinning, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the diary. He so strictly prohibited them from all converse with strangers, that he once wrote a letter to Lucius Vinicius, a handsome young man of a good family, in which he told him, "You have not behaved very modestly, in making a visit to my daughter at Baiae." He usually instructed his grandsons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of knowledge; and he laboured nothing more than to perfect them in the imitation of his hand-writing. He never supped but he had them sitting at the foot of his couch; nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.

LXV. But in the midst of all his joy and hopes in his numerous and well-regulated family, his fortune failed him. The two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, abandoned themselves to such courses of lewdness and debauchery, that he banished them both. Caius and Lucius he lost within the space of eighteen months; the former dying in Lycia, and the latter at Marseilles. His third grandson Agrippa, with his step-son Tiberius, he adopted in the forum, by a law passed for the purpose by the Sections; but he soon afterwards discarded Agrippa for his coarse and unruly temper, and confined him at Surrentum. He bore the death of his relations with more patience than he did their disgrace; for he was not overwhelmed by the loss of Caius and Lucius; but in the case of his daughter, he stated the facts to the senate in a message read to them by (119) the quaestor, not having the heart to be present himself; indeed, he was so much ashamed of her infamous conduct, that for some time he avoided all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. It is certain that when one Phoebe, a freed-woman and confidant of hers, hanged herself about the same time, he said, "I had rather be the father of Phoebe than of Julia." In her banishment he would not allow her the use of wine, nor any luxury in dress; nor would he suffer her to be waited upon by any male servant, either freeman or slave, without his

permission, and having received an exact account of his age, stature, complexion, and what marks or scars he had about him. At the end of five years he removed her from the island [where she was confined] to the continent, and treated her with less severity, but could never be prevailed upon to recall her. When the Roman people interposed on her behalf several times with much importunity, all the reply he gave was: "I wish you had all such daughters and wives as she is." He likewise forbad a child, of which his grand-daughter Julia was delivered after sentence had passed against her, to be either owned as a relation, or brought up. Agrippa, who was equally intractable, and whose folly increased every day, he transported to an island, and placed a guard of soldiers about him; procuring at the same time an act of the senate for his confinement there during life. Upon any mention of him and the two Julias, he would say, with a heavy sigh,

Aith' ophelon agamos t' emenai, agonos t' apoletai.

Would I were wifeless, or had childless died!

nor did he usually call them by any other name than that of his "three imposthumes or cancers."

LXVI. He was cautious in forming friendships, but clung to them with great constancy; not only rewarding the virtues and merits of his friends according to their deserts, but bearing likewise with their faults and vices, provided that they were (120) of a venial kind. For amongst all his friends, we scarcely find any who fell into disgrace with him, except Salvidienus Rufus, whom he raised to the consulship, and Cornelius Gallus, whom he made prefect of Egypt; both of them men of the lowest extraction. One of these, being engaged in plotting a rebellion, he delivered over to the senate, for condemnation; and the other, on account of his ungrateful and malicious temper, he forbad his house, and his living in any of the provinces. When, however, Gallus, being denounced by his accusers, and sentenced by the senate, was driven to the desperate extremity of laying violent hands upon himself, he commended, indeed, the attachment to his person of those who manifested so much indignation, but he shed tears, and lamented his unhappy condition, "That I alone," said he, "cannot be allowed to resent the misconduct of my friends in such a way only as I would wish." The rest of his friends of all orders flourished during their whole lives, both in power and wealth, in the highest ranks of their several orders, notwithstanding some occasional lapses. For, to say nothing of others, he sometimes complained that Agrippa was hasty, and Mecaenas a tattler; the former having thrown up all his employments and retired to Mitylene, on suspicion of some slight coolness, and from jealousy that Marcellus received greater marks of favour; and the latter

having confidentially imparted to his wife Terentia the discovery of Muraena's conspiracy.

He likewise expected from his friends, at their deaths as well as during their lives, some proofs of their reciprocal attachment. For though he was far from coveting their property, and indeed would never accept of any legacy left him by a stranger, yet he pondered in a melancholy mood over their last words; not being able to conceal his chagrin, if in their wills they made but a slight, or no very honourable mention of him, nor his joy, on the other hand, if they expressed a grateful sense of his favours, and a hearty affection for him. And whatever legacies or shares of their property were left him by such as were parents, he used to restore to their children, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their assuming the manly dress, or of their marriage; with interest.

LXVII. As a patron and master, his behaviour in general was mild and conciliating; but when occasion required it, he (121) could be severe. He advanced many of his freedmen to posts of honour and great importance, as Licinus, Enceladus, and others; and when his slave, Cosmus, had reflected bitterly upon him, he resented the injury no further than by putting him in fetters. When his steward, Diomedes, left him to the mercy of a wild boar, which suddenly attacked them while they were walking together, he considered it rather a cowardice than a breach of duty; and turned an occurrence of no small hazard into a jest, because there was no knavery in his steward's conduct. He put to death Proculus, one of his most favourite freedmen, for maintaining a criminal commerce with other men's wives. He broke the legs of his secretary, Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denarii to discover the contents of one of his letters. And the tutor and other attendants of his son Caius, having taken advantage of his sickness and death, to give loose to their insolence and rapacity in the province he governed, he caused heavy weights to be tied about their necks, and had them thrown into a river.

LXVIII. In his early youth various aspersions of an infamous character were heaped upon him. Sextus Pompey reproached him with being an effeminate fellow; and M. Antony, with earning his adoption from his uncle by prostitution. Lucius Antony, likewise Mark's brother, charges him with pollution by Caesar; and that, for a gratification of three hundred thousand sesterces, he had submitted to Aulus Hirtius in the same way, in Spain; adding, that he used to singe his legs with burnt nut-shells, to make the hair become softer. Nay, the whole concourse of the people, at some public diversions in the theatre, when the following sentence was recited, alluding to the Gallic priest of the mother of the gods, beating a drum,

Videsne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperet?

See with his orb the wanton's finger play!

applied the passage to him, with great applause.

(122) LXIX. That he was guilty of various acts of adultery, is not denied even by his friends; but they allege in excuse for it, that he engaged in those intrigues not from lewdness, but from policy, in order to discover more easily the designs of his enemies, through their wives. Mark Antony, besides the precipitate marriage of Livia, charges him with taking the wife of a man of consular rank from table, in the presence of her husband, into a bed-chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great disorder: that he had divorced Scribonia, for resenting too freely the excessive influence which one of his mistresses had gained over him: that his friends were employed to pimp for him, and accordingly obliged both matrons and ripe virgins to strip, for a complete examination of their persons, in the same manner as if Thoranius, the dealer in slaves, had them under sale. And before they came to an open rupture, he writes to him in a familiar manner, thus: "Why are you changed towards me? Because I lie with a queen? She is my wife. Is this a new thing with me, or have I not done so for these nine years? And do you take freedoms with Drusilla only? May health and happiness so attend you, as when you read this letter, you are not in dalliance with Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. What matters it to you where, or upon whom, you spend your manly vigour?"

LXX. A private entertainment which he gave, commonly called the Supper of the Twelve Gods, and at which the guests (123) were dressed in the habit of gods and goddesses, while he personated Apollo himself, afforded subject of much conversation, and was imputed to him not only by Antony in his letters, who likewise names all the parties concerned, but in the following well-known anonymous verses:

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas
Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum coenat adulteria:

Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt:

Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.

When Mallia late beheld, in mingled train,

Twelve mortals ape twelve deities in vain;
Caesar assumed what was Apollo's due,
And wine and lust inflamed the motley crew.
At the foul sight the gods avert their eyes,
And from his throne great Jove indignant flies.

What rendered this supper more obnoxious to public censure, was that it happened at a time when there was a great scarcity, and almost a famine, in the city. The day after, there was a cry current among the people, "that the gods had eaten up all the corn; and that Caesar was indeed Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor;" under which title that god was worshipped in some quarter of the city. He was likewise charged with being excessively fond of fine furniture, and Corinthian vessels, as well as with being addicted to gaming. For, during the time of the proscription, the following line was written upon his statue::

Pater argentarius, ego Corintharius;
My father was a silversmith, my dealings are in brass;

because it was believed, that he had put some persons upon the list of the proscribed, only to obtain the Corinthian vessels in (124) their possession. And afterwards, in the Sicilian war, the following epigram was published::

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

Twice having lost a fleet in luckless fight,
To win at last, he games both day and night.

LXXI. With respect to the charge or imputation of loathsome impurity before-mentioned, he very easily refuted it by the chastity of his life, at the very time when it was made, as well as ever afterwards. His conduct likewise gave the lie to that of luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when, upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved for himself nothing of the royal treasures but a porcelain cup, and soon afterwards melted down all the vessels of gold, even such as were intended for common use. But his amorous propensities never left him, and, as he grew older, as is reported, he was in the habit of debauching young girls, who were procured for him, from all quarters, even by his own wife. To the observations on his gaming, he paid not the smallest regard; but played in public, but purely for his diversion, even when he was advanced in years; and not only in the month of December, but at other times, and upon all days, whether

festivals or not. This evidently appears from a letter under his own hand, in which he says, "I supped, my dear Tiberius, with the same company. We had, besides, Vinicius, and Silvius the father. We gamed at supper like old fellows, both yesterday and today. And as any one threw upon the tali aces or sixes, he put down for every talus a denarius; all which was gained by him who threw a Venus." In another letter, he says: "We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it during the festival of Minerva: for we played every day, and kept the gaming-board warm. Your brother uttered many exclamations at a desperate run of ill-fortune; but recovering by degrees, and unexpectedly, he in the end lost not much. I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely (125) generous in my play, as I commonly am; for had I insisted upon the stakes which I declined, or kept what I gave away, I should have won about fifty thousand. But this I like better for it will raise my character for generosity to the skies." In a letter to his daughter, he writes thus: "I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarii, which I gave to every one of my guests; in case they were inclined at supper to divert themselves with the Tali, or at the game of Even-or-Odd."

LXXII. In other matters, it appears that he was moderate in his habits, and free from suspicion of any kind of vice. He lived at first near the Roman Forum, above the Ring-maker's Stairs, in a house which had once been occupied by Calvus the orator. He afterwards moved to the Palatine Hill, where he resided in a small house belonging to Hortensius, no way remarkable either for size or ornament; the piazzas being but small, the pillars of Alban stone, and the rooms without any thing of marble, or fine paving. He continued to use the same bed-chamber, both winter and summer, during forty years : for though he was sensible that the city did not agree with his health in the winter, he nevertheless resided constantly in it during that season. If at any time he wished to be perfectly retired, and secure from interruption, he shut himself up in an apartment at the top of his house, which he called his Syracuse or Technophuon, or he went to some villa belonging to his freedmen near the city. But when he was indisposed, he commonly took up his residence in the house of Mecaenas . Of all the places of retirement from the city, he (126) chiefly frequented those upon the sea-coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns nearest the city, such as Lanuvium, Praeneste, and Tibur, where he often used to sit for the administration of justice, in the porticos of the temple of Hercules. He had a particular aversion to large and sumptuous palaces; and some which had been raised at a vast expense by his grand-daughter, Julia, he levelled to the ground. Those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorned, not so much with statues and pictures, as with walks and groves, and things which were

curious either for their antiquity or rarity; such as, at Capri, the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants; and also the arms of ancient heroes.

LXXIII. His frugality in the furniture of his house appears even at this day, from some beds and tables still remaining, most of which are scarcely elegant enough for a private family. It is reported that he never lay upon a bed, but such as was low, and meanly furnished. He seldom wore any garment but what was made by the hands of his wife, sister, daughter, and grand-daughters. His togas were neither scanty nor full; (127) and the clavus was neither remarkably broad or narrow. His shoes were a little higher than common, to make him appear taller than he was. He had always clothes and shoes, fit to appear in public, ready in his bed-chamber for any sudden occasion.

LXXIV. At his table, which was always plentiful and elegant, he constantly entertained company; but was very scrupulous in the choice of them, both as to rank and character. Valerius Messala informs us, that he never admitted any freedman to his table, except Menas, when rewarded with the privilege of citizenship, for betraying Pompey's fleet. He writes, himself, that he invited to his table a person in whose villa he lodged, and who had formerly been employed by him as a spy. He often came late to table, and withdrew early; so that the company began supper before his arrival, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three entries, or at most of only six. But if his fare was moderate, his courtesy was extreme. For those who were silent, or talked in whispers, he encouraged to join in the general conversation; and introduced buffoons and stage players, or even low performers from the circus, and very often itinerant humourists, to enliven the company.

LXXV. Festivals and holidays he usually celebrated very expensively, but sometimes only with merriment. In the Saturnalia, or at any other time when the fancy took him, he distributed to his company clothes, gold, and silver; sometimes coins of all sorts, even of the ancient kings of Rome and of foreign nations; sometimes nothing but towels, sponges, rakes, and tweezers, and other things of that kind, with tickets on them, which were enigmatical, and had a double meaning . He used likewise to sell by lot among his guests articles of very unequal value, and pictures with their fronts reversed; and so, by the unknown quality of the lot, disappoint or gratify the expectation of the purchasers. This sort of traffic (128) went round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to run the chance of loss or gain with the rest.

LXXVI. He ate sparingly (for I must not omit even this), and commonly used a plain diet. He was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fishes, new cheese

made of cow's milk, and green figs of the sort which bear fruit twice a year . He did not wait for supper, but took food at any time, and in any place, when he had an appetite. The following passages relative to this subject, I have transcribed from his letters. "I ate a little bread and some small dates, in my carriage." Again. "In returning home from the palace in my litter, I ate an ounce of bread, and a few raisins." Again. "No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps such strict fast upon the Sabbath, as I have to-day; for while in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, I only ate two biscuits, before I began to be rubbed with oil." From this great indifference about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company began, or after they had finished, and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

LXXVII. He was by nature extremely sparing in the use of wine. Cornelius Nepos says, that he used to drink only three times at supper in the camp at Modena; and when he indulged himself the most, he never exceeded a pint; or if he did, his stomach rejected it. Of all wines, he gave the (129) preference to the Rhaetian, but scarcely ever drank any in the day-time. Instead of drinking, he used to take a piece of bread dipped in cold water, or a slice of cucumber, or some leaves of lettuce, or a green, sharp, juicy apple.

LXXVIII. After a slight repast at noon, he used to seek repose, dressed as he was, and with his shoes on, his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he commonly withdrew to his study, a small closet, where he sat late, until he had put down in his diary all or most of the remaining transactions of the day, which he had not before registered. He would then go to bed, but never slept above seven hours at most, and that not without interruption; for he would wake three or four times during that time. If he could not again fall asleep, as sometimes happened, he called for some one to read or tell stories to him, until he became drowsy, and then his sleep was usually protracted till after day-break. He never liked to lie awake in the dark, without somebody to sit by him. Very early rising was apt to disagree with him. On which account, if he was obliged to rise betimes, for any civil or religious functions, in order to guard as much as possible against the inconvenience resulting from it, he used to lodge in some apartment near the spot, belonging to any of his attendants. If at any time a fit of drowsiness seized him in passing along the streets, his litter was set down while he snatched a few moments' sleep.

LXXIX. In person he was handsome and graceful, through every period of his life. But he was negligent in his dress; and so careless about dressing his hair, that he usually had it done in great haste, by several barbers at a time. His beard he sometimes clipped, and sometimes shaved; and either read or wrote during the operation. His countenance, either when discoursing or silent, was so calm

and serene, that a (130) Gaul of the first rank declared amongst his friends, that he was so softened by it, as to be restrained from throwing him down a precipice, in his passage over the Alps, when he had been admitted to approach him, under pretence of conferring with him. His eyes were bright and piercing; and he was willing it should be thought that there was something of a divine vigour in them. He was likewise not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking steadfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw very imperfectly with his left eye. His teeth were thin set, small and scaly, his hair a little curled, and inclining to a yellow colour. His eye-brows met; his ears were small, and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair; his stature but low; though Julius Marathus, his freedman, says he was five feet and nine inches in height. This, however, was so much concealed by the just proportion of his limbs, that it was only perceivable upon comparison with some taller person standing by him.

LXXX. He is said to have been born with many spots upon his breast and belly, answering to the figure, order, and number of the stars in the constellation of the Bear. He had besides several callosities resembling scars, occasioned by an itching in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil in being rubbed. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side; but he received much benefit from the use of sand and reeds. He likewise sometimes found the fore-finger of his right hand so weak, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, to use it in writing, he was obliged to have recourse to a circular piece of horn. He had occasionally a complaint in the bladder; but upon voiding some stones in his urine, he was relieved from that pain.

LXXXI. During the whole course of his life, he suffered, at times, dangerous fits of sickness, especially after the conquest of Cantabria; when his liver being injured by a defluxion (131) upon it, he was reduced to such a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a desperate and doubtful method of cure: for warm applications having no effect, Antonius Musa directed the use of those which were cold. He was likewise subject to fits of sickness at stated times every year; for about his birth-day he was commonly a little indisposed. In the beginning of spring, he was attacked with an inflation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, with a cold in his head. By all these complaints, his constitution was so shattered, that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.

LXXXII. In winter, he was protected against the inclemency of the weather by a thick toga, four tunics, a shirt, a flannel stomacher, and swathings upon his legs and thighs. In summer, he lay with the doors of his bedchamber open, and frequently in a piazza, refreshed by a bubbling fountain, and a person standing

by to fan him. He could not bear even the winter's sun; and at home, never walked in the open air without a broad-brimmed hat on his head. He usually travelled in a litter, and by night: and so slow, that he was two days in going to Praeneste or Tibur. And if he could go to any place by sea, he preferred that mode of travelling. He carefully nourished his health against his many infirmities, avoiding chiefly the free use of the bath; but he was often rubbed with oil, and sweated in a stove; after which he was washed with tepid water, warmed either by a fire, or by being exposed to the heat of the sun. When, upon account of his nerves, he was obliged to have recourse to sea-water, or the waters of Albula, he was contented with sitting over a wooden tub, which he called by a Spanish name (132) Dureta, and plunging his hands and feet in the water by turns.

LXXXIII. As soon as the civil wars were ended, he gave up riding and other military exercises in the Campus Martius, and took to playing at ball, or football; but soon afterwards used no other exercise than that of going abroad in his litter, or walking. Towards the end of his walk, he would run leaping, wrapped up in a short cloak or cape. For amusement he would sometimes angle, or play with dice, pebbles, or nuts, with little boys, collected from various countries, and particularly Moors and Syrians, for their beauty or amusing talk. But dwarfs, and such as were in any way deformed, he held in abhorrence, as *lusus naturae* (nature's abortions), and of evil omen.

LXXXIV. From early youth he devoted himself with great diligence and application to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal arts. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty affairs in which he was engaged, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day. He never addressed the senate, the people, or the army, but in a premeditated speech, though he did not want the talent of speaking extempore on the spur of the occasion. And lest his memory should fail him, as well as to prevent the loss of time in getting up his speeches, it was his general practice to recite them. In his intercourse with individuals, and even with his wife Livia, upon subjects of importance he wrote on his tablets all he wished to express, lest, if he spoke extempore, he should say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, in which he was diligently instructed by a master of elocution. But when he had a cold, he sometimes employed a herald to deliver his speeches to the people.

LXXXV. He composed many tracts in prose on various subjects, some of which he read occasionally in the circle of his friends, as to an auditory. Among these was his "Rescript to Brutus respecting Cato." Most of the pages he read himself, although he was advanced in years, but becoming fatigued, he gave the rest to Tiberius to finish. He likewise read over to (133) his friends his

“Exhortations to Philosophy,” and the “History of his own Life,” which he continued in thirteen books, as far as the Cantabrian war, but no farther. He likewise made some attempts at poetry. There is extant one book written by him in hexameter verse, of which both the subject and title is “Sicily.” There is also a book of Epigrams, no larger than the last, which he composed almost entirely while he was in the bath. These are all his poetical compositions for though he begun a tragedy with great zest, becoming dissatisfied with the style, he obliterated the whole; and his friends saying to him, “What is your Ajax doing?” he answered, “My Ajax has met with a sponge.”

LXXXVI. He cultivated a style which was neat and chaste, avoiding frivolous or harsh language, as well as obsolete words, which he calls disgusting. His chief object was to deliver his thoughts with all possible perspicuity. To attain this end, and that he might nowhere perplex, or retard the reader or hearer, he made no scruple to add prepositions to his verbs, or to repeat the same conjunction several times; which, when omitted, occasion some little obscurity, but give a grace to the style. Those who used affected language, or adopted obsolete words, he despised, as equally faulty, though in different ways. He sometimes indulged himself in jesting, particularly with his friend Mecaenas, whom he rallied upon all occasions for his fine phrases, and bantered by imitating his way of talking. Nor did he spare Tiberius, who was fond of obsolete and far-fetched expressions. He charges Mark Antony with insanity, writing rather to make men stare, than to be understood; and by way of sarcasm upon his depraved and fickle taste in the choice of words, he writes to him thus: “And are you yet in doubt, whether Cimber Annius or Veranius Flaccus be more proper for your imitation? Whether you will adopt words which Sallustius Crispus has borrowed from the ‘Origines’ of Cato? Or do you think that the verbose empty bombast of Asiatic orators is fit to be transfused into (134) our language?” And in a letter where he commends the talent of his grand-daughter, Agrippina, he says, “But you must be particularly careful, both in writing and speaking, to avoid affectation.”

LXXXVII. In ordinary conversation, he made use of several peculiar expressions, as appears from letters in his own hand-writing; in which, now and then, when he means to intimate that some persons would never pay their debts, he says, “They will pay at the Greek Calends.” And when he advised patience in the present posture of affairs, he would say, “Let us be content with our Cato.” To describe anything in haste, he said, “It was sooner done than asparagus is cooked.” He constantly puts *baceolus* for *stultus*, *pullejaceus* for *pullus*, *vacerrosus* for *cerritus*, *vapide se habere* for *male*, and *betizare* for *languere*, which is commonly called *lachanizare*. Likewise *simus* for *sumus*, *domos* for *domus* in the genitive singular. With respect to the last two peculiarities, lest any

person should imagine that they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies. I have likewise remarked this singularity in his handwriting; he never divides his words, so as to carry the letters which cannot be inserted at the end of a line to the next, but puts them below the other, enclosed by a bracket.

LXXXVIII. He did not adhere strictly to orthography as laid down by the grammarians, but seems to have been of the opinion of those who think, that we ought to write as we speak; for as to his changing and omitting not only letters but whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, that any person should have told us, that he sent a successor to a consular lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant, illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had written *ixi* for *ipsi*. When he had occasion to write in cypher, he put *b* for *a*, *c* for *b*, and so forth; and instead of *z*, *aa*.

LXXXIX. He was no less fond of the Greek literature, in which he made considerable proficiency; having had Apollodorus (135) of Pergamus, for his master in rhetoric; whom, though much advanced in years, he took with him from The City, when he was himself very young, to Apollonia. Afterwards, being instructed in philology by Sephaerus, he received into his family Areus the philosopher, and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor; but he never could speak the Greek tongue readily, nor ever ventured to compose in it. For if there was occasion for him to deliver his sentiments in that language, he always expressed what he had to say in Latin, and gave it another to translate. He was evidently not unacquainted with the poetry of the Greeks, and had a great taste for the ancient comedy, which he often brought upon the stage, in his public spectacles. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he paid particular attention to precepts and examples which might be useful in public or private life. Those he used to extract verbatim, and gave to his domestics, or send to the commanders of the armies, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, when any of them seemed to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the senate, and frequently made them known to the people by his edicts; such as the orations of Quintus Metellus “for the Encouragement of Marriage,” and those of Rutilius “On the Style of Building;” to shew the people that he was not the first who had promoted those objects, but that the ancients likewise had thought them worthy their attention. He patronised the men of genius of that age in every possible way. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature; and not only poetry and history, but orations and dialogues. He was displeased, however, that anything should be written upon himself, except in a grave manner, and by men of the most eminent abilities: and he enjoined the praetors not to suffer his name to be made too common in the

contests amongst orators and poets in the theatres.

XC. We have the following account of him respecting his (136) belief in omens and such like. He had so great a dread of thunder and lightning that he always carried about him a seal's skin, by way of preservation. And upon any apprehension of a violent storm, he would retire to some place of concealment in a vault under ground; having formerly been terrified by a flash of lightning, while travelling in the night, as we have already mentioned.

XCI. He neither slighted his own dreams nor those of other people relating to himself. At the battle of Philippi, although he had resolved not to stir out of his tent, on account of his being indisposed, yet, being warned by a dream of one of his friends, he changed his mind; and well it was that he did so, for in the enemy's attack, his couch was pierced and cut to pieces, on the supposition of his being in it. He had many frivolous and frightful dreams during the spring; but in the other parts of the year, they were less frequent and more significative. Upon his frequently visiting a temple near the Capitol, which he had dedicated to Jupiter Tonans, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were taken from him, and that upon this he replied, he had only given him The Thunderer for his porter. He therefore immediately suspended little bells round the summit of the temple; because such commonly hung at the gates of great houses. In consequence of a dream, too, he always, on a certain day of the year, begged alms of the people, reaching out his hand to receive the dole which they offered him.

XCII. Some signs and omens he regarded as infallible. If in the morning his shoe was put on wrong, the left instead of the right, that boded some disaster. If when he commenced a long journey, by sea or land, there happened to fall a mizzling rain, he held it to be a good sign of a speedy and happy return. He was much affected likewise with any thing out of the common course of nature. A palm-tree which (137) chanced to grow up between some stone's in the court of his house, he transplanted into a court where the images of the Household Gods were placed, and took all possible care to make it thrive in the island of Capri, some decayed branches of an old ilex, which hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves upon his arrival; at which he was so delighted, that he made an exchange with the Republic of Naples, of the island of Oenaria [Ischia], for that of Capri. He likewise observed certain days; as never to go from home the day after the Nundiae, nor to begin any serious business upon the nones; avoiding nothing else in it, as he writes to Tiberius, than its unlucky name.

XCIII. With regard to the religious ceremonies of foreign nations, he was a strict observer of those which had been established by ancient custom; but others he held in no esteem. For, having been initiated at Athens, and coming

afterwards to hear a cause at Rome, relative to the privileges of the priests of the Attic Ceres, when some of the mysteries of their sacred rites were to be introduced in the pleadings, he dismissed those who sat upon the bench as judges with him, as well as the by-standers, and beard the argument upon those points himself. But, on the other hand, he not only declined, in his progress through Egypt, to go out of his way to pay a visit to Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Caius (138) for not paying his devotions at Jerusalem in his passage through Judaea.

XCIV. Since we are upon this subject, it may not be improper to give an account of the omens, before and at his birth, as well as afterwards, which gave hopes of his future greatness, and the good fortune that constantly attended him. A part of the wall of Velletri having in former times been struck with thunder, the response of the soothsayers was, that a native of that town would some time or other arrive at supreme power; relying on which prediction, the Velletrians both then, and several times afterwards, made war upon the Roman people, to their own ruin. At last it appeared by the event, that the omen had portended the elevation of Augustus.

Julius Marathus informs us, that a few months before his birth, there happened at Rome a prodigy, by which was signified that Nature was in travail with a king for the Roman people; and that the senate, in alarm, came to the resolution that no child born that year should be brought up; but that those amongst them, whose wives were pregnant, to secure to themselves a chance of that dignity, took care that the decree of the senate should not be registered in the treasury.

I find in the theological books of Asclepiades the Mendesian, that Atia, upon attending at midnight a religious solemnity in honour of Apollo, when the rest of the matrons retired home, fell asleep on her couch in the temple, and that a serpent immediately crept to her, and soon after withdrew. She awaking upon it, purified herself, as usual after the embraces of her husband; and instantly there appeared upon her body a mark in the form of a serpent, which she never after could efface, and which obliged her, during the subsequent part of her life, to decline the use of the public baths. Augustus, it was added, was born in the tenth month after, and for that reason was thought to be the son of Apollo. The (139) same Atia, before her delivery, dreamed that her bowels stretched to the stars, and expanded through the whole circuit of heaven and earth. His father Octavius, likewise, dreamt that a sun-beam issued from his wife's womb.

Upon the day he was born, the senate being engaged in a debate on Catiline's conspiracy, and Octavius, in consequence of his wife's being in childbirth, coming late into the house, it is a well-known fact, that Publius Nigidius, upon hearing the occasion of his coming so late, and the hour of his wife's delivery,

declared that the world had got a master. Afterwards, when Octavius, upon marching with his army through the deserts of Thrace, consulted the oracle in the grove of father Bacchus, with barbarous rites, concerning his son, he received from the priests an answer to the same purpose; because, when they poured wine upon the altar, there burst out so prodigious a flame, that it ascended above the roof of the temple, and reached up to the heavens; a circumstance which had never happened to any one but Alexander the Great, upon his sacrificing at the same altars. And next night he dreamt that he saw his son under a more than human appearance, with thunder and a sceptre, and the other insignia of Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, having on his head a radiant crown, mounted upon a chariot decked with laurel, and drawn by six pair of milk-white horses.

Whilst he was yet an infant, as Caius Drusus relates, being laid in his cradle by his nurse, and in a low place, the next day he was not to be found, and after he had been sought for a long time, he was at last discovered upon a lofty tower, lying with his face towards the rising sun. When he first began to speak, he ordered the frogs that happened to make a troublesome noise, upon an estate belonging to the family near the town, to be silent; and there goes a report that frogs never croaked there since that time. As he was dining in a grove at the fourth mile-stone on the Campanian road, an eagle suddenly snatched a piece of bread out of his hand, and, soaring to a prodigious height, after hovering, came down most unexpectedly, and returned it to him.

Quintus Catulus had a dream, for two nights successively after his dedication of the Capitol. The first night he dreamt (140) that Jupiter, out of several boys of the order of the nobility who were playing about his altar, selected one, into whose bosom he put the public seal of the commonwealth, which he held in his hand; but in his vision the next night, he saw in the bosom of Jupiter Capitolinus, the same boy; whom he ordered to be removed, but it was forbidden by the God, who declared that it must be brought up to become the guardian of the state. The next day, meeting Augustus, with whom till that hour he had not the least acquaintance, and looking at him with admiration, he said he was extremely like the boy he had seen in his dream. Some give a different account of Catulus's first dream, namely, that Jupiter, upon several noble lads requesting of him that they might have a guardian, had pointed to one amongst them, to whom they were to prefer their requests; and putting his fingers to the boy's mouth to kiss, he afterwards applied them to his own.

Marcus Cicero, as he was attending Caius Caesar to the Capitol, happened to be telling some of his friends a dream which he had the preceding night, in which he saw a comely youth, let down from heaven by a golden chain, who stood at the door of the Capitol, and had a whip put into his hands by Jupiter.

And immediately upon sight of Augustus, who had been sent for by his uncle Caesar to the sacrifice, and was as yet perfectly unknown to most of the company, he affirmed that it was the very boy he had seen in his dream. When he assumed the manly toga, his senatorian tunic becoming loose in the seam on each side, fell at his feet. Some would have this to forbode, that the order, of which that was the badge of distinction, would some time or other be subject to him.

Julius Caesar, in cutting down a wood to make room for his camp near Munda, happened to light upon a palm-tree, and ordered it to be preserved as an omen of victory. From the root of this tree there put out immediately a sucker, which, in a few days, grew to such a height as not only to equal, but overshadow it, and afford room for many nests of wild pigeons which built in it, though that species of bird particularly avoids a hard and rough leaf. It is likewise reported, that Caesar was chiefly influenced by this prodigy, to prefer his sister's grandson before all others for his successor.

(141) In his retirement at Apollonia, he went with his friend Agrippa to visit Theogenes, the astrologer, in his gallery on the roof. Agrippa, who first consulted the fates, having great and almost incredible fortunes predicted of him, Augustus did not choose to make known his nativity, and persisted for some time in the refusal, from a mixture of shame and fear, lest his fortunes should be predicted as inferior to those of Agrippa. Being persuaded, however, after much importunity, to declare it, Theogenes started up from his seat, and paid him adoration. Not long afterwards, Augustus was so confident of the greatness of his destiny, that he published his horoscope, and struck a silver coin, bearing upon it the sign of Capricorn, under the influence of which he was born.

XCV. After the death of Caesar, upon his return from Apollonia, as he was entering the city, on a sudden, in a clear and bright sky, a circle resembling the rainbow surrounded the body of the sun; and, immediately afterwards, the tomb of Julia, Caesar's daughter, was struck by lightning. In his first consulship, whilst he was observing the auguries, twelve vultures presented themselves, as they had done to Romulus. And when he offered sacrifice, the livers of all the victims were folded inward in the lower part; a circumstance which was regarded by those present, who had skill in things of that nature, as an indubitable prognostic of great and wonderful fortune.

XCVI. He certainly had a presentiment of the issue of all his wars. When the troops of the Triumviri were collected about Bologna, an eagle, which sat upon his tent, and was attacked by two crows, beat them both, and struck them to the ground, in the view of the whole army; who thence inferred that discord would arise between the three colleagues, which would be attended with the like event:

and it accordingly happened. At Philippi, he was assured of success by a Thessalian, upon the authority, as he pretended, of the Divine Caesar himself, who had appeared to him while he was travelling in a bye-road. At Perugia, the sacrifice not presenting any favourable intimations, but the contrary, he ordered fresh victims; the enemy, however, carrying off the sacred things in a sudden sally, it was agreed amongst the augurs, that all the (142) dangers and misfortunes which had threatened the sacrificer, would fall upon the heads of those who had got possession of the entrails. And, accordingly, so it happened. The day before the sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leaped out of the sea, and laid itself at his feet. At Actium, while he was going down to his fleet to engage the enemy, he was met by an ass with a fellow driving it. The name of the man was Eutychus, and that of the animal, Nichon . After the victory, he erected a brazen statue to each, in a temple built upon the spot where he had encamped.

XCVII. His death, of which I shall now speak, and his subsequent deification, were intimated by divers manifest prodigies. As he was finishing the census amidst a great crowd of people in the Campus Martius, an eagle hovered round him several times, and then directed its course to a neighbouring temple, where it settled upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing this, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is usual to make on such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should never accomplish, though the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first letter of his name, in an inscription upon one of his statues, was struck out by lightning; which was interpreted as a presage that he would live only a hundred days longer, the letter C denoting that number; and that he would be placed amongst the Gods, as Aesar, which is the remaining part of the word Caesar, signifies, in the Tuscan language, a God . Being, therefore, about dispatching Tiberius to Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several persons who applied to him respecting causes they had depending, he cried out, (and it was afterwards regarded as an omen of his death), “Not all the business in the world, shall detain me at home one moment longer;” and setting out upon his journey, he went (143) as far as Astura; whence, contrary to his custom, he put to sea in the night-time, as there was a favourable wind.

XCVIII. His malady proceeded from diarrhoea; notwithstanding which, he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Capri; where he gave himself up entirely to repose and relaxation. Happening to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria, just then arrived, clad all in white, with chaplets upon their

heads, and offering incense, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamations, crying out, "By you we live, by you we sail securely, by you enjoy our liberty and our fortunes." At which being greatly pleased, he distributed to each of those who attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them an assurance on oath, not to employ the sum given them in any other way, than the purchase of Alexandrian merchandize. And during several days afterwards, he distributed Togae and Pallia, among other gifts, on condition that the Romans should use the Greek, and the Greeks the Roman dress and language. He likewise constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom still continued at Capri. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, and not only permitted, but required from them the utmost freedom in jesting, and scrambling for fruit, victuals, and other things which he threw amongst them. In a word, he indulged himself in all the ways of amusement he could contrive.

He called an island near Capri, Apragopolis, "The City of the Do-littles," from the indolent life which several of his party led there. A favourite of his, one Masgabas, he used (144) to call Ktistaes. as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his room a great company of people with torches, assembled at the tomb of this Masgabas, who died the year before, he uttered very distinctly this verse, which he made extempore.

Ktistou de tumbo, eisoro pyroumenon.

Blazing with lights I see the founder's tomb.

Then turning to Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius, who reclined on the other side of the table, he asked him, who knew nothing about the matter, what poet he thought was the author of that verse; and on his hesitating to reply, he added another:

Oras phaessi Masgaban timomenon.

Honor'd with torches Masgabas you see;

and put the same question to him concerning that likewise. The latter replying, that, whoever might be the author, they were excellent verses, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it. Soon afterwards, passing over to Naples, although at that time greatly disordered in his bowels by the frequent returns of his disease, he sat out the exhibition of the gymnastic games which were performed in his honour every five years, and proceeded with Tiberius to the place intended. But on his return, his disorder increasing, he stopped at Nola, sent for Tiberius back again, and had a long discourse with him in private; after which, he gave no further attention to business of any importance.

XCIX. Upon the day of his death, he now and then enquired, if there was any disturbance in the town on his account; and calling for a mirror, he ordered his hair to be combed, and his shrunk cheeks to be adjusted. Then asking his friends who were admitted into the room, “Do ye think that I have acted my part on the stage of life well?” he immediately subjoined,

Ei de pan echei kalos, to paignio

Dote kroton, kai pantes umeis meta charas ktupaesate.

If all be right, with joy your voices raise,

In loud applauses to the actor’s praise.

(145) After which, having dismissed them all, whilst he was inquiring of some persons who were just arrived from Rome, concerning Drusus’s daughter, who was in a bad state of health, he expired suddenly, amidst the kisses of Livia, and with these words: “Livia! live mindful of our union; and now, farewell!” dying a very easy death, and such as he himself had always wished for. For as often as he heard that any person had died quickly and without pain, he wished for himself and his friends the like euthanasian (an easy death), for that was the word he made use of. He betrayed but one symptom, before he breathed his last, of being delirious, which was this: he was all on a sudden much frightened, and complained that he was carried away by forty men. But this was rather a presage, than any delirium: for precisely that number of soldiers belonging to the pretorian cohort, carried out his corpse.

C. He expired in the same room in which his father Octavius had died, when the two Sextus’s, Pompey and Apuleius, were consuls, upon the fourteenth of the calends of September [the 19th August], at the ninth hour of the day, being seventy-six years of age, wanting only thirty-five days . His remains were carried by the magistrates of the municipal towns and colonies, from Nola to Bovillae, and in the nighttime, because of the season of the year. During the intervals, the body lay in some basilica, or great temple, of each town. At Bovillae it was met by the Equestrian Order, who carried it to the city, and deposited it in the vestibule of his own house. The senate proceeded with so much zeal in the arrangement of his funeral, and paying honour to his memory, that, amongst several other proposals, some were for having the funeral procession made through the triumphal gate, preceded by the image of Victory which is in the senate-house, and the children of highest rank and of both sexes singing the funeral (146) dirge. Others proposed, that on the day of the funeral, they should lay aside their gold rings, and wear rings of iron; and others, that his bones should be collected by the priests of the principal colleges. One likewise proposed to transfer the name of August to September, because he was born in

the latter, but died in the former. Another moved, that the whole period of time, from his birth to his death, should be called the Augustan age, and be inserted in the calendar under that title. But at last it was judged proper to be moderate in the honours paid to his memory. Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise, one before the temple of Julius, by Tiberius; and the other before the rostra, under the old shops, by Drusus, Tiberius's son. The body was then carried upon the shoulders of senators into the Campus Martius, and there burnt. A man of pretorian rank affirmed upon oath, that he saw his spirit ascend from the funeral pile to heaven. The most distinguished persons of the equestrian order, bare-footed, and with their tunics loose, gathered up his relics, and deposited them in the mausoleum, which had been built in his sixth consulship between the Flaminian Way and the bank of the Tiber; at which time likewise he gave the groves and walks about it for the use of the people.

CI. He had made a will a year and four months before his death, upon the third of the nones of April [the 11th of April], in the consulship of Lucius Plancus, and Caius Silius. It consisted of two skins of parchment, written partly in his own hand, and partly by his freedmen Polybius and Hilarian; and had been committed to the custody of the Vestal Virgins, by whom it was now produced, with three codicils under seal, as well as the will: all these were opened and read in the senate. He appointed as his direct heirs, Tiberius for two (147) thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, both of whom he desired to assume his name. The heirs in remainder were Drusus, Tiberius's son, for one third, and Germanicus with his three sons for the residue. In the third place, failing them, were his relations, and several of his friends. He left in legacies to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces; to the tribes three millions five hundred thousand; to the pretorian troops a thousand each man; to the city cohorts five hundred; and to the legions and soldiers three hundred each; which several sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death, having taken due care that the money should be ready in his exchequer. For the rest he ordered different times of payment. In some of his bequests he went as far as twenty thousand sesterces, for the payment of which he allowed a twelvemonth; alleging for this procrastination the scantiness of his estate; and declaring that not more than a hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would come to his heirs: notwithstanding that during the twenty preceding years, he had received, in legacies from his friends, the sum of fourteen hundred millions; almost the whole of which, with his two paternal estates, and others which had been left him, he had spent in the service of the state. He left orders that the two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, if anything happened to them, should not be buried in his tomb. With regard to the three codicils before-mentioned, in one of them he gave orders

about his funeral; another contained a summary of his acts, which he intended should be inscribed on brazen plates, and placed in front of his mausoleum; in the third he had drawn up a concise account of the state of the empire; the number of troops enrolled, what money there was in the treasury, the revenue, and arrears of taxes; to which were added the names of the freedmen and slaves from whom the several accounts might be taken.

* * * * *

(148) OCTAVIUS CAESAR, afterwards Augustus, had now attained to the same position in the state which had formerly been occupied by Julius Caesar; and though he entered upon it by violence, he continued to enjoy it through life with almost uninterrupted tranquillity. By the long duration of the late civil war, with its concomitant train of public calamities, the minds of men were become less averse to the prospect of an absolute government; at the same time that the new emperor, naturally prudent and politic, had learned from the fate of Julius the art of preserving supreme power, without arrogating to himself any invidious mark of distinction. He affected to decline public honours, disclaimed every idea of personal superiority, and in all his behaviour displayed a degree of moderation which prognosticated the most happy effects, in restoring peace and prosperity to the harassed empire. The tenor of his future conduct was suitable to this auspicious commencement. While he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by lending money to those who stood in need of it, at low interest, or without any at all, and by the exhibition of public shows, of which the Romans were remarkably fond; he was attentive to the preservation of a becoming dignity in the government, and to the correction of morals. The senate, which, in the time of Sylla, had increased to upwards of four hundred, and, during the civil war, to a thousand, members, by the admission of improper persons, he reduced to six hundred; and being invested with the ancient office of censor, which had for some time been disused, he exercised an arbitrary but legal authority over the conduct of every rank in the state; by which he could degrade senators and knights, and inflict upon all citizens an ignominious sentence for any immoral or indecent behaviour. But nothing contributed more to render the new form of government acceptable to the people, than the frequent distribution of corn, and sometimes largesses, amongst the commonalty: for an occasional scarcity of provisions had always been the chief cause of discontents and tumults in the capital. To the interests of the army he likewise paid particular attention. It was by the assistance of the legions that he had risen to power; and they were the men who, in the last resort, if such an emergency should ever occur, could alone

enable him to preserve it.

History relates, that after the overthrow of Antony, Augustus held a consultation with Agrippa and Mecaenas about restoring the republican form of government; when Agrippa gave his opinion in favour of that measure, and Mecaenas opposed it. (149) The object of this consultation, in respect to its future consequences on society, is perhaps the most important ever agitated in any cabinet, and required, for the mature discussion of it, the whole collective wisdom of the ablest men in the empire. But this was a resource which could scarcely be adopted, either with security to the public quiet, or with unbiassed judgment in the determination of the question. The bare agitation of such a point would have excited immediate and strong anxiety for its final result; while the friends of a republican government, who were still far more numerous than those of the other party, would have strained every nerve to procure a determination in their own favour; and the pretorian guards, the surest protection of Augustus, finding their situation rendered precarious by such an unexpected occurrence, would have readily listened to the secret propositions and intrigues of the republicans for securing their acquiescence to the decision on the popular side. If, when the subject came into debate, Augustus should be sincere in the declaration to abide by the resolution of the council, it is beyond all doubt, that the restoration of a republican government would have been voted by a great majority of the assembly. If, on the contrary, he should not be sincere, which is the more probable supposition, and should incur the suspicion of practising secretly with members for a decision according to his wish, he would have rendered himself obnoxious to the public odium, and given rise to discontents which might have endangered his future security.

But to submit this important question to the free and unbiassed decision of a numerous assembly, it is probable, neither suited the inclination of Augustus, nor perhaps, in his opinion, consisted with his personal safety. With a view to the attainment of unconstitutional power, he had formerly deserted the cause of the republic when its affairs were in a prosperous situation; and now, when his end was accomplished, there could be little ground to expect, that he should voluntarily relinquish the prize for which he had spilt the best blood of Rome, and contended for so many years. Ever since the final defeat of Antony in the battle of Actium, he had governed the Roman state with uncontrolled authority; and though there is in the nature of unlimited power an intoxicating quality, injurious both to public and private virtue, yet all history contradicts the supposition of its being endued with any which is unpalatable to the general taste of mankind.

There were two chief motives by which Augustus would naturally be

influenced in a deliberation on this important subject; namely, the love of power, and the personal danger which (150) he might incur from relinquishing it. Either of these motives might have been a sufficient inducement for retaining his authority; but when they both concurred, as they seem to have done upon this occasion, their united force was irresistible. The argument, so far as relates to the love of power, rests upon a ground, concerning the solidity of which, little doubt can be entertained: but it may be proper to inquire, in a few words, into the foundation of that personal danger which he dreaded to incur, on returning to the station of a private citizen.

Augustus, as has been already observed, had formerly sided with the party which had attempted to restore public liberty after the death of Julius Caesar: but he afterwards abandoned the popular cause, and joined in the ambitious plans of Antony and Lepidus to usurp amongst themselves the entire dominion of the state. By this change of conduct, he turned his arms against the supporters of a form of government which he had virtually recognized as the legal constitution of Rome; and it involved a direct implication of treason against the sacred representatives of that government, the consuls, formally and duly elected. Upon such a charge he might be amenable to the capital laws of his country. This, however, was a danger which might be fully obviated, by procuring from the senate and people an act of oblivion, previously to his abdication of the supreme power; and this was a preliminary which doubtless they would have admitted and ratified with unanimous approbation. It therefore appears that he could be exposed to no inevitable danger on this account: but there was another quarter where his person was vulnerable, and where even the laws might not be sufficient to protect him against the efforts of private resentment. The bloody proscription of the Triumvirate no act of amnesty could ever erase from the minds of those who had been deprived by it of their nearest and dearest relations; and amidst the numerous connections of the illustrious men sacrificed on that horrible occasion, there might arise some desperate avenger, whose indelible resentment nothing less would satisfy than the blood of the surviving delinquent. Though Augustus, therefore, might not, like his great predecessor, be stabbed in the senate-house, he might perish by the sword or the poniard in a less conspicuous situation. After all, there seems to have been little danger from this quarter likewise for Sylla, who in the preceding age had been guilty of equal enormities, was permitted, on relinquishing the place of perpetual dictator, to end his days in quiet retirement; and the undisturbed security which Augustus ever afterwards enjoyed, affords sufficient proof, that all apprehension of danger to his person was merely chimerical.

(151) We have hitherto considered this grand consultation as it might be

influenced by the passions or prejudices of the emperor: we shall now take a short view of the subject in the light in which it is connected with considerations of a political nature, and with public utility. The arguments handed down by history respecting this consultation are few, and imperfectly delivered; but they may be extended upon the general principles maintained on each side of the question.

For the restoration of the republican government, it might be contended, that from the expulsion of the kings to the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, through a period of upwards of four hundred and sixty years, the Roman state, with the exception only of a short interval, had flourished and increased with a degree of prosperity unexampled in the annals of humankind: that the republican form of government was not only best adapted to the improvement of national grandeur, but to the security of general freedom, the great object of all political association: that public virtue, by which alone nations could subsist in vigour, was cherished and protected by no mode of administration so much as by that which connected, in the strongest bonds of union, the private interests of individuals with those of the community: that the habits and prejudices of the Roman people were unalterably attached to the form of government established by so long a prescription, and they would never submit, for any length of time, to the rule of one person, without making every possible effort to recover their liberty: that though despotism, under a mild and wise prince, might in some respects be regarded as preferable to a constitution which was occasionally exposed to the inconvenience of faction and popular tumults, yet it was a dangerous experiment to abandon the government of the nation to the contingency of such a variety of characters as usually occurs in the succession of princes; and, upon the whole, that the interests of the people were more safely entrusted in the hands of annual magistrates elected by themselves, than in those of any individual whose power was permanent, and subject to no legal control.

In favour of despotic government it might be urged, that though Rome had subsisted long and gloriously under a republican form of government, yet she had often experienced such violent shocks from popular tumults or the factions of the great, as had threatened her with imminent destruction: that a republican government was only accommodated to a people amongst whom the division of property gave to no class of citizens such a degree of pre-eminence as might prove dangerous to public freedom: that there was required in that form of political constitution, a simplicity (152) of life and strictness of manners which are never observed to accompany a high degree of public prosperity: that in respect of all these considerations, such a form of government was utterly incompatible with the present circumstances of the Romans that by the conquest

of so many foreign nations, by the lucrative governments of provinces, the spoils of the enemy in war, and the rapine too often practised in time of peace, so great had been the aggrandizement of particular families in the preceding age, that though the form of the ancient constitution should still remain inviolate, the people would no longer live under a free republic, but an aristocratical usurpation, which was always productive of tyranny: that nothing could preserve the commonwealth from becoming a prey to some daring confederacy, but the firm and vigorous administration of one person, invested with the whole executive power of the state, unlimited and uncontrolled: in fine, that as Rome had been nursed to maturity by the government of six princes successively, so it was only by a similar form of political constitution that she could now be saved from aristocratical tyranny on one hand, or, on the other, from absolute anarchy.

On whichever side of the question the force of argument may be thought to preponderate, there is reason to believe that Augustus was guided in his resolution more by inclination and prejudice than by reason. It is related, however, that hesitating between the opposite opinions of his two counsellors, he had recourse to that of Virgil, who joined with Mecaenas in advising him to retain the imperial power, as being the form of government most suitable to the circumstances of the times.

It is proper in this place to give some account of the two ministers above-mentioned, Agrippa and Mecaenas, who composed the cabinet of Augustus at the settlement of his government, and seem to be the only persons employed by him in a ministerial capacity during his whole reign.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa was of obscure extraction, but rendered himself conspicuous by his military talents. He obtained a victory over Sextus Pompey; and in the battles of Philippi and Actium, where he displayed great valour, he contributed not a little to establish the subsequent power of Augustus. In his expeditions afterwards into Gaul and Germany, he performed many signal achievements, for which he refused the honours of a triumph. The expenses which others would have lavished on that frivolous spectacle, he applied to the more laudable purpose of embellishing Rome with magnificent buildings, one of which, the Pantheon, still remains. In consequence of a dispute with Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, he retired to Mitylene, (153) whence, after an absence of two years, he was recalled by the emperor. He first married Pomponia, the daughter of the celebrated Atticus, and afterwards one of the Marcellas, the nieces of Augustus. While this lady, by whom he had children, was still living, the emperor prevailed upon his sister Octavia to resign to him her son-in-law, and gave him in marriage his own daughter Julia; so strong was the desire of Augustus to be united with him in the closest alliance. The high degree of favour

in which he stood with the emperor was soon after evinced by a farther mark of esteem: for during a visit to the Roman provinces of Greece and Asia, in which Augustus was absent two years, he left the government of the empire to the care of Agrippa. While this minister enjoyed, and indeed seems to have merited, all the partiality of Augustus, he was likewise a favourite with the people. He died at Rome, in the sixty-first year of his age, universally lamented; and his remains were deposited in the tomb which Augustus had prepared for himself. Agrippa left by Julia three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Posthumus Agrippa, with two daughters, Agrippina and Julia.

C. Cilnius Mecaenas was of Tuscan extraction, and derived his descent from the ancient kings of that country. Though in the highest degree of favour with Augustus, he never aspired beyond the rank of the equestrian order; and though he might have held the government of extensive provinces by deputies, he was content with enjoying the praefecture of the city and Italy; a situation, however, which must have been attended with extensive patronage. He was of a gay and social disposition. In principle he is said to have been of the Epicurean sect, and in his dress and manners to have bordered on effeminacy. With respect to his political talents, we can only speak from conjecture; but from his being the confidential minister of a prince of so much discernment as Augustus, during the infancy of a new form of government in an extensive empire, we may presume that he was endowed with no common abilities for that important station. The liberal patronage which he displayed towards men of genius and talents, will render his name for ever celebrated in the annals of learning. It is to be regretted that history has transmitted no particulars of this extraordinary personage, of whom all we know is derived chiefly from the writings of Virgil and Horace; but from the manner in which they address him, amidst the familiarity of their intercourse, there is the strongest reason to suppose, that he was not less amiable and respectable in private life, than illustrious in public situation. "O my glory!" is the emphatic expression employed by them both.

(154) O decus, O famae merito pars maxima nostrae. Vir. Georg. ii.

Light of my life, my glory, and my guide!

O et praesidium et dulce decus meum. Hor. Ode I.

My glory and my patron thou!

One would be inclined to think, that there was a nicety in the sense and application of the word *decus*, amongst the Romans, with which we are unacquainted, and that, in the passages now adduced, it was understood to refer to the honour of the emperor's patronage, obtained through the means of Mecaenas; otherwise, such language to the minister might have excited the jealousy of Augustus. But whatever foundation there may be for this conjecture,

the compliment was compensated by the superior adulation which the poets appropriated to the emperor, whose deification is more than insinuated, in sublime intimations, by Virgil.

Tuque adeo quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
Concilia, incertum est; urbisne invisere, Caesar,
Terrarumque velis curam; et te maximus orbis
Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem
Accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto:

An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautae
Numina sola colant: tibi serviat ultima Thule;
Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis. Geor. i. 1. 25, vi.

Thou Caesar, chief where'er thy voice ordain
To fix midst gods thy yet unchosen reign:

Wilt thou o'er cities fix thy guardian sway,
While earth and all her realms thy nod obey?
The world's vast orb shall own thy genial power,
Giver of fruits, fair sun, and favouring shower;
Before thy altar grateful nations bow,
And with maternal myrtle wreath thy brow;
O'er boundless ocean shall thy power prevail,
Thee her sole lord the world of waters hail,
Rule where the sea remotest Thule laves,
While Tethys dowers thy bride with all her waves. Sotheby.
Horace has elegantly adopted the same strain of compliment.
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris; et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis. Carm. IV. 5.

To thee he chants the sacred song,
To thee the rich libation pours;
Thee placed his household gods among,
With solemn daily prayer adores
So Castor and great Hercules of old,
Were with her gods by grateful Greece enrolled.

(155) The panegyric bestowed upon Augustus by the great poets of that time,

appears to have had a farther object than the mere gratification of vanity. It was the ambition of this emperor to reign in the hearts as well as over the persons of his subjects; and with this view he was desirous of endearing himself to their imagination. Both he and Mecaenas had a delicate sensibility to the beauties of poetical composition; and judging from their own feelings, they attached a high degree of influence to the charms of poetry. Impressed with these sentiments, it became an object of importance, in their opinion, to engage the Muses in the service of the imperial authority; on which account, we find Mecaenas tampering with Propertius, and we may presume, likewise with every other rising genius in poetry, to undertake an heroic poem, of which Augustus should be the hero. As the application to Propertius cannot have taken place until after Augustus had been amply celebrated by the superior abilities of Virgil and Horace, there seems to be some reason for ascribing Mecaenas's request to a political motive. Caius and Lucius, the emperor's grandsons by his daughter Julia, were still living, and both young. As one of them, doubtless, was intended to succeed to the government of the empire, prudence justified the adoption of every expedient that might tend to secure a quiet succession to the heir, upon the demise of Augustus. As a subsidiary resource, therefore, the expedient above mentioned was judged highly plausible; and the Roman cabinet indulged the idea of endeavouring to confirm imperial authority by the support of poetical renown. Lampoons against the government were not uncommon even in the time of Augustus; and elegant panegyric on the emperor served to counteract their influence upon the minds of the people. The idea was, perhaps, novel in the time of Augustus; but the history of later ages affords examples of its having been adopted, under different forms of government, with success.

The Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, had attained to a prodigious magnitude; and, in his testament, he recommended to his successors never to exceed the limits which he had prescribed to its extent. On the East it stretched to the Euphrates; on the South to the cataracts of the Nile, the deserts of Africa, and Mount Atlas; on the West to the Atlantic Ocean; and on the North to the Danube and the Rhine; including the best part of the then known world. The Romans, therefore, were not improperly called *rerum domini*, and Rome, *pulcherrima rerum, maxima rerum*. Even the historians, Livy and Tacitus, (156) actuated likewise with admiration, bestow magnificent epithets on the capital of their country. The succeeding emperors, in conformity to the advice of Augustus, made few additions to the empire. Trajan, however, subdued Mesopotamia and Armenia, east of the Euphrates, with Dacia, north of the Danube; and after this period the Roman dominion was extended over Britain, as far as the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.

It would be an object of curiosity to ascertain the amount of the Roman revenue in the reign of Augustus; but such a problem, even with respect to contemporary nations, cannot be elucidated without access to the public registers of their governments; and in regard to an ancient monarchy, the investigation is impracticable. We can only be assured that the revenue must have been immense, which arose from the accumulated contribution of such a number of nations, that had supported their own civil establishments with great splendour, and many of which were celebrated for their extraordinary riches and commerce. The tribute paid by the Romans themselves, towards the support of the government, was very considerable during the latter ages of the republic, and it received an increase after the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. The establishments, both civil and military, in the different provinces, were supported at their own expense; the emperor required but a small naval force, an arm which adds much to the public expenditure of maritime nations in modern times; and the state was burdened with no diplomatic charges. The vast treasure accruing from the various taxes centered in Rome, and the whole was at the disposal of the emperor, without any control. We may therefore justly conclude that, in the amount of taxes, customs, and every kind of financial resources, Augustus exceeded all sovereigns who had hitherto ever swayed the sceptre of imperial dominion; a noble acquisition, had it been judiciously employed by his successors, in promoting public happiness, with half the profusion in which it was lavished in disgracing human nature, and violating the rights of mankind.

The reign of Augustus is distinguished by the most extraordinary event recorded in history, either sacred or profane, the nativity of the Saviour of mankind; which has since introduced a new epoch into the chronology of all Christian nations. The commencement of the new aera being the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, a general view of the state of knowledge and taste at this period, may here not be improper.

Civilization was at this time extended farther over the world than it had ever been in any preceding period; but polytheism rather increased than diminished with the advancement of commercial (157) intercourse between the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and, though philosophy had been cultivated during several ages, at Athens, Cyrene, Rome, and other seats of learning, yet the morals of mankind were little improved by the diffusion of speculative knowledge. Socrates had laid an admirable foundation for the improvement of human nature, by the exertion of reason through the whole economy of life; but succeeding inquirers, forsaking the true path of ethic investigation, deviated into specious discussions, rather ingenious than useful; and some of them, by gratuitously adopting principles, which, so far from being supported by reason,

were repugnant to its dictates, endeavoured to erect upon the basis of their respective doctrines a system peculiar to themselves. The doctrines of the Stoics and Epicureans were, in fact, pernicious to society; and those of the different academies, though more intimately connected with reason than the two former, were of a nature too abstract to have any immediate or useful influence on life and manners. General discussions of truth and probability, with magnificent declamations on the *to kalon*, and the *summum bonum*, constituted the chief objects of attention amongst those who cultivated moral science in the shades of academical retirement. Cicero endeavoured to bring back philosophy from speculation to practice, and clearly evinced the social duties to be founded in the unalterable dictates of virtue; but it was easier to demonstrate the truth of the principles which he maintained, than to enforce their observance, while the morals of mankind were little actuated by the exercise of reason alone.

The science chiefly cultivated at this period was rhetoric, which appears to have differed considerably from what now passes under the same name. The object of it was not so much justness of sentiment and propriety of expression, as the art of declaiming, or speaking copiously upon any subject. It is mentioned by Varro as the reverse of logic; and they are distinguished from each other by a simile, that the former resembles the palm of the hand expanded, and the latter, contracted into the fist. It is observable that logic, though a part of education in modern times, seems not to have been cultivated amongst the Romans. Perhaps they were apprehensive, lest a science which concentrated the force of argument, might obstruct the cultivation of that which was meant to dilate it. Astronomy was long before known in the eastern nations; but there is reason to believe, from a passage in Virgil, that it was little cultivated by the Romans; and it is certain, that in the reformation of the calendar, Julius Caesar was chiefly indebted to the scientific knowledge of (158) Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria. The laws of the solar system were still but imperfectly known; the popular belief, that the sun moved round the earth, was universally maintained, and continued until the sixteenth century, when the contrary was proved by Copernicus. There existed many celebrated tracts on mathematics; and several of the mechanical powers, particularly that of the lever, were cultivated with success. The more necessary and useful rules of arithmetic were generally known. The use of the load-stone not being as yet discovered, navigation was conducted in the day-time by the sun, and in the night, by the observation of certain stars. Geography was cultivated during the present period by Strabo and Mela. In natural philosophy little progress was made; but a strong desire of its improvement was entertained, particularly by Virgil. Human anatomy being not yet introduced, physiology was imperfect. Chemistry, as a science, was utterly

unknown. In medicine, the writings of Hippocrates, and other Greek physicians, were in general the standard of practice; but the *Materia Medica* contained few remedies of approved quality, and abounded with useless substances, as well as with many which stood upon no other foundation than the whimsical notions of those who first introduced them. Architecture flourished, through the elegant taste of Vitruvius, and the patronage of the emperor. Painting, statuary, and music, were cultivated, but not with that degree of perfection which they had obtained in the Grecian states. The musical instruments of this period were the flute and the lyre, to which may be added the sistrum, lately imported from Egypt. But the chief glory of the period is its literature, of which we proceed to give some account.

At the head of the writers of this age, stands the emperor himself, with his minister Mecaenas; but the works of both have almost totally perished. It appears from the historian now translated, that Augustus was the author of several productions in prose, besides some in verse. He wrote *Answers to Brutus* in relation to Cato, *Exhortations to Philosophy*, and the *History of his own Life*, which he continued, in thirteen books, down to the war of Cantabria. A book of his, written in hexameter verse, under the title of *Sicily*, was extant in the time of Suetonius, as was likewise a book of *Epigrams*. He began a tragedy on the subject of *Ajax*, but, being dissatisfied with the composition, destroyed it. Whatever the merits of Augustus may have been as an author, of which no judgment can be formed, his attachment to learning and eminent writers affords a strong presumption that he was not destitute of taste. Mecaenas is said to have written two tragedies, *Octavia* and *Prometheus*; a *History of (159) Animals*; a *Treatise on Precious Stones*; a *Journal of the Life of Augustus*; and other productions. Curiosity is strongly interested to discover the literary talents of a man so much distinguished for the esteem and patronage of them in others; but while we regret the impossibility of such a development, we scarcely can suppose the proficiency to have been small, where the love and admiration were so great.

History was cultivated amongst the Romans during the present period, with uncommon success. This species of composition is calculated both for information and entertainment; but the chief design of it is to record all transactions relative to the public, for the purpose of enabling mankind to draw from past events a probable conjecture concerning the future; and, by knowing the steps which have led either to prosperity or misfortune, to ascertain the best means of promoting the former, and avoiding the latter of those objects. This useful kind of narrative was introduced about five hundred years before by Herodotus, who has thence received the appellation of the Father of History. His

style, in conformity to the habits of thinking, and the simplicity of language, in an uncultivated age, is plain and unadorned; yet, by the happy modulation of the Ionic dialect, it gratified the ear, and afforded to the states of Greece a pleasing mixture of entertainment, enriched not only with various information, often indeed fabulous or unauthentic, but with the rudiments, indirectly interspersed, of political wisdom. This writer, after a long interval, was succeeded by Thucydides and Xenophon, the former of whom carried historical narrative to the highest degree of improvement it ever attained among the States of Greece. The plan of Thucydides seems to have continued to be the model of historical narrative to the writers of Rome; but the circumstances of the times, aided perhaps by the splendid exertion of genius in other departments of literature, suggested a new resource, which promised not only to animate, but embellish the future productions of the historic Muse. This innovation consisted in an attempt to penetrate the human heart, and explore in its innermost recesses the sentiments and secret motives which actuate the conduct of men. By connecting moral effects with their probable internal and external causes, it tended to establish a systematic consistency in the concatenation of transactions apparently anomalous, accidental, or totally independent of each other.

The author of this improvement in history was SALLUST, who likewise introduced the method of enlivening narrative with the occasional aid of rhetorical declamation, particularly in his account of the Catilinian conspiracy. The notorious (160) characters and motives of the principal persons concerned in that horrible plot, afforded the most favourable opportunity for exemplifying the former; while the latter, there is reason to infer from the facts which must have been at that time publicly known, were founded upon documents of unquestionable authority. Nay, it is probable that Sallust was present in the senate during the debate respecting the punishment of the Catilinian conspirators; his detail of which is agreeable to the characters of the several speakers: but in detracting, by invidious silence, or too faint representation, from the merits of Cicero on that important occasion, he exhibits a glaring instance of the partiality which too often debases the narratives of those who record the transactions of their own time. He had married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero; and there subsisted between the two husbands a kind of rivalry from that cause, to which was probably added some degree of animosity, on account of their difference in politics, during the late dictatorship of Julius Caesar, by whom Sallust was restored to the senate, whence he had been expelled for licentiousness, and was appointed governor of Numidia. Excepting the injustice with which Sallust treats Cicero, he is entitled to high commendation. In both his remaining works, the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the War of Jugurtha, there is a

peculiar air of philosophical sentiment, which, joined to the elegant conciseness of style, and animated description of characters, gives to his writings a degree of interest, superior to that which is excited in any preceding work of the historical kind. In the occasional use of obsolete words, and in laboured exordiums to both his histories, he is liable to the charge of affectation; but it is an affectation of language which supports solemnity without exciting disgust; and of sentiment which not only exalts human nature, but animates to virtuous exertions. It seems to be the desire of Sallust to atone for the dissipation of his youth by a total change of conduct; and whoever peruses his exordiums with the attention which they deserve, must feel a strong persuasion of the justness of his remarks, if not the incentives of a resolution to be governed by his example. It seems to be certain, that from the first moment of his reformation, he incessantly practised the industry which he so warmly recommends. He composed a History of Rome, of which nothing remains but a few fragments. Sallust, during his administration of Numidia, is said to have exercised great oppression. On his return to Rome he built a magnificent house, and bought delightful gardens, the name of which, with his own, is to this day perpetuated on the spot which they formerly occupied. Sallust was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, and (161) received his education at Rome. He incurred great scandal by an amour with Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and wife of Milo; who detecting the criminal intercourse, is said to have beat him with stripes, and extorted from him a large sum of money. He died, according to tradition, in the fifty-first year of his age.

CORNELIUS NEPOS was born at Hostilia, near the banks of the Po. Of his parentage we meet with no account; but from his respectable connections early in life, it is probable that he was of good extraction. Among his most intimate friends were Cicero and Atticus. Some authors relate that he composed three books of Chronicles, with a biographical account of all the most celebrated sovereigns, generals, and writers of antiquity.

The language of Cornelius Nepos is pure, his style perspicuous, and he holds a middle and agreeable course between diffuseness and brevity. He has not observed the same rule with respect to the treatment of every subject; for the account of some of the lives is so short, that we might suspect them to be mutilated, did they not contain evident marks of their being completed in miniature. The great extent of his plan induced him, as he informs us, to adopt this expedient. "*Sed plura persequi, tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem, quae exorsus sum.*"

Of his numerous biographical works, twenty-two lives only remain, which are all of Greeks, except two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal; and two Romans, M. Porcius Cato and T. Pomponius Atticus. Of his own life, — of him

who had written the lives of so many, no account is transmitted; but from the multiplicity of his productions, we may conclude that it was devoted to literature.

TITUS LIVIUS may be ranked among the most celebrated historians the world has ever produced. He composed a history of Rome from the foundation of the city, to the conclusion of the German war conducted by Drusus in the time of the emperor Augustus. This great work consisted, originally, of one hundred and forty books; of which there now remain only thirty-five, viz., the first decade, and the whole from book twenty-one to book forty-five, both inclusive. Of the other hundred and five books, nothing more has survived the ravages of time and barbarians than their general contents. In a perspicuous arrangement of his subject, in a full and circumstantial account of transactions, in the delineation of characters and other objects of description, to justness and aptitude of sentiment, and in an air of majesty (162) pervading the whole composition, this author may be regarded as one of the best models extant of historical narrative. His style is splendid without meretricious ornament, and copious without being redundant; a fluency to which Quintilian gives the expressive appellation of “*lactea ubertas*.” Amongst the beauties which we admire in his writings, besides the animated speeches frequently interspersed, are those concise and peculiarly applicable eulogiums, with which he characterises every eminent person mentioned, at the close of their life. Of his industry in collating, and his judgment in deciding upon the preference due to, dissentient authorities, in matters of testimony, the work affords numberless proofs. Of the freedom and impartiality with which he treated even of the recent periods of history, there cannot be more convincing evidence, than that he was rallied by Augustus as a favourer of Pompey; and that, under the same emperor, he not only bestowed upon Cicero the tribute of warm approbation, but dared to ascribe, in an age when their names were obnoxious, even to Brutus and Cassius the virtues of consistency and patriotism. If in any thing the conduct of Livy violates our sentiments of historical dignity, it is the apparent complacency and reverence with which he every where mentions the popular belief in omens and prodigies; but this was the general superstition of the times; and totally to renounce the prejudices of superstitious education, is the last heroic sacrifice to philosophical scepticism. In general, however, the credulity of Livy appears to be rather affected than real; and his account of the exit of Romulus, in the following passage, may be adduced as an instance in confirmation of this remark.

“His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subita coorta tempestate cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum

ejus concioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena, et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit; etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella; tamen veluti orbitatis metu icta, maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, Deum, Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae, salvere universi Romulum jubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque, et perobscura, fama. Illam alteram admiratio viri, et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides; namque Proculus Julius sollicita civitate desiderio (163) regis, et infensa Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in concionem prodit. ‘Romulus, inquit, Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce coelo repente delapsus, se mihi obvium dedit; quam profusus horrore venerabundusque astitisssem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset; Abi, nuncia, inquit, Romanis, Coelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant; sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.’ Haec, inquit, locutus, sublimis abiit. Mirum, quantum illi viro nuncianti haec fidei fuerit; quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, facta fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.”

Scarcely any incident in ancient history savours more of the (164) marvellous than the account above delivered respecting the first Roman king; and amidst all the solemnity with which it is related, we may perceive that the historian was not the dupe of credulity. There is more implied than the author thought proper to avow, in the sentence, Fuisse credo, etc. In whatever light this anecdote be viewed, it is involved in perplexity. That Romulus affected a despotic power, is not only highly probable, from his aspiring disposition, but seems to be confirmed by his recent appointment of the Celeres, as a guard to his person. He might, therefore, naturally incur the odium of the patricians, whose importance was diminished, and their institution rendered abortive, by the increase of his power. But that they should choose the opportunity of a military review, for the purpose of removing the tyrant by a violent death, seems not very consistent with the dictates even of common prudence; and it is the more incredible, as the circumstance which favoured the execution of the plot is represented to have been entirely a fortuitous occurrence. The tempest which is said to have happened, is not easily reconcilable with our knowledge of that phenomenon. Such a cloud, or mist, as could have enveloped Romulus from the eyes of the assembly, is not a natural concomitant of a thunder-storm. There is some reason to suspect that both the noise and cloud, if they actually existed, were artificial;

the former intended to divert the attention of the spectators, and the latter to conceal the transaction. The word *fragor*, a noise or crash, appears to be an unnecessary addition where thunder is expressed, though sometimes so used by the poets, and may therefore, perhaps, imply such a noise from some other cause. If Romulus was killed by any pointed or sharp-edged weapon, his blood might have been discovered on the spot; or, if by other means, still the body was equally an object for public observation. If the people suspected the patricians to be guilty of murder, why did they not endeavour to trace the fact by this evidence? And if the patricians were really innocent, why did they not urge the examination? But the body, without doubt, was secreted, to favour the imposture. The whole narrative is strongly marked with circumstances calculated to affect credulity with ideas of national importance; and, to countenance the design, there is evidently a chasm in the Roman history immediately preceding this transaction and intimately connected with it.

Livy was born at Patavium, and has been charged by Asinius Pollio and others with the provincial dialect of his country. The objections to his Pativinity, as it is called, relate chiefly to the (165) spelling of some words; in which, however, there seems to be nothing so peculiar, as either to occasion any obscurity or merit reprehension.

Livy and Sallust being the only two existing rivals in Roman history, it may not be improper to draw a short comparison between them, in respect of their principal qualities, as writers. With regard to language, there is less apparent affectation in Livy than in Sallust. The narrative of both is distinguished by an elevation of style: the elevation of Sallust seems to be often supported by the dignity of assumed virtue; that of Livy by a majestic air of historical, and sometimes national, importance. In delineating characters, Sallust infuses more expression, and Livy more fulness, into the features. In the speeches ascribed to particular persons, these writers are equally elegant and animated.

So great was the fame of Livy in his own life-time, that people came from the extremity of Spain and Gaul, for the purpose only of beholding so celebrated a historian, who was regarded, for his abilities, as a prodigy. This affords a strong proof, not only of the literary taste which then prevailed over the most extensive of the Roman provinces, but of the extraordinary pains with which so great a work must have been propagated, when the art of printing was unknown. In the fifteenth century, on the revival of learning in Europe, the name of this great writer recovered its ancient veneration; and Alphonso of Arragon, with a superstition characteristic of that age, requested of the people of Padua, where Livy was born, and is said to have been buried, to be favoured by them with the hand which had written so admirable a work. —

The celebrity of VIRGIL has proved the means of ascertaining his birth with more exactness than is common in the biographical memoirs of ancient writers. He was born at Andes, a village in the neighbourhood of Mantua, on the 15th of October, seventy years before the Christian aera. His parents were of moderate condition; but by their industry acquired some territorial possessions, which descended to their son. The first seven years of his life was spent at Cremona, whence he went to Mediolanum, now Milan, at that time the seat of the liberal arts, denominated, as we learn from Pliny the younger, *Novae Athenae*. From this place he afterwards moved to Naples, where he applied himself with great assiduity to Greek and Roman literature, particularly to the physical and mathematical sciences; for which he expressed a strong predilection in the second book of his *Georgics*.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,
(166) Accipiant; coelique vias et sidera monstrent;
Defectus Solis varios, Lunaeque labores:

Unde tremor terris: qua vi maria alta tumescant
Obicibus ruptis, rursusque in seipsa residant:

Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
Hiberni: vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
Geor. ii. 1. 591, etc.

But most beloved, ye Muses, at whose fane,
Led by pure zeal, I consecrate my strain,
Me first accept! And to my search unfold,
Heaven and her host in beauteous order rolled,
The eclipse that dims the golden orb of day,
And changeful labour of the lunar ray;
Whence rocks the earth, by what vast force the main
Now bursts its barriers, now subsides again;
Why wintry suns in ocean swiftly fade,
Or what delays night's slow-descending shade. Sotheby.

When, by a proscription of the Triumvirate, the lands of Cremona and Mantua were distributed amongst the veteran soldiers, Virgil had the good fortune to recover his possessions, through the favour of Asinius Pollio, the deputy of Augustus in those parts; to whom, as well as to the emperor, he has testified his gratitude in beautiful eclogues.

The first production of Virgil was his *Bucolics*, consisting of ten eclogues, written in imitation of the *Idyllia* or pastoral poems of Theocritus. It may be questioned whether any language which has its provincial dialects, but is brought to perfection, can ever be well adapted, in that state, to the use of pastoral poetry. There is such an apparent incongruity between the simple ideas of the rural swain and the polished language of the courtier, that it seems impossible to reconcile them together by the utmost art of composition. The Doric dialect of Theocritus, therefore, abstractedly from all consideration of simplicity of sentiment, must ever give to the Sicilian bard a pre-eminence in this species of poetry. The greater part of the *Bucolics* of Virgil may be regarded as poems of a peculiar nature, into which the author has happily transfused, in elegant versification, the native manners and ideas, without any mixture of the rusticity of pastoral life. With respect to the fourth eclogue, addressed to Pollio, it is avowedly of a nature superior to that of pastoral subjects:

Sicelides Musae, paullo majora canamus.
Sicilian Muse, be ours a loftier strain.

Virgil engaged in bucolic poetry at the request of Asinius Pollio, whom he highly esteemed, and for one of whose sons in particular, (167) with Cornelius Gallus, a poet likewise, he entertained the warmest affection. He has celebrated them all in these poems, which were begun, we are told, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and completed in three years. They were held in so great esteem amongst the Romans, immediately after their publication, that it is said they were frequently recited upon the stage for the entertainment of the audience. Cicero, upon hearing some lines of them, perceived that they were written in no common strain of poetry, and desired that the whole eclogue might be recited: which being done, he exclaimed, “*Magnae spes altera Romae.*” Another hope of mighty Rome!

Virgil’s next work was the *Georgics*, the idea of which is taken from the *Erga kai Hmerai*, the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, the poet of Ascra. But between the productions of the two poets, there is no other similarity than that of their common subject. The precepts of Hesiod, in respect of agriculture, are delivered with all the simplicity of an unlettered cultivator of the fields, intermixed with plain moral reflections, natural and apposite; while those of Virgil, equally precise and important, are embellished with all the dignity of sublime versification. The work is addressed to Mecaenas, at whose request it appears to have been undertaken. It is divided into four books. The first treats of ploughing; the second, of planting; the third, of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, dogs, and of

things which are hurtful to cattle; the fourth is employed on bees, their proper habitations, food, polity, the diseases to which they are liable, and the remedies of them, with the method of making honey, and a variety of other considerations connected with the subject. The *Georgics* (168) were written at Naples, and employed the author during a period of seven years. It is said that Virgil had concluded the *Georgics* with a laboured eulogium on his poetical friend Gallus; but the latter incurring about this time the displeasure of Augustus, he was induced to cancel it, and substitute the charming episode of *Astaeus* and *Eurydice*.

These beautiful poems, considered merely as didactic, have the justest claim to utility. In what relates to agriculture in particular, the precepts were judiciously adapted to the climate of Italy, and must have conveyed much valuable information to those who were desirous of cultivating that important art, which was held in great honour amongst the Romans. The same remark may be made, with greater latitude of application, in respect of the other subjects. But when we examine the *Georgics* as poetical compositions, when we attend to the elevated style in which they are written, the beauty of the similes, the emphatic sentiments interspersed, the elegance of diction, the animated strain of the whole, and the harmony of the versification, our admiration is excited, at beholding subjects, so common in their nature, embellished with the most magnificent decorations of poetry.

During four days which Augustus passed at Atella, to refresh himself from fatigue, in his return to Rome, after the battle of Actium, the *Georgics*, just then finished, were read to him by the author, who was occasionally relieved in the task by his friend Mecaenas. We may easily conceive the satisfaction enjoyed by the emperor, at finding that while he himself had been gathering laurels in the achievements of war, another glorious wreath was prepared by the Muses to adorn his temples; and that an intimation was given of his being afterwards celebrated in a work more congenial to the subject of heroic renown.

It is generally supposed that the *Aeneid* was written at the particular desire of Augustus, who was ambitious of having the Julian family represented as lineal descendants of the Trojan Aeneas. In this celebrated poem, Virgil has happily united the characteristics of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and blended them so judiciously together, that they mutually contribute to the general effect of the whole. By the esteem and sympathy excited for the filial piety and misfortunes of Aeneas at the catastrophe of Troy, the reader is strongly interested in his subsequent adventures; and every obstacle to the establishment of the Trojans in the promised land of Hesperia produces fresh sensations of increased admiration and attachment. The episodes, characters, and incidents, all concur to give

beauty or grandeur to the poem. The picture of Troy in flames can never be sufficiently (169) admired! The incomparable portrait of Priam, in Homer, is admirably accommodated to a different situation, in the character of Anchises, in the Aeneid. The prophetic rage of the Cumaean Sibyl displays in the strongest colours the enthusiasm of the poet. For sentiment, passion, and interesting description, the episode of Dido is a master-piece in poetry. But Virgil is not more conspicuous for strength of description than propriety of sentiment; and wherever he takes a hint from the Grecian bard, he prosecutes the idea with a judgment peculiar to himself. It may be sufficient to mention one instance. In the sixth book of the Iliad, while the Greeks are making great slaughter amongst the Trojans, Hector, by the advice of Helenus, retires into the city, to desire that his mother would offer up prayers to the goddess Pallas, and vow to her a noble sacrifice, if she would drive Diomedes from the walls of Troy. Immediately before his return to the field of battle, he has his last interview with Andromache, whom he meets with his infant son Astyanax, carried by a nurse. There occurs, upon this occasion, one of the most beautiful scenes in the Iliad, where Hector dandles the boy in his arms, and pours forth a prayer, that he may one day be superior in fame to his father. In the same manner, Aeneas, having armed himself for the decisive combat with Turnus, addresses his son Ascanius in a beautiful speech, which, while expressive of the strongest paternal affection, contains, instead of a prayer, a noble and emphatic admonition, suitable to a youth who had nearly attained the period of adult age. It is as follows:

Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem;
Fortunam ex aliis; nunc te mea dextera bello
Defensum dabit, et magna inter praemia ducet.
Tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
Sis memor: et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum,
Et pater Aeneas, et avunculus excitet Hector. — Aeneid, xii.

My son! from my example learn the war
In camps to suffer, and in feuds to dare,
But happier chance than mine attend thy care!
This day my hand thy tender age shall shield,
And crown with honours of the conquered field:

Thou when thy riper years shall send thee forth
To toils of war, be mindful of my worth;
Assert thy birthright, and in arms be known,

For Hector's nephew and Aeneas' son.

Virgil, though born to shine by his own intrinsic powers, certainly owed much of his excellence to the wonderful merits of Homer. His susceptible imagination, vivid and correct, was (170) impregnated by the Odyssey, and warmed with the fire of the Iliad. Rivalling, or rather on some occasions surpassing his glorious predecessor in the characters of heroes and of gods, he sustains their dignity with so uniform a lustre, that they seem indeed more than mortal.

Whether the Iliad or the Aeneid be the more perfect composition, is a question which has often been agitated, but perhaps will never be determined to general satisfaction. In comparing the genius of the two poets, however, allowance ought to be made for the difference of circumstances under which they composed their respective works. Homer wrote in an age when mankind had not as yet made any great progress in the exertion of either intellect or imagination, and he was therefore indebted for big resources to the vast capacity of his own mind. To this we must add, that he composed both his poems in a situation of life extremely unfavourable to the cultivation of poetry. Virgil, on the contrary, lived at a period when literature had attained to a high state of improvement. He had likewise not only the advantage of finding a model in the works of Homer, but of perusing the laws of epic poetry, which had been digested by Aristotle, and the various observations made on the writings of the Greek bard by critics of acuteness and taste; amongst the chief of whom was his friend Horace, who remarks that

—— ——— quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus. — De Arte Poet.

E'en sometimes the good Homer naps.

Virgil, besides, composed his poem in a state remote from indigence, where he was roused to exertion by the example of several contemporary poets; and what must have animated him beyond every other consideration, he wrote both at the desire, and under the patronage of the emperor and his minister Mecaenas. In what time Homer composed either of his poems, we know not; but the Aeneid, we are informed, was the employment of Virgil during eleven years. For some years, the repeated entreaties of Augustus could not extort from him the smallest specimen of the work; but at length, when considerably advanced in it, he condescended to recite three books — the second, the fourth, and the sixth — in the presence of the emperor and his sister Octavia, to gratify the latter of whom, in particular, the recital of the last book now mentioned, was intended. When the poet came to the words, Tu Marcellus eris, alluding to Octavia's son, a youth of great hopes, who had lately died, the mother fainted. After she had recovered

from this fit, by the care of her attendants, she ordered ten sesterces to be given to Virgil for every line relating (171) to that subject; a gratuity which amounted to about two thousand pounds sterling.

In the composition of the Aeneid, Virgil scrupled not to introduce whole lines of Homer, and of the Latin poet Ennius; many of whose sentences he admired. In a few instances he has borrowed from Lucretius. He is said to have been at extraordinary pains in polishing his numbers; and when he was doubtful of any passage, he would read it to some of his friends, that he might have their opinion. On such occasions, it was usual with him to consult in particular his freedman and librarian Erotes, an old domestic, who, it is related, supplied extempore a deficiency in two lines, and was desired by his master to write them in the manuscript.

When this immortal work was completed, Virgil resolved on retiring into Greece and Asia for three years, that he might devote himself entirely to polishing it, and have leisure afterwards to pass the remainder of his life in the cultivation of philosophy. But meeting at Athens with Augustus, who was on his return from the East, he determined on accompanying the emperor back to Rome. Upon a visit to Megara, a town in the neighbourhood of Athens, he was seized with a languor, which increased during the ensuing voyage; and he expired a few days after landing at Brundisium, on the 22nd of September, in the fifty-second year of his age. He desired that his body might be carried to Naples, where he had passed many happy years; and that the following distich, written in his last sickness, should be inscribed upon his tomb:

Mantua me genuit: Calabri rapuere: tenet nunc

Parthenope: cecini pascua, rura, duces.

He was accordingly interred, by the order of Augustus, with great funeral pomp, within two miles of Naples, near the road to Puteoli, where his tomb still exists. Of his estate, which was very considerable by the liberality of his friends, he left the greater part to Valerius Proculus and his brother, a fourth to Augustus, a twelfth to Mecaenas, besides legacies to L. Varius and Plotius Tucca, who, in consequence of his own request, and the command of Augustus, revised and corrected the Aeneid after his death. Their instructions from the emperor were, to expunge whatever they thought improper, but upon no account to make any addition. This restriction is supposed to be the cause that many lines in the Aeneid are imperfect.

Virgil was of large stature, had a dark complexion, and his (172) features are said to have been such as expressed no uncommon abilities. He was subject to complaints of the stomach and throat, as well as to head-ache, and had frequent

discharges of blood upwards: but from what part, we are not informed. He was very temperate both in food and wine. His modesty was so great, that at Naples they commonly gave him the name of Parthenias, “the modest man.” On the subject of his modesty; the following anecdote is related.

Having written a distich, in which he compared Augustus to Jupiter, he placed it in the night-time over the gate of the emperor’s palace. It was in these words:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane:

Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.

All night it rained, with morn the sports appear,
Caesar and Jove between them rule the year.

By order of Augustus, an inquiry was made after the author; and Virgil not declaring himself, the verses were claimed by Bathyllus, a contemptible poet, but who was liberally rewarded on the occasion. Virgil, provoked at the falsehood of the impostor, again wrote the verses on some conspicuous part of the palace, and under them the following line:

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honorem;
I wrote the verse, another filched the praise;
with the beginning of another line in these words:

Sic vos, non vobis,
Not for yourselves, you ——

repeated four times. Augustus expressing a desire that the lines should be finished, and Bathyllus proving unequal to the task, Virgil at last filled up the blanks in this manner:

Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis, aves;
Sic vos, non vobis, vellera fertis, oves;
Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis, apes;
Sic vos, non vobis, fertis aratra, boves.

Not for yourselves, ye birds, your nests ye build;
Not for yourselves, ye sheep, your fleece ye yield;
Not for yourselves, ye bees, your cells ye fill;
Not for yourselves, ye beeves, ye plough and till.

The expedient immediately evinced him to be the author of the distich, and Bathyllus became the theme of public ridicule.

When at any time Virgil came to Rome, if the people, as was commonly the case, crowded to gaze upon him, or pointed at him with the finger in admiration, he blushed, and stole away (173) from them; frequently taking refuge in some shop. When he went to the theatre, the audience universally rose up at his entrance, as they did to Augustus, and received him with the loudest plaudits; a compliment which, however highly honourable, he would gladly have declined. When such was the just respect which they paid to the author of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, how would they have expressed their esteem, had they beheld him in the effulgence of epic renown! In the beautiful episode of the Elysian fields, in the *Aeneid*, where he dexterously introduced a glorious display of their country, he had touched the most elastic springs of Roman enthusiasm. The passion would have rebounded upon himself, and they would, in the heat of admiration, have idolized him.

HORACE was born at Venusia, on the tenth of December, in the consulship of L. Cotta and L. Torquatus. According to his own acknowledgment, his father was a freedman; by some it is said that he was a collector of the revenue, and by others, a fishmonger, or a dealer in salted meat. Whatever he was, he paid particular attention to the education of his son, for, after receiving instruction from the best masters in Rome, he sent him to Athens to study philosophy. From this place, Horace followed Brutus, in the quality of a military tribune, to the battle of Philippi, where, by his own confession, being seized with timidity, he abandoned the profession of a soldier, and returning to Rome, applied himself to the cultivation of poetry. In a short time he acquired the friendship of Virgil and Valerius, whom he mentions in his *Satires*, in terms of the most tender affection.

Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae, Virgiliusque,
Occurrunt; animae, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico. — Sat. I. 5.

Next rising morn with double joy we greet,
For Plotius, Varius, Virgil, here we meet:

Pure spirits these; the world no purer knows,
For none my heart with more affection glows:

How oft did we embrace, our joys how great!
For sure no blessing in the power of fate

Can be compared, in sanity of mind,
To friends of such companionable kind. — Francis.

By the two friends above mentioned, he was recommended to the patronage not only of Mecaenas, but of Augustus, with whom he, as well as Virgil, lived on a footing of the greatest intimacy. Satisfied with the luxury which he enjoyed at the first tables in (174) Rome, he was so unambitious of any public employment, that when the emperor offered him the place of his secretary, he declined it. But as he lived in an elegant manner, having, besides his house in town, a cottage on his Sabine farm, and a villa at Tibur, near the falls of the Anio, he enjoyed, beyond all doubt, a handsome establishment, from the liberality of Augustus. He indulged himself in indolence and social pleasure, but was at the same time much devoted to reading; and enjoyed a tolerable good state of health, although often incommoded with a fluxion of rheum upon the eyes.

Horace, in the ardour of youth, and when his bosom beat high with the raptures of fancy, had, in the pursuit of Grecian literature, drunk largely, at the source, of the delicious springs of Castalia; and it seems to have been ever after his chief ambition, to transplant into the plains of Latium the palm of lyric poetry. Nor did he fail of success:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius. — Carm. iii. 30.
More durable than brass a monument I've raised.

In Greece, and other countries, the Ode appears to have been the most ancient, as well as the most popular species of literary production. Warm in expression, and short in extent, it concentrates in narrow bounds the fire of poetical transport: on which account, it has been generally employed to celebrate the fervours of piety, the raptures of love, the enthusiasm of praise; and to animate warriors to glorious exertions of valour:

Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
Et pugilem victorem, et equum certamine primnm,
Et juvenum curas, et libera vina referre. — Hor. De Arte Poet.

The Muse to nobler subjects tunes her lyre;
Gods, and the sons of Gods, her song inspire;
Wrestler and steed, who gained the Olympic prize,
Love's pleasing cares, and wine's unbounded joys. — Francis.

Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter

Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cnatu.
Virgil, Aeneid, vi.

.....

Sed tum forte cava dum personat aequora concha
Demens, et canto vocat in certamina Divos. — Ibid.

Misenus, son of Aeolus, renowned
The warrior trumpet in the field to sound;
With breathing brass to kindle fierce alarms,
And rouse to dare their fate in honourable arms.

.....

(175) Swollen with applause, and aiming still at more,
He now provokes the sea-gods from the shore. — Dryden

There arose in this department, among the Greeks, nine eminent poets, viz. Alcaeus, Alcman, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar. The greater number of this distinguished class are now known only by name. They seem all to have differed from one another, no less in the kind of measure which they chiefly or solely employed, than in the strength or softness, the beauty or grandeur, the animated rapidity or the graceful ease of their various compositions. Of the amorous effusions of the lyre, we yet have examples in the odes of Anacreon, and the incomparable ode of Sappho: the lyric strains which animated to battle, have sunk into oblivion; but the victors in the public games of Greece have their fame perpetuated in the admirable productions of Pindar.

Horace, by adopting, in the multiplicity of his subjects, almost all the various measures of the different Greek poets, and frequently combining different measures in the same composition, has compensated for the dialects of that tongue, so happily suited to poetry, and given to a language less distinguished for soft inflexions, all the tender and delicate modulations of the Eastern song. While he moves in the measures of the Greeks with an ease and gracefulness which rivals their own acknowledged excellence, he has enriched the fund of lyric harmony with a stanza peculiar to himself. In the artificial construction of the Ode, he may justly be regarded as the first of lyric poets. In beautiful imagery, he is inferior to none: in variety of sentiment and felicity of expression, superior to every existing competitor in Greek or Roman poetry. He is elegant without affectation; and what is more remarkable, in the midst of gaiety he is

moral. We seldom meet in his Odes with the abrupt apostrophes of passionate excursion; but his transitions are conducted with ease, and every subject introduced with propriety.

The *Carmen Seculare* was written at the express desire of Augustus, for the celebration of the Secular Games, performed once in a hundred years, and which continued during three days and three nights, whilst all Rome resounded with the mingled effusions of choral addresses to gods and goddesses, and of festive joy. An occasion which so much interested the ambition of the poet, called into exertion the most vigorous efforts of his genius. More concise in mythological attributes than the hymns ascribed to Homer, this beautiful production, in variety and grandeur of invocation, and in pomp of numbers, surpasses all that Greece, (176) melodious but simple in the service of the altar, ever poured forth from her vocal groves in solemn adoration. By the force of native genius, the ancients elevated their heroes to a pitch of sublimity that excites admiration, but to soar beyond which they could derive no aid from mythology; and it was reserved for a bard, inspired with nobler sentiments than the Muses could supply, to sing the praises of that Being whose ineffable perfections transcend all human imagination. Of the praises of gods and heroes, there is not now extant a more beautiful composition, than the 12th Ode of the first book of Horace:

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumes celebrare, Clio?
Quem Deum? cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago,
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris, etc.

What man, what hero, on the tuneful lyre,
Or sharp-toned flute, will Clio choose to raise,
Deathless, to fame? What God? whose hallowed name
The sportive image of the voice
Shall in the shades of Helicon repeat, etc.

The Satires of Horace are far from being remarkable for poetical harmony, as he himself acknowledges. Indeed, according to the plan upon which several of them are written, it could scarcely be otherwise. They are frequently colloquial, sometimes interrogatory, the transitions quick, and the apostrophes abrupt. It was not his object in those compositions, to soothe the ear with the melody of polished numbers, but to rally the frailties of the heart, to convince the understanding by argument, and thence to put to shame both the vices and follies of mankind. Satire is a species of composition, of which the Greeks furnished no

model; and the preceding Roman writers of this class, though they had much improved it from its original rudeness and licentiousness, had still not brought it to that degree of perfection which might answer the purpose of moral reform in a polished state of society. It received the most essential improvement from Horace, who has dexterously combined wit and argument, raillery and sarcasm, on the side of morality and virtue, of happiness and truth.

The Epistles of this author may be reckoned amongst the most valuable productions of antiquity. Except those of the second book, and one or two in the first, they are in general of the familiar kind; abounding in moral sentiments, and judicious observations on life and manners.

The poem *De Arte Poetica* comprises a system of criticism, in justness of principle and extent of application, correspondent to the various exertions of genius on subjects of invention and taste. (177) That in composing this excellent production, he availed himself of the most approved works of Grecian original, we may conclude from the advice which he there recommends:

—— ——— Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

Make the Greek authors your supreme delight;
Read them by day, and study them by night. — Francis.

In the writings of Horace there appears a fund of good sense, enlivened with pleasantry, and refined by philosophical reflection. He had cultivated his judgment with great application, and his taste was guided by intuitive perception of moral beauty, aptitude, and propriety. The few instances of indelicacy which occur in his compositions, we may ascribe rather to the manners of the times, than to any blameable propensity in the author. Horace died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, surviving his beloved Mecaenas only three weeks; a circumstance which, added to the declaration in an ode to that personage, supposed to have been written in Mecaenas's last illness, has given rise to a conjecture, that Horace ended his days by a violent death, to accompany his friend. But it is more natural to conclude that he died of excessive grief, as, had he literally adhered to the affirmation contained in the ode, he would have followed his patron more closely. This seems to be confirmed by a fact immediately preceding his death; for though he declared Augustus heir to his whole estate, he was not able, on account of weakness, to put his signature to the will; a failure which it is probable that he would have taken care to obviate, had his death been premeditated. He was interred, at his own desire, near the tomb of

Mecaenas. —

OVID was born of an equestrian family, at Sulmo, a town of the Peligni, on the 21st of March, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. His father intended him for the bar; and after passing him through the usual course of instruction at Rome, he was sent to Athens, the emporium of learning, to complete his education. On his return to Rome, in obedience to the desire of his father, he entered upon the offices of public life in the forum, and declaimed with great applause. But this was the effect of paternal authority, not of choice: for, from his earliest years, he discovered an extreme attachment to poetry; and no sooner was his father dead, than, renouncing the bar, he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of that fascinating art, his propensity to which was invincible. His productions, all written either in heroic or pentameter verse, are numerous, and on various subjects. It will be sufficient to mention them briefly.

(178) The *Heroides* consist of twenty-one Epistles, all which, except three, are feigned to be written from celebrated women of antiquity, to their husbands or lovers, such as Penelope to Ulysses, Dido to Aeneas, Sappho to Phaon, etc. These compositions are nervous, animated and elegant: they discover a high degree of poetic enthusiasm, but blended with that lascivious turn of thought, which pervades all the amorous productions of this celebrated author.

The elegies on subjects of love, particularly the *Ars Amandi*, or *Ars Amatoria*, though not all uniform in versification, possess the same general character, of warmth of passion, and luscious description, as the epistles.

The *Fasti* were divided into twelve books, of which only the first six now remain. The design of them was to deliver an account of the Roman festivals in every month of the year, with a description of the rites and ceremonies, as well as the sacrifices on those occasions. It is to be regretted, that, on a subject so interesting, this valuable work should not have been transmitted entire: but in the part which remains, we are furnished with a beautiful description of the ceremonial transactions in the Roman calendar, from the first of January to the end of June. The versification, as in all the compositions of this author, is easy and harmonious.

The most popular production of this poet is his *Metamorphoses*, not less extraordinary for the nature of the subject, than for the admirable art with which the whole is conducted. The work is founded upon the traditions and theogony of the ancients, which consisted of various detached fables. Those Ovid has not only so happily arranged, that they form a coherent series of narratives, one rising out of another; but he describes the different changes with such an imposing plausibility, as to give a natural appearance to the most incredible fictions. This ingenious production, however perfect it may appear, we are told

by himself, had not received his last corrections when he was ordered into banishment.

In the *Ibis*, the author imitates a poem of the same name, written by Callimachus. It is an invective against some person who publicly traduced his character at Rome, after his banishment. A strong sensibility, indignation, and implacable resentment, are conspicuous through the whole.

The *Tristia* were composed in his exile, in which, though his vivacity forsook him, he still retained a genius prolific in versification. In these poems, as well as in many epistles to different persons, he bewails his unhappy situation, and deprecates in the strongest terms the inexorable displeasure of Augustus.

Several other productions written by Ovid are now lost, and (179) amongst them a tragedy called *Medea*, of which Quintilian expresses a high opinion. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille praestare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere maluisset*. Lib. x. c. 1.

It is a peculiarity in the productions of this author, that, on whatever he employs his pen, he exhausts the subject; not with any prolixity that fatigues the attention, but by a quick succession of new ideas, equally brilliant and apposite, often expressed in antitheses. Void of obscenity in expression, but lascivious in sentiment, he may be said rather to stimulate immorally the natural passions, than to corrupt the imagination. No poet is more guided in versification by the nature of his subject than Ovid. In common narrative, his ideas are expressed with almost colloquial simplicity; but when his fancy glows with sentiment, or is animated by objects of grandeur, his style is proportionably elevated, and he rises to a pitch of sublimity.

No point in ancient history has excited more variety of conjectures than the banishment of Ovid; but after all the efforts of different writers to elucidate the subject, the cause of this extraordinary transaction remains involved in obscurity. It may therefore not be improper, in this place, to examine the foundation of the several conjectures which have been formed, and if they appear to be utterly inadmissible, to attempt a solution of the question upon principles more conformable to probability, and countenanced by historical evidence.

The ostensible reason assigned by Augustus for banishing Ovid, was his corrupting the Roman youth by lascivious publications; but it is evident, from various passages in the poet's productions after this period, that there was, besides, some secret reason, which would not admit of being divulged. He says in his *Tristia*, Lib. ii. 1:

Perdiderent cum me duo crimina, carmen et errors.

It appears from another passage in the same work, that this inviolable arcanum

was something which Ovid had seen, and, as he insinuates, through his own ignorance and mistake.

Cur aliquid vidi? cur conscia lumina feci?

Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est? — Ibid.

* * * * *

(180) Inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector:

Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum. De Trist. iii. 5.

It seems, therefore, to be a fact sufficiently established, that Ovid had seen something of a very indecent nature, in which Augustus was concerned. What this was, is the question. Some authors, conceiving it to have been of a kind extremely atrocious, have gone so far as to suppose, that it must have been an act of criminality between Augustus and his own daughter Julia, who, notwithstanding the strict attention paid to her education by her father, became a woman of the most infamous character; suspected of incontinence during her marriage with Agrippa, and openly profligate after her union with her next husband, Tiberius. This supposition, however, rests entirely upon conjecture, and is not only discredited by its own improbability, but by a yet more forcible argument. It is certain that Julia was at this time in banishment for her scandalous life. She was about the same age with Tiberius, who was now forty seven, and they had not cohabited for many years. We know not exactly the year in which Augustus sent her into exile, but we may conclude with confidence, that it happened soon after her separation from Tiberius; whose own interest with the emperor, as well as that of his mother Livia, could not fail of being exerted, if any such application was necessary, towards removing from the capital a woman, who, by the notoriety of her prostitution, reflected disgrace upon all with whom she was connected, either by blood or alliance. But no application from Tiberius or his mother could be necessary, when we are assured that Augustus even presented to the senate a narrative respecting the infamous behaviour of his daughter, which was read by the quaestor. He was so much ashamed of her profligacy, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. She was banished to an island on the coast of Campania for five years; at the expiration of which period, she was removed to the continent, and the severity of her treatment a little mitigated; but though frequent applications were made in her behalf by the people, Augustus never could be prevailed upon to permit her return.

(181) Other writers have conjectured, that, instead of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, the person seen with him by Ovid may have been Julia his granddaughter, who inherited the vicious disposition of her mother, and was on that account likewise banished by Augustus. The epoch of this lady's banishment it is impossible to ascertain; and therefore no argument can be drawn from that source to invalidate the present conjecture. But Augustus had shown the same solicitude for her being trained up in virtuous habits, as he had done in respect of her mother, though in both cases unsuccessfully; and this consideration, joined to the enormity of the supposed crime, and the great sensibility which Augustus had discovered with regard to the infamy of his daughter, seems sufficient to exonerate his memory from so odious a charge. Besides, is it possible that he could have sent her into banishment for the infamy of her prostitution, while (upon the supposition of incest) she was mistress of so important a secret, as that he himself had been more criminal with her than any other man in the empire?

Some writers, giving a wider scope to conjecture, have supposed the transaction to be of a nature still more detestable, and have even dragged Mecaenas, the minister, into a participation of the crime. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of the illustrious patron of polite learning, as well as for that of the emperor, this crude conjecture may be refuted upon the evidence of chronology. The commencement of Ovid's exile happened in the ninth year of the Christian aera, and the death of Mecaenas, eight years before that period. Between this and other calculations, we find a difference of three or four years; but allowing the utmost latitude of variation, there intervened, from the death of Mecaenas to the banishment of Ovid, a period of eleven years; an observation which fully invalidates the conjecture above-mentioned.

Having now refuted, as it is presumed, the opinions of the different commentators on this subject, we shall proceed to offer a new conjecture, which seems to have a greater claim to probability than any that has hitherto been suggested.

Suetonius informs us, that Augustus, in the latter part of his life, contracted a vicious inclination for the enjoyment of young virgins, who were procured for him from all parts, not only with the connivance, but by the clandestine management of his consort Livia. It was therefore probably with one of those victims that he was discovered by Ovid. Augustus had for many years affected a decency of behaviour, and he would, therefore, naturally be not a little disconcerted at the unseasonable intrusion of the poet. That Ovid knew not of Augustus's being in the place, is beyond all doubt: and Augustus's consciousness (182) of this circumstance, together with the character of Ovid, would suggest an unfavourable suspicion of the motive which had brought the latter thither.

Abstracted from the immorality of the emperor's own conduct, the incident might be regarded as ludicrous, and certainly was more fit to excite the shame than the indignation of Augustus. But the purpose of Ovid's visit appears, from his own acknowledgment, to have been not entirely free from blame, though of what nature we know not:

Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam:

Sed partem nostri criminis error habet.

De Trist. Lib. iii. Eleg. 5.

I know I cannot wholly be defended,

Yet plead 'twas chance, no ill was then intended. — Catlin.

Ovid was at this time turned of fifty, and though by a much younger man he would not have been regarded as any object of jealousy in love, yet by Augustus, now in his sixty-ninth year, he might be deemed a formidable rival. This passion, therefore, concurring with that which arose from the interruption or disappointment of gratification, inflamed the emperor's resentment, and he resolved on banishing to a distant country a man whom he considered as his rival, and whose presence, from what had happened, he never more could endure.

Augustus having determined on the banishment of Ovid, could find little difficulty in accommodating the ostensible to the secret and real cause of this resolution.

No argument to establish the date of publication, can be drawn from the order in which the various productions of Ovid are placed in the collection of his works: but reasoning from probability, we should suppose that the *Ars Amandi* was written during the period of his youth; and this seems to be confirmed by the following passage in the second book of the *Fasti*:

Certe ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros;

Cum lusit numeris prima juvena suis.

That many years must have elapsed since its original publication, is evident from the subsequent lines in the second book of the *Tristia*:

Nos quoque jam pridem scripto peccavimus uno.

Supplicium patitur non nova culpa novum.

Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem

Praeterii toties jure quietus eques.

(183) Ergo, quae juveni mihi non nocitura putavi
Scripta parum prudens, nunc nocuere seni?

With what show, then, of justice, it may be asked, could Augustus now punish a fault, which, in his solemn capacity of censor, he had so long and repeatedly overlooked? The answer is obvious: in a production so popular as we may be assured the *Ars Amandi* was amongst the Roman youth, it must have passed through several editions in the course of some years: and one of those coinciding with the fatal discovery, afforded the emperor a specious pretext for the execution of his purpose. The severity exercised on this occasion, however, when the poet was suddenly driven into exile, unaccompanied even by the partner of his bed, who had been his companion for many years, was an act so inconsistent with the usual moderation of Augustus, that we cannot justly ascribe it to any other motive than personal resentment; especially as this arbitrary punishment of the author could answer no end of public utility, while the obnoxious production remained to affect, if it really ever did essentially affect, the morals of society. If the sensibility of Augustus could not thenceforth admit of any personal intercourse with Ovid, or even of his living within the limits of Italy, there would have been little danger from the example, in sending into honourable exile, with every indulgence which could alleviate so distressful a necessity, a man of respectable rank in the state, who was charged with no actual offence against the laws, and whose genius, with all its indiscretion, did immortal honour to his country. It may perhaps be urged, that, considering the predicament in which Augustus stood, he discovered a forbearance greater than might have been expected from an absolute prince, in sparing the life of Ovid. It will readily be granted, that Ovid, in the same circumstances, under any one of the four subsequent emperors, would have expiated the incident with his blood. Augustus, upon a late occasion, had shown himself equally sanguinary, for he put to death, by the hand of Varus, a poet of Parma, named Cassius, on account of his having written some satirical verses against him. By that recent example, therefore, and the power of pardoning which the emperor still retained, there was sufficient hold of the poet's secrecy respecting the fatal transaction, which, if divulged (184) to the world, Augustus would reprobate as a false and infamous libel, and punish the author accordingly. Ovid, on his part, was sensible, that, should he dare to violate the important but tacit injunction, the imperial vengeance would reach him even on the shores of the Euxine. It appears, however, from a passage in the *Ibis*, which can apply to no other than Augustus, that Ovid was not sent into banishment destitute of pecuniary provision:

Di melius! quorum longe mihi maximus ille,
Qui nostras inopes noluit esse vias.
Huic igitur meritas grates, ubicumque licebit,

Pro tam mansueto pectore semper agam.

The gods defend! of whom he's far the chief,
Who lets me not, though banished, want relief.
For this his favour therefore whilst I live,
Where'er I am, deserved thanks I'll give.

What sum the emperor bestowed, for the support of a banishment which he was resolved should be perpetual, it is impossible to ascertain; but he had formerly been liberal to Ovid, as well as to other poets.

If we might hazard a conjecture respecting the scene of the intrigue which occasioned the banishment of Ovid, we should place it in some recess in the emperor's gardens. His house, though called Palatium, the palace, as being built on the Palatine hill, and inhabited by the sovereign, was only a small mansion, which had formerly belonged to Hortensius, the orator. Adjoining to this place Augustus had built the temple of Apollo, which he endowed with a public library, and allotted for the use of poets, to recite their compositions to each other. Ovid was particularly intimate with Hyginus, one of Augustus's freedmen, who was librarian of the temple. He might therefore have been in the library, and spying from the window a young female secreting herself in the gardens, he had the curiosity to follow her.

The place of Ovid's banishment was Tomi, now said to be Baba, a town of Bulgaria, towards the mouth of the Ister, where is a lake still called by the natives Ouvidouve Jesero, the lake of Ovid. In this retirement, and the Euxine Pontus, he passed the remainder of his life, a melancholy period of seven years. Notwithstanding the lascivious writings of Ovid, it does not appear that he was in his conduct a libertine. He was three times married: his first wife, who was of mean extraction, and (185) whom he had married when he was very young, he divorced; the second he dismissed on account of her immodest behaviour; and the third appears to have survived him. He had a number of respectable friends, and seems to have been much beloved by them. —

TIBULLUS was descended of an equestrian family, and is said, but erroneously, as will afterwards appear, to have been born on the same day with Ovid. His amiable accomplishments procured him the friendship of Messala Corvinus, whom he accompanied in a military expedition to the island of Corcyra. But an indisposition with which he was seized, and a natural aversion to the toils of war, induced him to return to Rome, where he seems to have resigned himself to a life of indolence and pleasure, amidst which he devoted a part of his time to the composition of elegies. Elegiac poetry had been cultivated by several Greek writers, particularly Callimachus, Mimnermus, and Philetas;

but, so far as we can find, had, until the present age, been unknown to the Romans in their own tongue. It consisted of a heroic and pentameter line alternately, and was not, like the elegy of the moderns, usually appropriated to the lamentation of the deceased, but employed chiefly in compositions relative to love or friendship, and might, indeed, be used upon almost any subject; though, from the limp in the pentameter line, it is not suitable to sublime subjects, which require a fulness of expression, and an expansion of sound. To this species of poetry Tibullus restricted his application, by which he cultivated that simplicity and tenderness, and agreeable ease of sentiment, which constitute the characteristic perfections of the elegiac muse.

In the description of rural scenes, the peaceful occupations of the field, the charms of domestic happiness, and the joys of reciprocal love, scarcely any poet surpasses Tibullus. His luxuriant imagination collects the most beautiful flowers of nature, and he displays them with all the delicate attraction of soft and harmonious numbers. With a dexterity peculiar to himself, in whatever subject he engages, he leads his readers imperceptibly through devious paths of pleasure, of which, at the outset of the poem, they could form no conception. He seems to have often written without any previous meditation or design. Several of his elegies may be said to have neither middle nor end: yet the transitions are so natural, and the gradations so easy, that though we wander through Elysian scenes of fancy, the most heterogeneous in their nature, we are sensible of no defect in the concatenation which has joined them together. It is, however, to be regretted that, in some instances, Tibullus betrays that licentiousness of manners which (186) formed too general a characteristic even of this refined age. His elegies addressed to Messala contain a beautiful amplification of sentiments founded in friendship and esteem, in which it is difficult to say, whether the virtues of the patron or the genius of the poet be more conspicuous.

Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom he celebrates, was descended of a very ancient family. In the civil wars which followed the death of Julius Caesar he joined the republican party, and made himself master of the camp of Octavius at Philippi; but he was afterwards reconciled to his opponent, and lived to an advanced age in favour and esteem with Augustus. He was distinguished not only by his military talents, but by his eloquence, integrity, and patriotism.

From the following passage in the writings of Tibullus, commentators have conjectured that he was deprived of his lands by the same proscription in which those of Virgil had been involved:

Cui fuerant flavi ditantes ordine sulci
Horrea, faecundas ad deficientia messes,

Cuique pecus denso pascebant agmine colles,
Et domino satis, et nimium furique lupoque:

Nunc desiderium superest: nam cura novatur,
Cum memor anteactos semper dolor admovet annos.

Lib. iv. El. 1.

But this seems not very probable, when we consider that Horace, several years after that period, represents him as opulent.

Dii tibi divitias dederant, artemque fruendi.

Epist. Lib. i. 4.

To thee the gods a fair estate

In bounty gave, with heart to know

How to enjoy what they bestow. — Francis.

We know not the age of Tibullus at the time of his death; but in an elegy written by Ovid upon that occasion, he is spoken of as a young man. Were it true, as is said by biographers, that he was born the same day with Ovid, we must indeed assign the event to an early period: for Ovid cannot have written the elegy after the forty-third year of his own life, and how long before is uncertain. In the tenth elegy of the fourth book, *De Tristibus*, he observes, that the fates had allowed little time for the cultivation of his friendship with Tibullus.

Virgilium vidi tantum: nec avara Tibullo

Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.

Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle; Propertius illi:

Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

Utque ego majores, sic me coluere minores.

(187) Virgil I only saw, and envious fate
Did soon my friend Tibullus hence translate.

He followed Gallus, and Propertius him,

And I myself was fourth in course of time. — Catlin.

As both Ovid and Tibullus lived at Rome, were both of the equestrian order, and of congenial dispositions, it is natural to suppose that their acquaintance commenced at an early period; and if, after all, it was of short duration, there would be no improbability in concluding, that Tibullus died at the age of some years under thirty. It is evident, however, that biographers have committed a mistake with regard to the birth of this poet; for in the passage above cited of the *Tristia*, Ovid mentions Tibullus as a writer, who, though his contemporary, was much older than himself. From this passage we should be justified in placing the

death of Tibullus between the fortieth and fiftieth year of his age, and rather nearer to the latter period; for, otherwise, Horace would scarcely have mentioned him in the manner he does in one of his epistles.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat;
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quicquid dignam sapiente bonoque est? — Epist. i. 4.

Albius, in whom my satires find
A critic, candid, just, and kind,
Do you, while at your country seat,
Some rhyming labours meditate,
That shall in volumed bulk arise,
And e'en from Cassius bear the prize;
Or saunter through the silent wood,
Musing on what befits the good. — Francis.

This supposition is in no degree inconsistent with the authority of Ovid, where he mentions him as a young man; for the Romans extended the period of youth to the fiftieth year. —

PROPERTIUS was born at Mevania, a town of Umbria, seated at the confluence of the Tina and Clitumnus. This place was famous for its herds of white cattle, brought up there for sacrifice, and supposed to be impregnated with that colour by the waters of the river last mentioned.

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, saepe tuo perfusi fluorine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere triumphos. — Georg. ii.

And where thy sacred streams, Clitumnus! flow,
White herds, and stateliest bulls that oft have led
Triumphant Rome, and on her altars bled. — Sotheby.

(188) His father is said by some to have been a Roman knight, and they add, that he was one of those who, when L. Antony was starved out of Perasia, were, by the order of Octavius, led to the altar of Julius Caesar, and there slain. Nothing more is known with certainty, than that Propertius lost his father at an early age, and being deprived of a great part of his patrimony, betook himself to Rome, where his genius soon recommended him to public notice, and he obtained the patronage of Mecaenas. From his frequent introduction of historical and mythological subjects into his poems, he received the appellation of “the

learned.”

Of all the Latin elegiac poets, Propertius has the justest claim to purity of thought and expression. He often draws his imagery from reading, more than from the imagination, and abounds less in description than sentiment. For warmth of passion he is not conspicuous, and his tenderness is seldom marked with a great degree of sensibility; but, without rapture, he is animated, and, like Horace, in the midst of gaiety, he is moral. The stores with which learning supplies him diversify as well as illustrate his subject, while delicacy everywhere discovers a taste refined by the habit of reflection. His versification, in general, is elegant, but not uniformly harmonious.

Tibullus and Propertius have each written four books of Elegies; and it has been disputed which of them is superior in this department of poetry. Quintilian has given his suffrage in favour of Tibullus, who, so far as poetical merit alone is the object of consideration, seems entitled to the preference. —

GALLUS was a Roman knight, distinguished not only for poetical, but military talents. Of his poetry we have only six elegies, written, in the person of an old man, on the subject of old age, but which, there is reason to think, were composed at an earlier part of the author’s life. Except the fifth elegy, which is tainted with immodesty, the others, particularly the first, are highly beautiful, and may be placed in competition with any other productions of the elegiac kind. Gallus was, for some time, in great favour with Augustus, who appointed him governor of Egypt. It is said, however, that he not only oppressed the province by extortion, but entered into a conspiracy against his benefactor, for which he was banished. Unable to sustain such a reverse of fortune, he fell into despair, and laid violent hands on himself. This is the Gallus in honour of whom Virgil composed his tenth eclogue.

Such are the celebrated productions of the Augustan age, which have been happily preserved, for the delight and admiration of mankind, and will survive to the latest posterity. Many (189) more once existed, of various merit, and of different authors, which have left few or no memorials behind them, but have perished promiscuously amidst the indiscriminate ravages of time, of accidents, and of barbarians. Amongst the principal authors whose works are lost, are Varius and Valgius; the former of whom, besides a panegyric upon Augustus, composed some tragedies. According to Quintilian, his *Thyestes* was equal to any composition of the Greek tragic poets.

The great number of eminent writers, poets in particular, who adorned this age, has excited general admiration, and the phenomenon is usually ascribed to a fortuitous occurrence, which baffles all inquiry: but we shall endeavour to develop the various causes which seem to have produced this effect; and should

the explanation appear satisfactory, it may favour an opinion, that under similar circumstances, if ever they should again be combined, a period of equal glory might arise in other ages and nations.

The Romans, whether from the influence of climate, or their mode of living, which in general was temperate, were endowed with a lively imagination, and, as we before observed, a spirit of enterprise. Upon the final termination of the Punic war, and the conquest of Greece, their ardour, which had hitherto been exercised in military achievements, was diverted into the channel of literature; and the civil commotions which followed, having now ceased, a fresh impulse was given to activity in the ambitious pursuit of the laurel, which was now only to be obtained by glorious exertions of intellect. The beautiful productions of Greece, operating strongly upon their minds, excited them to imitation; imitation, when roused amongst a number, produced emulation; and emulation cherished an extraordinary thirst of fame, which, in every exertion of the human mind, is the parent of excellence. This liberal contention was not a little promoted by the fashion introduced at Rome, for poets to recite their compositions in public; a practice which seems to have been carried even to a ridiculous excess. — Such was now the rage for poetical composition in the Roman capital, that Horace describes it in the following terms:

Mutavit mentem populus levis, et calet uno
Scribendi studio: pueri patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti coenant, et carmina dictant. — Epist. ii. 1.

* * * * *

Now the light people bend to other aims;
A lust of scribbling every breast inflames;
Our youth, our senators, with bays are crowned,
And rhymes eternal as our feasts go round.

(190) Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim. — Hor. Epist. ii. 1.

But every desperate blockhead dares to write,
Verse is the trade of every living wight. — Francis.

The thirst of fame above mentioned, was a powerful incentive, and is avowed both by Virgil and Horace. The former, in the third book of his Georgics, announces a resolution of rendering himself celebrated, if possible.

—— tentanda via est qua me quoque possim

Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora.

I, too, will strive o'er earth my flight to raise,
And wing'd by victory, catch the gale of praise. — Sotheby.

And Horace, in the conclusion of his first Ode, expresses himself in terms which indicate a similar purpose.

Quad si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

But if you rank me with the choir,
Who tuned with art the Grecian lyre;
Swift to the noblest heights of fame,
Shall rise thy poet's deathless name. — Francis.

Even Sallust, a historian, in his introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, scruples not to insinuate the same kind of ambition. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere; et quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere.

Another circumstance of great importance, towards the production of such poetry as might live through every age, was the extreme attention which the great poets of this period displayed, both in the composition, and the polishing of their works. Virgil, when employed upon the Georgics, usually wrote in the morning, and applied much of the subsequent part of the day to correction and improvement. He compared himself to a bear, that licks her cub into form. If this was his regular practice in the Georgics, we may justly suppose that it was the same in the Aeneid. Yet, after all this labour, he intended to devote three years entirely to its farther amendment. Horace has gone so far in recommending careful correction, that he figuratively mentions nine years as an adequate period for that purpose. But whatever may be the time, there is no precept which he urges either oftener or more forcibly, than a due attention to this important subject.

(191) Saepe stylum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
Scripturus. — Sat. i. x.

Would you a reader's just esteem engage?
Correct with frequent care the blotted page. — Francis.

—— — Vos, O

Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non
Multa dies et multa litura coercuit, atque
Perfectum decies non castigavit ad uiguem.

De. Art. Poet.

Sons of Pompilius, with contempt receive,
Nor let the hardy poem hope to live,
Where time and full correction don't refine
The finished work, and polish every line. — Francis.

To the several causes above enumerated, as concurring to form the great superiority of the Augustan age, as respects the productions of literature, one more is to be subjoined, of a nature the most essential: the liberal and unparalleled encouragement given to distinguished talents by the emperor and his minister. This was a principle of the most powerful energy: it fanned the flame of genius, invigorated every exertion; and the poets who basked in the rays of imperial favour, and the animating patronage of Mecaenas, experienced a poetic enthusiasm which approached to real inspiration.

Having now finished the proposed explanation, relative to the celebrity of the Augustan age, we shall conclude with recapitulating in a few words the causes of this extraordinary occurrence.

The models, then, which the Romans derived from Grecian poetry, were the finest productions of human genius; their incentives to emulation were the strongest that could actuate the heart. With ardour, therefore, and industry in composing, and with unwearied patience in polishing their compositions, they attained to that glorious distinction in literature, which no succeeding age has ever rivalled.

TIBERIUS NERO CAESAR.

I. The patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a plebeian family of the same name, no way inferior to the other either in power or dignity) came originally from Regilli, a town of the Sabines. They removed thence to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependants, under Titus Tatius, who reigned jointly with Romulus in the kingdom; or, perhaps, what is related upon better authority, under Atta Claudius, the head of the family, who was admitted by the senate into the patrician order six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins. They likewise received from the state, lands beyond the Anio for their followers, and a burying-place for themselves near the capitol . After this period, in process of time, the family had the honour of twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations. Their descendants were distinguished by various praenomina and cognomina, but rejected by common consent the praenomen of (193) Lucius, when, of the two races who bore it, one individual had been convicted of robbery, and another of murder. Amongst other cognomina, they assumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine language signifies strong and valiant.

II. It appears from record, that many of the Claudii have performed signal services to the state, as well as committed acts of delinquency. To mention the most remarkable only, Appius Caecus dissuaded the senate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the republic . Claudius Candex first passed the straits of Sicily with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians out of the island . Claudius Nero cut off Hasdrubal with a vast army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain, before he could form a junction with his brother Hannibal . On the other hand, Claudius Appius Regillanus, one of the Decemvirs, made a violent attempt to have a free virgin, of whom he was enamoured, adjudged a slave; which caused the people to secede a second time from the senate . Claudius Drusus erected a statue of himself wearing a crown at Appii Forum, and endeavoured, by means of his dependants, to make himself master of Italy. Claudius Pulcher, when, off the coast of Sicily, the pullets used for taking augury would not eat, in contempt of the omen threw them overboard, as if they should drink at least, if they would not eat; and then engaging the enemy, was routed. After his defeat, when he (194) was ordered by the senate to name a dictator, making a sort of jest of the public disaster, he named Glycias, his apparitor.

The women of this family, likewise, exhibited characters equally opposed to each other. For both the Claudias belonged to it; she, who, when the ship freighted with things sacred to the Idaean Mother of the Gods, stuck fast in the

shallows of the Tiber, got it off, by praying to the Goddess with a loud voice, "Follow me, if I am chaste;" and she also, who, contrary to the usual practice in the case of women, was brought to trial by the people for treason; because, when her litter was stopped by a great crowd in the streets, she openly exclaimed, "I wish my brother Pulcher was alive now, to lose another fleet, that Rome might be less thronged." Besides, it is well known, that all the Claudii, except Publius Claudius, who, to effect the banishment of Cicero, procured himself to be adopted by a plebeian, and one younger than himself, were always of the patrician party, as well as great sticklers for the honour and power of that order; and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the plebeians, that not one of them, even in the case of a trial for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favour; and some of them in their contests, have even proceeded to lay hands on the tribunes of the people. A Vestal Virgin likewise of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honour of a triumph contrary to the will of the people, mounted the chariot with him, and attended him into the Capitol, that it might not be lawful for any of the tribunes to interfere and forbid it.

III. From this family Tiberius Caesar is descended; indeed both by the father and mother's side; by the former from Tiberius Nero, and by the latter from Appius Pulcher, who were both sons of Appius Caecus. He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather into it; which family, although plebeian, made a (195) distinguished figure, having had the honour of eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship, and the office of master of the horse; and was famous for eminent men, particularly, Salinator and the Drusi. Salinator, in his censorship, branded all the tribes, for their inconstancy in having made him consul a second time, as well as censor, although they had condemned him to a heavy fine after his first consulship. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new surname, by killing in single combat Drausus, the enemy's chief. He is likewise said to have recovered, when pro-praetor in the province of Gaul, the gold which was formerly given to the Senones, at the siege of the Capitol, and had not, as is reported, been forced from them by Camillus. His great-great-grandson, who, for his extraordinary services against the Gracchi, was styled the "Patron of the Senate," left a son, who, while plotting in a sedition of the same description, was treacherously murdered by the opposite party.

IV. But the father of Tiberius Caesar, being quaestor to Caius Caesar, and commander of his fleet in the war of Alexandria, contributed greatly to its success. He was therefore made one of the high-priests in the room of Publius Scipio; and was sent to settle some colonies in Gaul, and amongst the rest, those

of Narbonne and Arles . After the assassination of Caesar, however, when the rest of the senators, for fear of public disturbances; were for having the affair buried in oblivion, he proposed a resolution for rewarding those who had killed the tyrant. Having filled the office of praetor, and at the end of the year a disturbance breaking out amongst the triumviri, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following Lucius Antonius the consul, brother of the triumvir, to Perusia, though the rest submitted, yet he himself continued firm to the party, and escaped first to Praeneste, and then to Naples; whence, having in vain invited the slaves to liberty, he fled over to Sicily. But resenting (196) his not being immediately admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompey, and being also prohibited the use of the fasces, he went over into Achaia to Mark Antony; with whom, upon a reconciliation soon after brought about amongst the several contending parties, he returned to Rome; and, at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife Livia Drusilla, although she was then big with child, and had before borne him a son. He died not long after; leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero.

V. Some have imagined that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but there is only this trifling foundation for the conjecture, that his mother's grandmother was of Fundi, and that the image of Good Fortune was, by a decree of the senate, erected in a public place in that town. But according to the greatest number of writers, and those too of the best authority, he was born at Rome, in the Palatine quarter, upon the sixteenth of the calends of December [16th Nov.], when Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was second time consul, with Lucius Munatius Plancus, after the battle of Philippi; for so it is registered in the calendar, and the public acts. According to some, however, he was born the preceding year, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa; and others say, in the year following, during the consulship of Servilius Isauricus and Antony.

VI. His infancy and childhood were spent in the midst of danger and trouble; for he accompanied his parents everywhere in their flight, and twice at Naples nearly betrayed them by his crying, when they were privately hastening to a ship, as the enemy rushed into the town; once, when he was snatched from his nurse's breast, and again, from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who on the sudden emergency wished to relieve the women of their burden. Being carried through Sicily and Achaia, and entrusted for some time to the care of the Lacedaemonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence when travelling by night, he ran the hazard of his life, by a fire which, suddenly bursting out of a wood on all sides, surrounded the whole party so closely, that part of Livia's dress and hair was burnt. The presents which were made him (197) by Pompeia, sister to Sextus Pompey, in Sicily,

namely, a cloak, with a clasp, and bullae of gold, are still in existence, and shewn at Baiae to this day. After his return to the city, being adopted by Marcus Gallius, a senator, in his will, he took possession of the estate; but soon afterwards declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party opposed to Augustus. When only nine years of age, he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his father upon the rostra; and afterwards, when he had nearly attained the age of manhood, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his triumph for the victory at Actium, riding on the left-hand horse, whilst Marcellus, Octavia's son, rode that on the right. He likewise presided at the games celebrated on account of that victory; and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he commanded a troop of the biggest boys.

VII. After assuming the manly habit, he spent his youth, and the rest of his life until he succeeded to the government, in the following manner: he gave the people an entertainment of gladiators, in memory of his father, and another for his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places: the first in the forum, the second in the amphitheatre; some gladiators who had been honourably discharged, being induced to engage again, by a reward of a hundred thousand sesterces. He likewise exhibited public sports, at which he was not present himself. All these he performed with great magnificence, at the expense of his mother and father-in-law. He married Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Caecilius Atticus, a Roman knight, the same person to whom Cicero has addressed so many epistles. After having by her his son Drusus, he was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affection, and was again pregnant, to make way for marrying Augustus's daughter Julia. But this he did with extreme reluctance; for, besides having the warmest attachment to Agrippina, he was disgusted with the conduct of Julia, who had made indecent advances to him during the lifetime of her former husband; and that she was a woman of loose character, was the general opinion. At divorcing Agrippina he felt the deepest regret; and upon meeting her afterwards, (198) he looked after her with eyes so passionately expressive of affection, that care was taken she should never again come in his sight. At first, however, he lived quietly and happily with Julia; but a rupture soon ensued, which became so violent, that after the loss of their son, the pledge of their union, who was born at Aquileia and died in infancy, he never would sleep with her more. He lost his brother Drusus in Germany, and brought his body to Rome, travelling all the way on foot before it.

VIII. When he first applied himself to civil affairs, he defended the several causes of king Archelaus, the Trallians, and the Thessalians, before Augustus, who sat as judge at the trials. He addressed the senate on behalf of the

Laodiceans, the Thyatireans, and Chians, who had suffered greatly by an earthquake, and implored relief from Rome. He prosecuted Fannius Caepio, who had been engaged in a conspiracy with Varro Muraena against Augustus, and procured sentence of condemnation against him. Amidst all this, he had besides to superintend two departments of the administration, that of supplying the city with corn, which was then very scarce, and that of clearing the houses of correction throughout Italy, the masters of which had fallen under the odious suspicion of seizing and keeping confined, not only travellers, but those whom the fear of being obliged to serve in the army had driven to seek refuge in such places.

IX. He made his first campaign, as a military tribune, in the Cantabrian war . Afterwards he led an army into the East, where he restored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes; and seated on a tribunal, put a crown upon his head. He likewise recovered from the Parthians the standards which they had taken from Crassus. He next governed, for nearly a year, the province of Gallia Comata, which was then in great disorder, on account of the incursions of the barbarians, and the feuds of the chiefs. He afterwards commanded in the several wars against the Rhaetians, Vindelicians, Pannonians, and Germans. In the Rhaetian and Vindelician wars, he subdued the nations in the Alps; and in the Pannonian wars the Bruci, and (199) the Dalmatians. In the German war, he transplanted into Gaul forty thousand of the enemy who had submitted, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For these actions, he entered the city with an ovation, but riding in a chariot, and is said by some to have been the first that ever was honoured with this distinction. He filled early the principal offices of state; and passed through the quaestorship, praetorship, and consulate almost successively. After some interval, he was chosen consul a second time, and held the tribunitian authority during five years.

X. Surrounded by all this prosperity, in the prime of life and in excellent health, he suddenly formed the resolution of withdrawing to a greater distance from Rome . It is uncertain whether this was the result of disgust for his wife, whom he neither durst accuse nor divorce, and the connection with whom became every day more intolerable; or to prevent that indifference towards him, which his constant residence in the city might produce; or in the hope of supporting and improving by absence his authority in the state, if the public should have occasion for his service. Some are of opinion, that as Augustus's sons were now grown up to years of maturity, he voluntarily relinquished the possession he had long enjoyed of the second place in the government, as Agrippa had done before him; who, when M. Marcellus was advanced to public offices, retired to Mitylene, that he might not seem to stand in the way of his

promotion, or in any respect lessen him by his presence. The same reason likewise Tiberius gave afterwards for his retirement; but his pretext at this time was, that he was satiated with honours, and desirous of being relieved from the fatigue of business; requesting therefore that he might have leave to withdraw. And neither the earnest entreaties of his mother, nor the complaint of his father-in-law made even in the senate, that he was deserted by him, could prevail upon him to alter his resolution. Upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to take any sustenance for four days together. At last, having obtained permission, leaving his wife and son at Rome, he proceeded (200) to Ostia, without exchanging a word with those who attended him, and having embraced but very few persons at parting.

XI. From Ostia, journeying along the coast of Campania, he halted awhile on receiving intelligence of Augustus's being taken ill, but this giving rise to a rumour that he stayed with a view to something extraordinary, he sailed with the wind almost full against him, and arrived at Rhodes, having been struck with the pleasantness and healthiness of the island at the time of his landing therein his return from Armenia. Here contenting himself with a small house, and a villa not much larger, near the town, he led entirely a private life, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia, without any lictor or other attendant, and returning the civilities of the Greeks with almost as much complaisance as if he had been upon a level with them. One morning, in settling the course of his daily excursion, he happened to say, that he should visit all the sick people in the town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick were brought into a public portico, and ranged in order, according to their several distempers. Being extremely embarrassed by this unexpected occurrence, he was for some time irresolute how he should act; but at last he determined to go round them all, and make an apology for the mistake even to the meanest amongst them, and such as were entirely unknown to him. One instance only is mentioned, in which he appeared to exercise his tribunitian authority. Being a constant attendant upon the schools and lecture-rooms of the professors of the liberal arts, on occasion of a quarrel amongst the wrangling (201) sophists, in which he interposed to reconcile them, some person took the liberty to abuse him as an intruder, and partial in the affair. Upon this, withdrawing privately home, he suddenly returned attended by his officers, and summoning his accuser before his tribunal, by a public crier, ordered him to be taken to prison. Afterwards he received tidings that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lewdness and adultery, and that a bill of divorce had been sent to her in his name, by the authority of Augustus. Though he secretly rejoiced at this intelligence, he thought it incumbent upon him, in point of decency, to interpose in her behalf by

frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her to retain the presents which he had made her, notwithstanding the little regard she merited from him. When the period of his tribunitian authority expired, declaring at last that he had no other object in his retirement than to avoid all suspicion of rivalry with Caius and Lucius, he petitioned that, since he was now secure in that respect, as they were come to the age of manhood, and would easily maintain themselves in possession of the second place in the state, he might be permitted to visit his friends, whom he was very desirous of seeing. But his request was denied; and he was advised to lay aside all concern for his friends, whom he had been so eager to greet.

XII. He therefore continued at Rhodes much against his will, obtaining, with difficulty, through his mother, the title of Augustus's lieutenant, to cover his disgrace. He thenceforth lived, however, not only as a private person, but as one suspected and under apprehension, retiring into the interior of the country, and avoiding the visits of those who sailed that way, which were very frequent; for no one passed to take command of an army, or the government of a province, without touching at Rhodes. But there were fresh reasons for increased anxiety. For crossing over to Samos, on a visit to his step-son Caius, who had been appointed governor of the East, he found him prepossessed against him, by the insinuations of Marcus Lollius, his companion and director. He likewise fell under suspicion of sending by some centurions who had been promoted by himself, upon their return to the camp after a furlough, mysterious messages to several persons there, intended, apparently, to (202) tamper with them for a revolt. This jealousy respecting his designs being intimated to him by Augustus, he begged repeatedly that some person of any of the three Orders might be placed as a spy upon him in every thing he either said or did.

XIII. He laid aside likewise his usual exercises of riding and arms; and quitting the Roman habit, made use of the Pallium and Crepida . In this condition he continued almost two years, becoming daily an object of increasing contempt and odium; insomuch that the people of Nismes pulled down all the images and statues of him in their town; and upon mention being made of him at table one of the company said to Caius, "I will sail over to Rhodes immediately, if you desire me, and bring you the head of the exile;" for that was the appellation now given him. Thus alarmed not only by apprehensions, but real danger, he renewed his solicitations for leave to return; and, seconded by the most urgent supplications of his mother, he at last obtained his request; to which an accident somewhat contributed. Augustus had resolved to determine nothing in the affair, but with the consent of his eldest son. The latter was at that time out of humour with Marcus Lollius, and therefore easily disposed to be favourable to

his father-in-law. Caius thus acquiescing, he was recalled, but upon condition that he should take no concern whatever in the administration of affairs.

XIV. He returned to Rome after an absence of nearly eight years, with great and confident hopes of his future elevation, which he had entertained from his youth, in consequence of various prodigies and predictions. For Livia, when pregnant with him, being anxious to discover, by different modes of divination, whether her offspring would be a son, amongst others, took an egg from a hen that was sitting, and kept it warm with her own hands, and those of her maids, by turns, until a fine cock-chicken, with a large comb, was hatched. Scribonius, the astrologer, predicted great things of him when he was a mere child. "He will come in time," said the prophet, "to be even a king, but without the usual badge of royal dignity;" the rule of the Caesars being as yet unknown. When he was (203) making his first expedition, and leading his army through Macedonia into Syria, the altars which had been formerly consecrated at Philippi by the victorious legions, blazed suddenly with spontaneous fires. Soon after, as he was marching to Illyricum, he stopped to consult the oracle of Geryon, near Padua; and having drawn a lot by which he was desired to throw golden tali into the fountain of Aponus, for an answer to his inquiries, he did so, and the highest numbers came up. And those very tali are still to be seen at the bottom of the fountain. A few days before his leaving Rhodes, an eagle, a bird never before seen in that island, perched on the top of his house. And the day before he received intelligence of the permission granted him to return, as he was changing his dress, his tunic appeared to be all on fire. He then likewise had a remarkable proof of the skill of Thrasyllus, the astrologer, whom, for his proficiency in philosophical researches, he had taken into his family. For, upon sight of the ship which brought the intelligence, he said, good news was coming whereas every thing going wrong before, and quite contrary to his predictions, Tiberius had intended that very moment, when they were walking together, to throw him into the sea, as an impostor, and one to whom he had too hastily entrusted his secrets.

XV. Upon his return to Rome, having introduced his son Drusus into the forum, he immediately removed from Pompey's house, in the Carinae, to the gardens of Mecaenas, on the Esquiline, and resigned himself entirely to his ease, performing only the common offices of civility in private life, without any preferment in the government. But Caius and Lucius being both carried off in the space of three years, he was adopted by Augustus, along with their brother Agrippa; being obliged in the first place to adopt Germanicus, his brother's son. After his adoption, he never more acted as master of a (204) family, nor exercised, in the smallest degree, the rights which he had lost by it. For he neither disposed of anything in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave; nor so

much as received any estate left him by will, nor any legacy, without reckoning it as a part of his peculium or property held under his father. From that day forward, nothing was omitted that might contribute to the advancement of his grandeur, and much more, when, upon Agrippa being discarded and banished, it was evident that the hope of succession rested upon him alone.

XVI. The tribunitian authority was again conferred upon him for five years, and a commission given him to settle the affairs of Germany. The ambassadors of the Parthians, after having had an audience of Augustus, were ordered to apply to him likewise in his province. But on receiving intelligence of an insurrection in Illyricum, he went over to superintend the management of that new war, which proved the most serious of all the foreign wars since the Carthaginian. This he conducted during three years, with fifteen legions and an equal number of auxiliary forces, under great difficulties, and an extreme scarcity of corn. And though he was several times recalled, he nevertheless persisted; fearing lest an enemy so powerful, and so near, should fall upon the army in their retreat. This resolution was attended with good success; for he at last reduced to complete subjection all Illyricum, lying between Italy and the kingdom of Noricum, Thrace, Macedonia, the river Danube, and the Adriatic gulf.

XVII. The glory he acquired by these successes received an increase from the conjuncture in which they happened. For almost about that very time Quintilius Varus was cut off with three legions in Germany; and it was generally believed that the victorious Germans would have joined the Pannonians, had not the war of Illyricum been previously concluded. A triumph, therefore, besides many other great honours, was decreed him. Some proposed that the surname of "Pannonicus," others that of "Invincible," and others, of "O Pius," should be conferred on him; but Augustus interposed, engaging for him that he would be satisfied with that to which he would succeed at his death. He postponed his triumph, because (205) the state was at that time under great affliction for the disaster of Varus and his army. Nevertheless, he entered the city in a triumphal robe, crowned with laurel, and mounting a tribunal in the Septa, sat with Augustus between the two consuls, whilst the senate gave their attendance standing; whence, after he had saluted the people, he was attended by them in procession to the several temples.

XVIII. Next year he went again to Germany, where finding that the defeat of Varus was occasioned by the rashness and negligence of the commander, he thought proper to be guided in everything by the advice of a council of war; whereas, at other times, he used to follow the dictates of his own judgment, and considered himself alone as sufficiently qualified for the direction of affairs. He

likewise used more cautions than usual. Having to pass the Rhine, he restricted the whole convoy within certain limits, and stationing himself on the bank of the river, would not suffer the waggons to cross the river, until he had searched them at the water-side, to see that they carried nothing but what was allowed or necessary. Beyond the Rhine, such was his way of living, that he took his meals sitting on the bare ground, and often passed the night without a tent; and his regular orders for the day, as well as those upon sudden emergencies, he gave in writing, with this injunction, that in case of any doubt as to the meaning of them, they should apply to him for satisfaction, even at any hour of the night.

XIX. He maintained the strictest discipline amongst the troops; reviving many old customs relative to punishing and degrading offenders; setting a mark of disgrace even upon the commander of a legion, for sending a few soldiers with one of his freedmen across the river for the purpose of hunting. Though it was his desire to leave as little as possible in the power of fortune or accident, yet he always engaged the enemy with more confidence when, in his night-watches, the lamp failed and went out of itself; trusting, as he said, in an omen which had never failed him and his ancestors (206) in all their commands. But, in the midst of victory, he was very near being assassinated by some Bructerian, who mixing with those about him, and being discovered by his trepidation, was put to the torture, and confessed his intended crime.

XX. After two years, he returned from Germany to the city, and celebrated the triumph which he had deferred, attended by his lieutenants, for whom he had procured the honour of triumphal ornaments . Before he turned to ascend the Capitol, he alighted from his chariot, and knelt before his father, who sat by, to superintend the solemnity. Bato, the Pannonian chief, he sent to Ravenna, loaded with rich presents, in gratitude for his having suffered him and his army to retire from a position in which he had so enclosed them, that they were entirely at his mercy. He afterwards gave the people a dinner at a thousand tables, besides thirty sesterces to each man. He likewise dedicated the temple of Concord, and that of Castor and Pollux, which had been erected out of the spoils of the war, in his own and his brother's name.

XXI. A law having been not long after carried by the consuls for his being appointed a colleague with Augustus in the administration of the provinces, and in taking the census, when that was finished he went into Illyricum . But being hastily recalled during his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed, but past all hopes of recovery, and was with him in private a whole day. I know, it is generally believed, that upon Tiberius's quitting the room, after their private conference, those who were in waiting overheard Augustus say, "Ah! unhappy Roman people, to be ground by the jaws of such a slow devourer!" Nor am I

ignorant of its being reported by some, that Augustus so openly and undisguisedly condemned the sourness of his temper, that sometimes, upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular conversation in which he was engaged; and that he was only prevailed upon by the (207) importunity of his wife to adopt him; or actuated by the ambitious view of recommending his own memory from a comparison with such a successor. Yet I must hold to this opinion, that a prince so extremely circumspect and prudent as he was, did nothing rashly, especially in an affair of so great importance; but that, upon weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius with each other, he judged the latter to preponderate; and this the rather since he swore publicly, in an assembly of the people, that “he adopted him for the public good.” Besides, in several of his letters, he extols him as a consummate general, and the only security of the Roman people. Of such declarations I subjoin the following instances: “Farewell, my dear Tiberius, and may success attend you, whilst you are warring for me and the Muses . Farewell, my most dear, and (as I hope to prosper) most gallant man, and accomplished general.” Again. “The disposition of your summer quarters? In truth, my dear Tiberius, I do not think, that amidst so many difficulties, and with an army so little disposed for action, any one could have behaved more prudently than you have done. All those likewise who were with you, acknowledge that this verse is applicable to you:”

Unus homo nobis *vigilando* restituit rem.

One man by vigilance restored the state.

“Whenever,” he says, “anything happens that requires more than ordinary consideration, or I am out of humour upon any occasion, I still, by Hercules! long for my dear Tiberius; and those lines of Homer frequently occur to my thoughts:”

Toutou d’ espomenoio kai ek pyros aithomenoio

Ampho nostaesuimen, epei peri oide noaesai.

Bold from his prudence, I could ev’n aspire

To dare with him the burning rage of fire.

“When I hear and read that you are much impaired by the (208) continued fatigues you undergo, may the gods confound me if my whole frame does not tremble! So I beg you to spare yourself, lest, if we should hear of your being ill, the news prove fatal both to me and your mother, and the Roman people should be in peril for the safety of the empire. It matters nothing whether I be well or no, if you be not well. I pray heaven preserve you for us, and bless you with health both now and ever, if the gods have any regard for the Roman people.”

XXII. He did not make the death of Augustus public, until he had taken off

young Agrippa. He was slain by a tribune who commanded his guard, upon reading a written order for that purpose: respecting which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left it in his last moments, to prevent any occasion of public disturbance after his decease, or Livia issued it, in the name of Augustus; and whether with the knowledge of Tiberius or not. When the tribune came to inform him that he had executed his command, he replied, "I commanded you no such thing, and you must answer for it to the senate;" avoiding, as it seems, the odium of the act for that time. And the affair was soon buried in silence.

XXIII. Having summoned the senate to meet by virtue of his tribunitian authority, and begun a mournful speech, he drew a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction; and wishing that not his voice only, but his very breath of life, might fail him, gave his speech to his son Drusus to read. Augustus's will was then brought in, and read by a freedman; none of the witnesses to it being admitted, but such as were of the senatorian order, the rest owning their hand-writing without doors. The will began thus: "Since my ill-fortune has deprived me of my two sons, Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Caesar be heir to two-thirds of my estate." These words countenanced the suspicion of those who were of opinion, that Tiberius was appointed successor more out of necessity than choice, since Augustus could not refrain from prefacing his will in that manner.

XXIV. Though he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by giving orders that he (209) should be attended by the guards, who were the security and badge of the supreme power; yet he affected, by a most impudent piece of acting, to refuse it for a long time; one while sharply reprehending his friends who entreated him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was; another while keeping in suspense the senate, when they implored him and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answers, and a crafty kind of dissimulation; insomuch that some were out of patience, and one cried out, during the confusion, "Either let him accept it, or decline it at once;" and a second told him to his face, "Others are slow to perform what they promise, but you are slow to promise what you actually perform." At last, as if forced to it, and complaining of the miserable and burdensome service imposed upon him, he accepted the government; not, however, without giving hopes of his resigning it some time or other. The exact words he used were these: "Until the time shall come, when ye may think it reasonable to give some rest to my old age."

XXV. The cause of his long demur was fear of the dangers which threatened him on all hands; insomuch that he said, "I have got a wolf by the ears." For a slave of Agrippa's, Clemens by name, had drawn together a considerable force

to revenge his master's death; Lucius Scribonius Libo, a senator of the first distinction, was secretly fomenting a rebellion; and the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were mutinous. Both armies insisted upon high demands, particularly that their pay should be made equal to that of the pretorian guards. The army in Germany absolutely refused to acknowledge a prince who was not their own choice; and urged, with all possible importunity, Germanicus, who commanded them, to take the government on himself, though he obstinately refused it. It was Tiberius's apprehension from this quarter, which made him request the senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper, since no man could be sufficient for the whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended likewise to be in a bad state of health, that Germanicus might the more patiently wait in hopes of speedily succeeding him, or at least of being (210) admitted to be a colleague in the government. When the mutinies in the armies were suppressed, he got Clemens into his hands by stratagem. That he might not begin his reign by an act of severity, he did not call Libo to an account before the senate until his second year, being content, in the mean time, with taking proper precautions for his own security. For upon Libo's attending a sacrifice amongst the high-priests, instead of the usual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him; and when he desired a private conference with him, he would not grant his request, but on condition that his son Drusus should be present; and as they walked together, he held him fast by the right hand, under the pretence of leaning upon him, until the conversation was over.

XXVI. When he was delivered from his apprehensions, his behaviour at first was unassuming, and he did not carry himself much above the level of a private person; and of the many and great honours offered him, he accepted but few, and such as were very moderate. His birth-day, which happened to fall at the time of the Plebeian Circensian games, he with difficulty suffered to be honoured with the addition of only a single chariot, drawn by two horses. He forbid temples, flamens, or priests to be appointed for him, as likewise the erection of any statues or effigies for him, without his permission; and this he granted only on condition that they should not be placed amongst the images of the gods, but only amongst the ornaments of houses. He also interposed to prevent the senate from swearing to maintain his acts; and the month of September from being called Tiberius, and October being named after Livia. The praenomen likewise of EMPEROR, with the cognomen of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, and a civic crown in the vestibule of his house, he would not accept. He never used the name of AUGUSTUS, although he inherited it, in any of his letters, excepting those addressed to kings and princes. Nor had he more than three consulships;

one for a few days, another for three months, and a third, during his absence from the city, until the ides [fifteenth] of May.

XXVII. He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any senator to approach his litter, as he passed the streets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon business. (211) And when a man of consular rank, in begging his pardon for some offence he had given him, attempted to fall at his feet, he started from him in such haste, that he stumbled and fell. If any compliment was paid him, either in conversation or a set speech, he would not scruple to interrupt and reprimand the party, and alter what he had said. Being once called "lord," by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner. When another, to excite veneration, called his occupations "sacred," and a third had expressed himself thus: "By your authority I have waited upon the senate," he obliged them to change their phrases; in one of them adopting persuasion, instead of "authority," and in the other, laborious, instead of "sacred."

XXVIII. He remained unmoved at all the aspersions, scandalous reports, and lampoons, which were spread against him or his relations; declaring, "In a free state, both the tongue and the mind ought to be free." Upon the senate's desiring that some notice might be taken of those offences, and the persons charged with them, he replied, "We have not so much time upon our hands, that we ought to involve ourselves in more business. If you once make an opening for such proceedings, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence." There is also on record another sentence used by him in the senate, which is far from assuming: "If he speaks otherwise of me, I shall take care to behave in such a manner, as to be able to give a good account both of my words and actions; and if he persists, I shall hate him in my turn."

XXIX. These things were so much the more remarkable in him, because, in the respect he paid to individuals, or the whole body of the senate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Quintus Haterius in the senate-house, "Pardon me, sir," he said, "I beseech you, if I shall, as a senator, speak my mind very freely in opposition to you." Afterwards, addressing the senate in general, he said: "Conscript Fathers, I have often said it both now and at other times, that a good (212) and useful prince, whom you have invested with so great and absolute power, ought to be a slave to the senate, to the whole body of the people, and often to individuals likewise: nor am I sorry that I have said it. I have always found you good, kind, and indulgent masters, and still find you so."

XXX. He likewise introduced a certain show of liberty, by preserving to the senate and magistrates their former majesty and power. All affairs, whether of great or small importance, public or private, were laid before the senate. Taxes

and monopolies, the erecting or repairing edifices, levying and disbanding soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, and the answers to letters from foreign princes, were all submitted to the senate. He compelled the commander of a troop of horse, who was accused of robbery attended with violence, to plead his cause before the senate. He never entered the senate-house but unattended; and being once brought thither in a litter, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door.

XXXI. When some decrees were made contrary to his opinion, he did not even make any complaint. And though he thought that no magistrates after their nomination should be allowed to absent themselves from the city, but reside in it constantly, to receive their honours in person, a praetor-elect obtained liberty to depart under the honorary title of a legate at large. Again, when he proposed to the senate, that the Trebians might have leave granted them to divert some money which had been left them by will for the purpose of building a new theatre, to that of making a road, he could not prevail to have the will of the testator set aside. And when, upon a division of the house, he went over to the minority, nobody followed him. All other things of a public nature were likewise transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms; the authority of the consuls remaining so great, that some ambassadors from Africa applied to them, and complained, that they could not have their business dispatched by Caesar, to whom they had been sent. And no wonder; since it was observed that he used to rise up as the consuls approached, and give them the way.

(213) XXXII. He reprimanded some persons of consular rank in command of armies, for not writing to the senate an account of their proceedings, and for consulting him about the distribution of military rewards; as if they themselves had not a right to bestow them as they judged proper. He commended a praetor, who, on entering office, revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He attended the corpses of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He displayed the same moderation with regard to persons and things of inferior consideration. The magistrates of Rhodes, having dispatched to him a letter on public business, which was not subscribed, he sent for them, and without giving them so much as one harsh word, desired them to subscribe it, and so dismissed them. Diogenes, the grammarian, who used to hold public disquisitions, at Rhodes every sabbath-day, once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and sent him a message by a servant, postponing his admission until the next seventh day. Diogenes afterwards coming to Rome, and waiting at his door to be allowed to pay his respects to him, he sent him word to come again at the end of seven years. To

some governors, who advised him to load the provinces with taxes, he answered, "It is the part of a good shepherd to shear, not flay, his sheep."

XXXIII. He assumed the sovereignty by slow degrees, and exercised it for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first he only interposed to prevent ill management. Accordingly, he rescinded some decrees of the senate; and when the magistrates sat for the administration of justice, he frequently offered his service as assessor, either taking his place promiscuously amongst them, or seating himself in a corner of the tribunal. If a rumour prevailed, that any person under prosecution was likely to be acquitted by his interest, he would suddenly make his appearance, and from the floor of the court, (214) or the praetor's bench, remind the judges of the laws, and of their oaths, and the nature of the charge brought before them, he likewise took upon himself the correction of public morals, where they tended to decay, either through neglect, or evil custom.

XXXIV. He reduced the expense of the plays and public spectacles, by diminishing the allowances to actors, and curtailing the number of gladiators. He made grievous complaints to the senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was become enormous, and that three mullets had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces: upon which he proposed that a new sumptuary law should be enacted; that the butchers and other dealers in viands should be subject to an assize, fixed by the senate yearly; and the aediles commissioned to restrain eating-houses and taverns, so far as not even to permit the sale of any kind of pastry. And to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his solemn feasts, have at his tables victuals which had been served up the day before, and were partly eaten, and half a boar, affirming, "It has all the same good bits that the whole had." He published an edict against the practice of people's kissing each other when they met; and would not allow new-year's gifts to be presented after the calends [the first] of January was passed. He had been in the habit of returning these offerings four-fold, and making them with his own hand; but being annoyed by the continual interruption to which he was exposed during the whole month, by those who had not the opportunity of attending him on the festival, he returned none after that day.

XXXV. Married women guilty of adultery, though not prosecuted publicly, he authorised the nearest relations to punish by agreement among themselves, according to ancient custom. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife; and allowed him to divorce her, upon her being caught in criminal intercourse with her son-in-law. Women of ill-fame, divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, had now begun a practice of professing themselves prostitutes, to avoid (215) the

punishment of the laws; and the most profligate young men of the senatorian and equestrian orders, to secure themselves against a decree of the senate, which prohibited their performing on the stage, or in the amphitheatre, voluntarily subjected themselves to an infamous sentence, by which they were degraded. All those he banished, that none for the future might evade by such artifices the intention and efficacy of the law. He stripped a senator of the broad stripes on his robe, upon information of his having removed to his gardens before the calends [the first] of July, in order that he might afterwards hire a house cheaper in the city. He likewise dismissed another from the office of quaestor, for repudiating, the day after he had been lucky in drawing his lot, a wife whom he had married only the day before.

XXXVI. He suppressed all foreign religions, and the Egyptian and Jewish rites, obliging those who practised that kind of superstition, to burn their vestments, and all their sacred utensils. He distributed the Jewish youths, under the pretence of military service, among the provinces noted for an unhealthy climate; and dismissed from the city all the rest of that nation as well as those who were proselytes to that religion, under pain of slavery for life, unless they complied. He also expelled the astrologers; but upon their suing for pardon, and promising to renounce their profession, he revoked his decree.

XXXVII. But, above all things, he was careful to keep the (216) public peace against robbers, burglars, and those who were disaffected to the government. He therefore increased the number of military stations throughout Italy; and formed a camp at Rome for the pretorian cohorts, which, till then, had been quartered in the city. He suppressed with great severity all tumults of the people on their first breaking out; and took every precaution to prevent them. Some persons having been killed in a quarrel which happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players about whom the disturbance had arisen; nor could all the entreaties of the people afterwards prevail upon him to recall them. The people of Pollentia having refused to permit the removal of the corpse of a centurion of the first rank from the forum, until they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money for a public exhibition of gladiators, he detached a cohort from the city, and another from the kingdom of Cottius; who concealing the cause of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms suddenly displayed, and trumpets sounding; and having seized the greatest part of the people, and the magistrates, they were imprisoned for life. He abolished every where the privileges of all places of refuge. The Cyziceniens having committed an outrage upon some Romans, he deprived them of the liberty they had obtained for their good services in the Mithridatic war. Disturbances from foreign enemies he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever going against them in

person; nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with much reluctance, and when it was absolutely necessary. Princes who were ill-affected towards him, he kept in subjection, more by menaces and remonstrances, than by force of arms. Some whom he induced to come to him by fair words and promises, he never would permit to return home; as Maraboduus the German, Thrascypolis the (217) Thracian, and Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom he even reduced into the form of a province.

XXXVIII. He never set foot outside the gates of Rome, for two years together, from the time he assumed the supreme power; and after that period, went no farther from the city than to some of the neighbouring towns; his farthest excursion being to Antium, and that but very seldom, and for a few days; though he often gave out that he would visit the provinces and armies, and made preparations for it almost every year, by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for his retinue in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered vows to be put up for his good journey and safe return, insomuch that he was called jocosely by the name of Callipides, who is famous in a Greek proverb, for being in a great hurry to go forward, but without ever advancing a cubit.

XXXIX. But after the loss of his two sons, of whom Germanicus died in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he withdrew into Campania; at which time opinion and conversation were almost general, that he never would return, and would die soon. And both nearly turned out to be true. For indeed he never more came to Rome; and a few days after leaving it, when he was at a villa of his called the Cave, near Terracina, during supper a great many huge stones fell from above, which killed several of the guests and attendants; but he almost hopelessly escaped.

XL. After he had gone round Campania, and dedicated the capitol at Capua, and a temple to Augustus at Nola, which he made the pretext of his journey, he retired to Capri; being (218) greatly delighted with the island, because it was accessible only by a narrow beach, being on all sides surrounded with rugged cliffs, of a stupendous height, and by a deep sea. But immediately, the people of Rome being extremely clamorous for his return, on account of a disaster at Fidenae, where upwards of twenty thousand persons had been killed by the fall of the amphitheatre, during a public spectacle of gladiators, he crossed over again to the continent, and gave all people free access to him; so much the more, because, at his departure from the city, he had caused it to be proclaimed that no one should address him, and had declined admitting any persons to his presence, on the journey.

XLI. Returning to the island, he so far abandoned all care of the government, that he never filled up the decuriae of the knights, never changed any military

tribunes or prefects, or governors of provinces, and kept Spain and Syria for several years without any consular lieutenants. He likewise suffered Armenia to be seized by the Parthians, Moesia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans; to the great disgrace, and no less danger, of the empire.

XLII. But having now the advantage of privacy, and being remote from the observation of the people of Rome, he abandoned himself to all the vicious propensities which he had long but imperfectly concealed, and of which I shall here give a particular account from the beginning. While a young soldier in the camp, he was so remarkable for his excessive inclination to wine, that, for Tiberius, they called him Biberius; for Claudius, Caldius; and for Nero, Mero. And after he succeeded to the empire, and was invested with the office of reforming the morality of the people, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso; to one of whom he immediately gave the province of Syria, and to the other the prefecture of the city; declaring them, in his letters-patent, to be “very pleasant companions, and friends fit for all occasions.” He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus, a lewd and prodigal old fellow, who had been disgraced by Augustus, and reprimanded by himself but a few days before in the senate-house; upon condition that he should not recede in the least from his usual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the quaestorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off, in pledging him at table, an amphora of wine at a draught . He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sesterces, for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the truffle and the fig-pecker, the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office to administer to his voluptuousness, to which he appointed Titus Caesonius Priscus, a Roman knight.

XLIII. In his retreat at Capri, he also contrived an apartment containing couches, and adapted to the secret practice of abominable lewdness, where he entertained companies of girls and catamites, and assembled from all quarters inventors of unnatural copulations, whom he called Spintriae, who defiled one another in his presence, to inflame by the exhibition the languid appetite. He had several chambers set round with pictures and statues in the most lascivious attitudes, and furnished with the books of Elephantis, that none might want a pattern for the execution of any lewd project that was prescribed him. He likewise contrived recesses in woods and groves for the gratification of lust, where young persons of both sexes prostituted themselves in caves and hollow rocks, in the disguise of little Pans and Nymphs . So that he was publicly and

commonly called, by an abuse of the name of the island, Caprineus.

XLIV. But he was still more infamous, if possible, for an (220) abomination not fit to be mentioned or heard, much less credited. — — — — —
When a picture, painted by Parrhasius, in which the artist had represented Atalanta in the act of submitting to Meleager's lust in a most unnatural way, was bequeathed to him, with this proviso, that if the subject was offensive to him, he might receive in lieu of it a million of sesterces, he not only chose the picture, but hung it up in his bed-chamber. It is also reported that, during a sacrifice, he was so captivated with the form of a youth who held a censer, that, before the religious rites were well over, he took him aside and abused him; as also a brother of his who had been playing the flute; and soon afterwards broke the legs of both of them, for upbraiding one another with their shame.

XLV. How much he was guilty of a most foul intercourse with women even of the first quality, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, who, being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to comply with his lust, he gave her up to the common informers. Even when she was upon her trial, he frequently called out to her, and asked her, "Do you repent?" until she, quitting the court, went home, and stabbed herself; openly upbraiding the vile old lecher for his gross obscenity. Hence there was an allusion to him in a farce, which was acted at the next public sports, and was received with great applause, and became a common topic of ridicule : that the old goat — — — — —

XLVI. He was so niggardly and covetous, that he never allowed to his attendants, in his travels and expeditions, any salary, but their diet only. Once, indeed, he treated them liberally, at the instigation of his step-father, when, dividing them into three classes, according to their rank, he gave the (221) first six, the second four, and the third two, hundred thousand sesterces, which last class he called not friends, but Greeks.

XLVII. During the whole time of his government, he never erected any noble edifice; for the only things he did undertake, namely, building the temple of Augustus, and restoring Pompey's Theatre, he left at last, after many years, unfinished. Nor did he ever entertain the people with public spectacles; and he was seldom present at those which were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him; especially after he was obliged to give freedom to the comedian Actius. Having relieved the poverty of a few senators, to avoid further demands, he declared that he should for the future assist none, but those who gave the senate full satisfaction as to the cause of their necessity. Upon this, most of the needy senators, from modesty and shame, declined troubling him. Amongst these was Hortalus, grandson to the celebrated orator Quintus Hortensius, who [marrying], by the persuasion of Augustus, had brought up four

children upon a very small estate.

XLVIII. He displayed only two instances of public munificence. One was an offer to lend gratis, for three years, a hundred millions of sesterces to those who wanted to borrow; and the other, when, some large houses being burnt down upon Mount Caelius, he indemnified the owners. To the former of these he was compelled by the clamours of the people, in a great scarcity of money, when he had ratified a decree of the senate obliging all money-lenders to advance two-thirds of their capital on land, and the debtors to pay off at once the same proportion of their debts, and it was found insufficient to remedy the grievance. The other he did to alleviate in some degree the pressure of the times. But his benefaction to the sufferers by fire, he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered the Caelian Hill to be called, in future, the Augustan. To the soldiery, after doubling the legacy left them by Augustus, he never gave any thing, except a thousand denarii a man to the pretorian guards, for not joining the party of Sejanus; and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had not paid reverence to the effigies of Sejanus among their standards. He seldom gave discharges to the veteran soldiers, calculating (222) on their deaths from advanced age, and on what would be saved by thus getting rid of them, in the way of rewards or pensions. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by any act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been destroyed by an earthquake.

XLIX. In the course of a very short time, he turned his mind to sheer robbery. It is certain that Cneius Lentulus, the augur, a man of vast estate, was so terrified and worried by his threats and importunities, that he was obliged to make him his heir; and that Lepida, a lady of a very noble family, was condemned by him, in order to gratify Quirinus, a man of consular rank, extremely rich, and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and now charged her with an old design to poison him. Several persons, likewise, of the first distinction in Gaul, Spain, Syria, and Greece, had their estates confiscated upon such despicably trifling and shameless pretences, that against some of them no other charge was preferred, than that they held large sums of ready money as part of their property. Old immunities, the rights of mining, and of levying tolls, were taken from several cities and private persons. And Vonones, king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a vast treasure, claiming the protection of the Roman people, his allies, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and afterwards murdered.

L. He first manifested hatred towards his own relations in the case of his brother Drusus, betraying him by the production of a letter to himself, in which

Drusus proposed that Augustus should be forced to restore the public liberty. In course of time, he shewed the same disposition with regard to the rest of his family. So far was he from performing any office of kindness or humanity to his wife, when she was banished, and, by her father's order, confined to one town, that he forbid her to stir out of the house, or converse with any men. He even wronged her of the dowry given her by her father, and of her yearly allowance, by a quibble of law, because Augustus had made no provision for them on her behalf in his will. Being harassed by his mother, Livia, who claimed an equal share in the government with him, he frequently avoided (223) seeing her, and all long and private conferences with her, lest it should be thought that he was governed by her counsels, which, notwithstanding, he sometimes sought, and was in the habit of adopting. He was much offended at the senate, when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the Son of Livia, as well as Augustus. He, therefore, would not suffer her to be called "the Mother of her Country," nor to receive any extraordinary public distinction. Nay, he frequently admonished her "not to meddle with weighty affairs, and such as did not suit her sex;" especially when he found her present at a fire which broke out near the Temple of Vesta, and encouraging the people and soldiers to use their utmost exertions, as she had been used to do in the time of her husband.

LI. He afterwards proceeded to an open rupture with her, and, as is said, upon this occasion. She having frequently urged him to place among the judges a person who had been made free of the city, he refused her request, unless she would allow it to be inscribed on the roll, "That the appointment had been extorted from him by his mother." Enraged at this, Livia brought forth from her chapel some letters from Augustus to her, complaining of the sourness and insolence of Tiberius's temper, and these she read. So much was he offended at these letters having been kept so long, and now produced with so much bitterness against him, that some considered this incident as one of the causes of his going into seclusion, if not the principal reason for his so doing. In the (224) whole years she lived during his retirement, he saw her but once, and that for a few hours only. When she fell sick shortly afterwards, he was quite unconcerned about visiting her in her illness; and when she died, after promising to attend her funeral, he deferred his coming for several days, so that the corpse was in a state of decay and putrefaction before the interment; and he then forbid divine honours being paid to her, pretending that he acted according to her own directions. He likewise annulled her will, and in a short time ruined all her friends and acquaintance; not even sparing those to whom, on her death-bed, she had recommended the care of her funeral, but condemning one of them, a man of equestrian rank, to the treadmill.

LII. He entertained no paternal affection either for his own son Drusus, or his adopted son Germanicus. Offended at the vices of the former, who was of a loose disposition and led a dissolute life, he was not much affected at his death; but, almost immediately after the funeral, resumed his attention to business, and prevented the courts from being longer closed. The ambassadors from the people of Ilium coming rather late to offer their condolence, he said to them by way of banter, as if the affair had already faded from his memory, "And I heartily condole with you on the loss of your renowned countryman, Hector." He so much affected to depreciate Germanicus, that he spoke of his achievements as utterly insignificant, and railed at his most glorious victories as ruinous to the state; complaining of him also to the senate for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occasion of a great and sudden famine at Rome. It was believed that he took care to have him dispatched by Cneius Piso, his lieutenant in Syria. This person was afterwards tried for the murder, and would, as was supposed, have produced his orders, had they not been contained in a private and confidential dispatch. The following words therefore were posted up in many places, and frequently shouted in the night: "Give us back our Germanicus." This suspicion was afterwards confirmed by the barbarous treatment of his wife and children.

(225) LIII. His daughter-in-law Agrippina, after the death of her husband, complaining upon some occasion with more than ordinary freedom, he took her by the hand, and addressed her in a Greek verse to this effect: "My dear child, do you think yourself injured, because you are not empress?" Nor did he ever vouchsafe to speak to her again. Upon her refusing once at supper to taste some fruit which he presented to her, he declined inviting her to his table, pretending that she in effect charged him with a design to poison her; whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own. He was to offer the fruit, and she to be privately cautioned against eating what would infallibly cause her death. At last, having her accused of intending to flee for refuge to the statue of Augustus, or to the army, he banished her to the island of Pandataria . Upon her reviling him for it, he caused a centurion to beat out one of her eyes; and when she resolved to starve herself to death, he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her throat. But she persisting in her resolution, and dying soon afterwards, he persecuted her memory with the basest aspersions, and persuaded the senate to put her birth-day amongst the number of unlucky days in the calendar. He likewise took credit for not having caused her to be strangled and her body cast upon the Gemonian Steps, and suffered a decree of the senate to pass, thanking him for his clemency, and an offering of gold to be made to Jupiter Capitolinus on the occasion.

LIV. He had by Germanicus three grandsons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius; and by his son Drusus one, named Tiberius. Of these, after the loss of his sons, he commended Nero and Drusus, the two eldest sons of Germanicus, to the senate; and at their being solemnly introduced into the forum, distributed money among the people. But when he found that on entering upon the new year they were included in the public vows for his own welfare, he told the senate, "that such honours ought not to be conferred but upon those who had been proved, and were of more advanced years." By thus betraying his private feelings towards them, he exposed them to all sorts of accusations; and after practising many artifices to provoke (226) them to rail at and abuse him, that he might be furnished with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the senate; at the same time accusing them, in the bitterest terms, of the most scandalous vices. Upon their being declared enemies by the senate, he starved them to death; Nero in the island of Ponza, and Drusus in the vaults of the Palatium. It is thought by some, that Nero was driven to a voluntary death by the executioner's shewing him some halters and hooks, as if he had been sent to him by order of the senate. Drusus, it is said, was so rabid with hunger, that he attempted to eat the chaff with which his mattress was stuffed. The relics of both were so scattered, that it was with difficulty they were collected.

LV. Besides his old friends and intimate acquaintance, he required the assistance of twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, as counsellors in the administration of public affairs. Out of all this number, scarcely two or three escaped the fury of his savage disposition. All the rest he destroyed upon one pretence or another; and among them Aelius Sejanus, whose fall was attended with the ruin of many others. He had advanced this minister to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much from any real regard for him, as that by his base and sinister contrivances he might ruin the children of Germanicus, and thereby secure the succession to his own grandson by Drusus.

LVI. He treated with no greater leniency the Greeks in his family, even those with whom he was most pleased. Having asked one Zeno, upon his using some far-fetched phrases, "What uncouth dialect is that?" he replied, "The Doric." For this answer he banished him to Cinara, suspecting that he taunted him with his former residence at Rhodes, where the Doric dialect is spoken. It being his custom to start questions at supper, arising out of what he had been reading in the day, and finding that Seleucus, the grammarian, used to inquire of his attendants what authors he was then studying, and so came prepared for his enquiries — he first turned him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himself.

(227) LVII. His cruel and sullen temper appeared when he was still a boy;

which Theodorus of Gadara, his master in rhetoric, first discovered, and expressed by a very apposite simile, calling him sometimes, when he chid him, "Mud mixed with blood." But his disposition shewed itself still more clearly on his attaining the imperial power, and even in the beginning of his administration, when he was endeavouring to gain the popular favour, by affecting moderation. Upon a funeral passing by, a wag called out to the dead man, "Tell Augustus, that the legacies he bequeathed to the people are not yet paid." The man being brought before him, he ordered that he should receive what was due to him, and then be led to execution, that he might deliver the message to his father himself. Not long afterwards, when one Pompey, a Roman knight, persisted in his opposition to something he proposed in the senate, he threatened to put him in prison, and told him, "Of a Pompey I shall make a Pompeian of you;" by a bitter kind of pun playing upon the man's name, and the ill-fortune of his party.

LVIII. About the same time, when the praetor consulted him, whether it was his pleasure that the tribunals should take cognizance of accusations of treason, he replied, "The laws ought to be put in execution;" and he did put them in execution most severely. Some person had taken off the head of Augustus from one of his statues, and replaced it by another. The matter was brought before the senate, and because the case was not clear, the witnesses were put to the torture. The party accused being found guilty, and condemned, this kind of proceeding was carried so far, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change his clothes, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamped upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house, or the stews; or to reflect upon anything that had been either said or done by him. In fine, a person was condemned to death, for suffering some honours to be decreed to him in the colony where he lived, upon the same day on which they had formerly been decreed to Augustus.

(228) LIX. He was besides guilty of many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners, but more to gratify his own savage disposition. Some verses were published, which displayed the present calamities of his reign, and anticipated the future.

Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques, quare? non sunt tibi millia centum?
Omnia si quaeras, et Rhodos exsilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:

Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.

Fastidit vinum, quia jam sit it iste cruorem:

Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Sullam:

Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis
Nec semel infectas adspice caeda manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

Obdurate wretch! too fierce, too fell to move
The least kind yearnings of a mother's love!
No knight thou art, as having no estate;
Long suffered'st thou in Rhodes an exile's fate,
No more the happy Golden Age we see;
The Iron's come, and sure to last with thee.
Instead of wine he thirsted for before,
He wallows now in floods of human gore.
Reflect, ye Romans, on the dreadful times,
Made such by Marius, and by Sylla's crimes.
Reflect how Antony's ambitious rage
Twice scar'd with horror a distracted age,
And say, Alas! Rome's blood in streams will flow,
When banish'd miscreants rule this world below.

At first he would have it understood, that these satirical verses were drawn forth by the resentment of those who were impatient under the discipline of reformation, rather than that they spoke their real sentiments; and he would frequently say, "Let them hate me, so long as they do but approve my conduct." At length, however, his behaviour showed that he was sensible they were too well founded.

(229) LX. A few days after his arrival at Capri, a fisherman coming up to him unexpectedly, when he was desirous of privacy, and presenting him with a large mullet, he ordered the man's face to be scrubbed with the fish; being terrified at the thought of his having been able to creep upon him from the back of the island, over such rugged and steep rocks. The man, while undergoing the punishment, expressing his joy that he had not likewise offered him a large crab which he had also taken, he ordered his face to be farther lacerated with its

claws. He put to death one of the pretorian guards, for having stolen a peacock out of his orchard. In one of his journeys, his litter being obstructed by some bushes, he ordered the officer whose duty it was to ride on and examine the road, a centurion of the first cohorts, to be laid on his face upon the ground, and scourged almost to death.

LXI. Soon afterwards, he abandoned himself to every species of cruelty, never wanting occasions of one kind or another, to serve as a pretext. He first fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother, then those of his grandsons, and his daughter-in-law, and lastly those of Sejanus; after whose death he became cruel in the extreme. From this it appeared, that he had not been so much instigated by Sejanus, as supplied with occasions of gratifying his savage temper, when he wanted them. Though in a short memoir which he composed of his own life, he had the effrontery to write, "I have punished Sejanus, because I found him bent upon the destruction of the children of my son Germanicus," one of these he put to death, when he began to suspect Sejanus; and another, after he was taken off. It would be tedious to relate all the numerous instances of his cruelty: suffice it to give a few examples, in their different kinds. Not a day passed without the punishment of some person or other, not excepting holidays, or those appropriated to the worship of the gods. Some were tried even on New-Year's-Day. Of many who were condemned, their wives and children shared the same fate; and for those who were sentenced to death, the relations were forbid to put on mourning. Considerable rewards were voted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the witnesses also. The information of any person, without exception, was taken; and all offences were capital, even speaking (230) a few words, though without any ill intention. A poet was charged with abusing Agamemnon; and a historian, for calling Brutus and Cassius "the last of the Romans." The two authors were immediately called to account, and their writings suppressed; though they had been well received some years before, and read in the hearing of Augustus. Some, who were thrown into prison, were not only denied the solace of study, but debarred from all company and conversation. Many persons, when summoned to trial, stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the distress and ignominy of a public condemnation, which they were certain would ensue. Others took poison in the senate house. The wounds were bound up, and all who had not expired, were carried, half-dead, and panting for life, to prison. Those who were put to death, were thrown down the Gemonian stairs, and then dragged into the Tiber. In one day, twenty were treated in this manner; and amongst them women and boys. Because, according to an ancient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled. Those who were

desirous to die, were forced to live. For he thought death so slight a punishment, that upon hearing that Carnulius, one of the accused, who was under prosecution, had killed himself, he exclaimed, "Carnulius has escaped me." In calling over his prisoners, when one of them requested the favour of a speedy death, he replied, "You are not yet restored to favour." A man of consular rank writes in his annals, that at table, where he himself was present with a large company, he was suddenly asked aloud by a dwarf who stood by amongst the buffoons, why Paconius, who was under a prosecution for treason, lived so long. Tiberius immediately reprimanded him for his pertness; but wrote to the senate a few days after, to proceed without delay to the punishment of Paconius.

LXII. Exasperated by information he received respecting the death of his son Drusus, he carried his cruelty still farther. He imagined that he had died of a disease occasioned (231) by his intemperance; but finding that he had been poisoned by the contrivance of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, he spared no one from torture and death. He was so entirely occupied with the examination of this affair, for whole days together, that, upon being informed that the person in whose house he had lodged at Rhodes, and whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome, was arrived, he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture, as a party concerned in the enquiry. Upon finding his mistake, he commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publish the injury done him. The place of execution is still shown at Capri, where he ordered those who were condemned to die, after long and exquisite tortures, to be thrown, before his eyes, from a precipice into the sea. There a party of soldiers belonging to the fleet waited for them, and broke their bones with poles and oars, lest they should have any life left in them. Among various kinds of torture invented by him, one was, to induce people to drink a large quantity of wine, and then to tie up their members with harp-strings, thus tormenting them at once by the tightness of the ligature, and the stoppage of their urine. Had not death prevented him, and Thrasyllus, designedly, as some say, prevailed with him to defer some of his cruelties, in hopes of longer life, it is believed that he would have destroyed many more: and not have spared even the rest of his grandchildren: for he was jealous of Caius, and hated Tiberius as having been conceived in adultery. This conjecture is indeed highly probable; for he used often to say, "Happy Priam, who survived all his children!"

LXIII. Amidst these enormities, in how much fear and apprehension, as well as odium and detestation, he lived, is evident from many indications. He forbade the soothsayers to be consulted in private, and without some witnesses being present. He attempted to suppress the oracles in the neighbourhood of the city; but being terrified by the divine authority of the (232) Praenestine Lots, he

abandoned the design. For though they were sealed up in a box, and carried to home, yet they were not to be found in it, until it was returned to the temple. More than one person of consular rank, appointed governors of provinces, he never ventured to dismiss to their respective destinations, but kept them until several years after, when he nominated their successors, while they still remained present with him. In the meantime, they bore the title of their office; and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.

LXIV. He never removed his daughter-in-law, or grandsons, after their condemnation, to any place, but in fetters and in a covered litter, with a guard to hinder all who met them on the road, and travellers, from stopping to gaze at them.

LXV. After Sejanus had plotted against him, though he saw that his birth-day was solemnly kept by the public, and divine honours paid to golden images of him in every quarter, yet it was with difficulty at last, and more by artifice than his imperial power, that he accomplished his death. In the first place, to remove him from about his person, under the pretext of doing him honour, he made him his colleague in his fifth consulship; which, although then absent from the city, he took upon him for that purpose, long after his preceding consulship. Then, having flattered him with the hope of an alliance by marriage with one of his own kindred, and the prospect of the tribunitian authority, he suddenly, while Sejanus little expected it, charged him with treason, in an abject and pitiful address to the senate; in which, among other things, he begged them “to send one of the consuls, to conduct himself, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of soldiers, into their presence.” Still distrustful, however, and apprehensive of an insurrection, he ordered his grandson, Drusus, whom he still kept in confinement at Rome, to be set at liberty, and if occasion required, to head the troops. He had likewise ships in readiness to transport him to any of the legions to which he might consider it expedient to make his escape. Meanwhile, he was upon the (233) watch, from the summit of a lofty cliff, for the signals which he had ordered to be made if any thing occurred, lest the messengers should be tardy. Even when he had quite foiled the conspiracy of Sejanus, he was still haunted as much as ever with fears and apprehensions, insomuch that he never once stirred out of the Villa Jovis for nine months after.

LXVI. To the extreme anxiety of mind which he now experienced, he had the mortification to find superadded the most poignant reproaches from all quarters. Those who were condemned to die, heaped upon him the most opprobrious language in his presence, or by hand-bills scattered in the senators’ seats in the theatre. These produced different effects: sometimes he wished, out of shame, to

have all smothered and concealed; at other times he would disregard what was said, and publish it himself. To this accumulation of scandal and open sarcasm, there is to be subjoined a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, in which he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cowardice, and lewdness, and advises him to satisfy the furious rage of his own people, which he had so justly excited, by putting an end to his life without delay.

LXVII. At last, being quite weary of himself, he acknowledged his extreme misery, in a letter to the senate, which begun thus: "What to write to you, Conscript Fathers, or how to write, or what not to write at this time, may all the gods and goddesses pour upon my head a more terrible vengeance than that under which I feel myself daily sinking, if I can tell." Some are of opinion that he had a foreknowledge of those things, from his skill in the science of divination, and perceived long before what misery and infamy would at last come upon him; and that for this reason, at the beginning of his reign, he had absolutely refused the title of the "Father of his Country," and the proposal of the senate to swear to his acts; lest he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found unequal to such extraordinary honours. This, indeed, may be justly inferred from the speeches which he made upon both those occasions; as when he says, "I shall ever be the same, and shall never change my conduct, so long as I retain my senses; but to avoid giving a bad precedent to posterity, the senate ought to beware of binding themselves to the acts of (234) any person whatever, who might by some accident or other be induced to alter them." And again: "If ye should at any time entertain a jealousy of my conduct, and my entire affection for you, which heaven prevent by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of Father will add no honour to me, but be a reproach to you, for your rashness in conferring it upon me, or inconstancy in altering your opinion of me."

LXVIII. In person he was large and robust; of a stature somewhat above the common size; broad in the shoulders and chest, and proportionable in the rest of his frame. He used his left hand more readily and with more force than his right; and his joints were so strong, that he could bore a fresh, sound apple through with his finger, and wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a fillip. He was of a fair complexion, and wore his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, but it was often full of pimples. His eyes, which were large, had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time, and in the dark, for a short time only, and immediately after awaking from sleep; but they soon grew dim again. He walked with his neck stiff and upright: generally with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent: when he spoke to those about him, it

was very slowly, and usually accompanied with a slight gesticulation of his fingers. All which, being repulsive habits and signs of arrogance, were remarked by Augustus, who often endeavoured to excuse them to the senate and people, declaring that “they were natural defects, which proceeded from no viciousness of mind.” He enjoyed a good state of health, without interruption, almost during the whole period of his rule; though, from the thirtieth year of his age, he treated it himself according to his own discretion, without any medical assistance.

LXIX. In regard to the gods, and matters of religion, he discovered much indifference; being greatly addicted to astrology, and fully persuaded that all things were governed by fate. Yet he was extremely afraid of lightning, and when the sky was in a disturbed state, always wore a laurel crown on his head; because it is supposed that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the lightning.

(235) LXX. He applied himself with great diligence to the liberal arts, both Greek and Latin. In his Latin style, he affected to imitate Messala Corvinus, a venerable man, to whom he had paid much respect in his own early years. But he rendered his style obscure by excessive affectation and abstruseness, so that he was thought to speak better extempore, than in a premeditated discourse. He composed likewise a lyric ode, under the title of “A Lamentation upon the death of Lucius Caesar;” and also some Greek poems, in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius . These poets he greatly admired, and placed their works and statues in the public libraries, amongst the eminent authors of antiquity. On this account, most of the learned men of the time vied with each other in publishing observations upon them, which they addressed to him. His principal study, however, was the history of the fabulous ages, inquiring even into its trifling details in a ridiculous manner; for he used to try the grammarians, a class of men which, as I have already observed, he much affected, with such questions as these: “Who was Hecuba’s mother? What name did Achilles assume among the virgins? What was it that the Sirens used to sing?” And the first day that he entered the senate-house, after the death of Augustus, as if he intended to pay respect at once to his father’s memory and to the gods, he made an offering of frankincense and wine, but without any music, in imitation of Minos, upon the death of his son.

LXXI. Though he was ready and conversant with the Greek tongue, yet he did not use it everywhere; but chiefly he avoided it in the senate-house, insomuch that having occasion to employ the word monopolium (monopoly), he first begged pardon for being obliged to adopt a foreign word. And when, in a decree of the senate, the word emblaema (emblem) was read, he proposed to have it changed, and that a Latin word should be substituted in its room; or, if no proper one could be found, to express the thing by circumlocution. A soldier (236) who

was examined as a witness upon a trial, in Greek, he would not allow to reply, except in Latin.

LXXII. During the whole time of his seclusion at Capri, twice only he made an effort to visit Rome. Once he came in a galley as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all who should offer to come to meet him. The second time he travelled on the Appian Way, as far as the seventh mile-stone from the city, but he immediately returned, without entering it, having only taken a view of the walls at a distance. For what reason he did not disembark in his first excursion, is uncertain; but in the last, he was deterred from entering the city by a prodigy. He was in the habit of diverting himself with a snake, and upon going to feed it with his own hand, according to custom, he found it devoured by ants: from which he was advised to beware of the fury of the mob. On this account, returning in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Astura; but recovering a little, went on to Circeii . And to obviate any suspicion of his being in a bad state of health, he was not only present at the sports in the camp, but encountered, with javelins, a wild boar, which was let loose in the arena. Being immediately seized with a pain in the side, and catching cold upon his over-heating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was before. He held out, however, for some time; and sailing as far as Misenum, omitted nothing (237) in his usual mode of life, not even in his entertainments, and other gratifications, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles, a physician, having obtained leave of absence, on his rising from table, took his hand to kiss it; upon which Tiberius, supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and resume his place, and continued the entertainment longer than usual. Nor did he omit his usual custom of taking his station in the centre of the apartment, a licitor standing by him, while he took leave of each of the party by name.

LXXIII. Meanwhile, finding, upon looking over the acts of the senate, “that some person under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing,” for he had only written cursorily that they had been denounced by an informer; he complained in a great rage that he was treated with contempt, and resolved at all hazards to return to Capri; not daring to attempt any thing until he found himself in a place of security. But being detained by storms, and the increasing violence of his disorder, he died shortly afterwards, at a villa formerly belonging to Lucullus, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, upon the seventeenth of the calends of April (16th March), in the consulship of Cneius Acerronius Proculus and Caius Pontius Niger. Some think that a slow-consuming poison was given him by Caius . Others say that during the interval of the intermittent fever with which he happened to be seized, upon

asking for food, it was denied him. Others report, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him, when, on his recovering from a swoon, he called for his ring, which had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, "That finding himself dying, he took his signet ring off his finger, and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to somebody; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time, with his left hand clenched, and without stirring; when suddenly summoning his attendants, (238) and no one answering the call, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down at a short distance from his bed."

LXXIV. Upon his last birth-day, he had brought a full-sized statue of the Timenian Apollo from Syracuse, a work of exquisite art, intending to place it in the library of the new temple; but he dreamt that the god appeared to him in the night, and assured him "that his statue could not be erected by him." A few days before he died, the Pharos at Capri was thrown down by an earthquake. And at Misenum, some embers and live coals, which were brought in to warm his apartment, went out, and after being quite cold, burst out into a flame again towards evening, and continued burning very brightly for several hours.

LXXV. The people were so much elated at his death, that when they first heard the news, they ran up and down the city, some crying out, "Away with Tiberius to the Tiber;" others exclaiming, "May the earth, the common mother of mankind, and the infernal gods, allow him no abode in death, but amongst the wicked." Others threatened his body with the hook and the Gemonian stairs, their indignation at his former cruelty being increased by a recent atrocity. It had been provided by an act of the senate, that the execution of condemned criminals should always be deferred until the tenth day after the sentence. Now this fell on the very day when the news of Tiberius's death arrived, and in consequence of which the unhappy men implored a reprieve, for mercy's sake; but, as Caius had not yet arrived, and there was no one else to whom application could be made on their behalf, their guards, apprehensive of violating the law, strangled them, and threw them down the Gemonian stairs. This roused the people to a still greater abhorrence of the tyrant's memory, since his cruelty continued in use even after he was dead. As soon as his corpse was begun to be moved from Misenum, many cried out for its being carried to Atella, and being half burnt there (239) in the amphitheatre. It was, however, brought to Rome, and burnt with the usual ceremony.

LXXVI. He had made about two years before, duplicates of his will, one written by his own hand, and the other by that of one of his freedmen; and both were witnessed by some persons of very mean rank. He appointed his two grandsons, Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, joint heirs to his estate; and upon the death of one of them, the other was to inherit the whole. He

gave likewise many legacies; amongst which were bequests to the Vestal Virgins, to all the soldiers, and each one of the people of Rome, and to the magistrates of the several quarters of the city.

* * * * *

At the death of Augustus, there had elapsed so long a period from the overthrow of the republic by Julius Caesar, that few were now living who had been born under the ancient constitution of the Romans; and the mild and prosperous administration of Augustus, during forty-four years, had by this time reconciled the minds of the people to a despotic government. Tiberius, the adopted son of the former sovereign, was of mature age; and though he had hitherto lived, for the most part, abstracted from any concern with public affairs, yet, having been brought up in the family of Augustus, he was acquainted with his method of government, which, there was reason to expect, he would render the model of his own. Livia, too, his mother, and the relict of the late emperor, was still living, a woman venerable by years, who had long been familiar with the councils of Augustus, and from her high rank, as well as uncommon affability, possessed an extensive influence amongst all classes of the people.

Such were the circumstances in favour of Tiberius's succession at the demise of Augustus; but there were others of a tendency disadvantageous to his views. His temper was haughty and reserved: Augustus had often apologised for the ungraciousness of his manners. He was disobedient to his mother; and though he had not openly discovered any propensity to vice, he enjoyed none of those qualities which usually conciliate popularity. To these considerations it is to be added, that Postumus Agrippa, the grandson of Augustus by Julia, was living; and if consanguinity was to be the rule of succession, his right was indisputably preferable to that of an adopted son. Augustus had sent this youth into exile a few years before; but, towards the close (240) of his life, had expressed a design of recalling him, with the view, as was supposed, of appointing him his successor. The father of young Agrippa had been greatly beloved by the Romans; and the fate of his mother, Julia, though she was notorious for her profligacy, had ever been regarded by them with peculiar sympathy and tenderness. Many, therefore, attached to the son the partiality entertained for his parents; which was increased not only by a strong suspicion, but a general surmise, that his elder brothers, Caius and Lucius, had been violently taken off, to make way for the succession of Tiberius. That an obstruction was apprehended to Tiberius's succession from this quarter, is put beyond all doubt, when we find that the death of Augustus was industriously kept secret, until

young Agrippa should be removed; who, it is generally agreed, was dispatched by an order from Livia and Tiberius conjointly, or at least from the former. Though, by this act, there remained no rival to Tiberius, yet the consciousness of his own want of pretensions to the Roman throne, seems to have still rendered him distrustful of the succession; and that he should have quietly obtained it, without the voice of the people, the real inclination of the senate, or the support of the army, can be imputed only to the influence of his mother, and his own dissimulation. Ardently solicitous to attain the object, yet affecting a total indifference; artfully prompting the senate to give him the charge of the government, at the time that he intimated an invincible reluctance to accept it; his absolutely declining it in perpetuity, but fixing no time for an abdication; his deceitful insinuation of bodily infirmities, with hints likewise of approaching old age, that he might allay in the senate all apprehensions of any great duration of his power, and repress in his adopted son, Germanicus, the emotions of ambition to displace him; form altogether a scene of the most insidious policy, inconsistency, and dissimulation.

In this period died, in the eighty-sixth year of her age, Livia Drusilla, mother of the emperor, and the relict of Augustus, whom she survived fifteen years. She was the daughter of L. Drusus Calidianus and married Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. The conduct of this lady seems to justify the remark of Caligula, that “she was an Ulysses in a woman’s dress.” Octavius first saw her as she fled from the danger which threatened her husband, who had espoused the cause of Antony; and though she was then pregnant, he resolved to marry her; whether with her own inclination or not, is left by Tacitus undetermined. To pave the way for this union, he divorced his wife Scribonia, and with the approbation of the Augurs, which he could have no difficulty in obtaining, celebrated (241) his nuptials with Livia. There ensued from this marriage no issue, though much desired by both parties; but Livia retained, without interruption, an unbounded ascendancy over the emperor, whose confidence she abused, while the uxorious husband little suspected that he was cherishing in his bosom a viper who was to prove the destruction of his house. She appears to have entertained a predominant ambition of giving an heir to the Roman empire; and since it could not be done by any fruit of her marriage with Augustus, she resolved on accomplishing that end in the person of Tiberius, the eldest son by her former husband. The plan which she devised for this purpose, was to exterminate all the male offspring of Augustus by his daughter Julia, who was married to Agrippa; a stratagem which, when executed, would procure for Tiberius, through the means of adoption, the eventual succession to the empire. The cool yet sanguinary policy, and the patient perseverance of resolution, with

which she prosecuted her design, have seldom been equalled. While the sons of Julia were yet young, and while there was still a possibility that she herself might have issue by Augustus, she suspended her project, in the hope, perhaps, that accident or disease might operate in its favour; but when the natural term of her constitution had put a period to her hopes of progeny, and when the grandsons of the emperor were risen to the years of manhood, and had been adopted by him, she began to carry into execution what she long had meditated. The first object devoted to destruction was C. Caesar Agrippa, the eldest of Augustus's grandsons. This promising youth was sent to Armenia, upon an expedition against the Persians; and Lollius, who had been his governor, either accompanied him thither from Rome, or met him in the East, where he had obtained some appointment. From the hand of this traitor, perhaps under the pretext of exercising the authority of a preceptor, but in reality instigated by Livia, the young prince received a fatal blow, of which he died some time after.

The manner of Caius's death seems to have been carefully kept from the knowledge of Augustus, who promoted Lollius to the consulship, and made him governor of a province; but, by his rapacity in this station, he afterwards incurred the emperor's displeasure. The true character of this person had escaped the keen discernment of Horace, as well as the sagacity of the emperor; for in two epistles addressed to Lollius, he mentions him as great and accomplished in the superlative degree; *maxime Lolli, liberrime Lolli*; so imposing had been the manners and address of this deceitful courtier.

Lucius, the second son of Julia, was banished into Campania, (242) for using, as it is said, so litigious language against his grandfather. In the seventh year of his exile Augustus proposed to recall him; but Livia and Tiberius, dreading the consequences of his being restored to the emperor's favour, put in practice the expedient of having him immediately assassinated. Postumus Agrippa, the third son, incurred the displeasure of his grandfather in the same way as Lucius, and was confined at Surrentum, where he remained a prisoner until he was put to death by the order either of Livia alone, or in conjunction with Tiberius, as was before observed.

Such was the catastrophe, through the means of Livia, of all the grandsons of Augustus; and reason justifies the inference, that she who scruple not to lay violent hands upon those young men, had formerly practised every artifice that could operate towards rendering them obnoxious to the emperor. We may even ascribe to her dark intrigues the dissolute conduct of Julia for the woman who could secretly act as procuress to her own husband, would feel little restraint upon her mind against corrupting his daughter, when such an effect might contribute to answer the purpose which she had in view. But in the ingratitude of

Tiberius, however undutiful and reprehensible in a son towards a parent, she at last experienced a just retribution for the crimes in which she had trained him to procure the succession to the empire. To the disgrace of her sex, she introduced amongst the Romans the horrible practice of domestic murder, little known before the times when the thirst or intoxication of unlimited power had vitiated the social affections; and she transmitted to succeeding ages a pernicious example, by which immoderate ambition might be gratified, at the expense of every moral obligation, as well as of humanity.

One of the first victims in the sanguinary reign of the present emperor, was Germanicus, the son of Drusus, Tiberius's own brother, and who had been adopted by his uncle himself. Under any sovereign, of a temper different from that of Tiberius, this amiable and meritorious prince would have been held in the highest esteem. At the death of his grandfather Augustus, he was employed in a war in Germany, where he greatly distinguished himself by his military achievements; and as soon as intelligence of that event arrived, the soldiers, by whom he was extremely beloved, unanimously saluted him emperor. Refusing, however, to accept this mark of their partiality, he persevered in allegiance to the government of his uncle, and prosecuted the war with success. Upon the conclusion of this expedition, he was sent, with the title of emperor in the East, to repress the seditions of the Armenians, in which he was equally successful. But the (243) fame which he acquired, served only to render him an object of jealousy to Tiberius, by whose order he was secretly poisoned at Daphne, near Antioch, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The news of Germanicus's death was received at Rome with universal lamentation; and all ranks of the people entertained an opinion, that, had he survived Tiberius, he would have restored the freedom of the republic. The love and gratitude of the Romans decreed many honours to his memory. It was ordered, that his name should be sung in a solemn procession of the Salii; that crowns of oak, in allusion to his victories, should be placed upon curule chairs in the hall pertaining to the priests of Augustus; and that an effigy of him in ivory should be drawn upon a chariot, preceding the ceremonies of the Circensian games. Triumphal arches were erected, one at Rome, another on the banks of the Rhine, and a third upon Mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions of his achievements, and that he died for his services to the republic.

His obsequies were celebrated, not with the display of images and funeral pomp, but with the recital of his praises and the virtues which rendered him illustrious. From a resemblance in his personal accomplishments, his age, the manner of his death, and the vicinity of Daphne to Babylon, many compared his fate to that of Alexander the Great. He was celebrated for humanity and

benevolence, as well as military talents, and amidst the toils of war, found leisure to cultivate the arts of literary genius. He composed two comedies in Greek, some epigrams, and a translation of Aratus into Latin verse. He married Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa, by whom he had nine children. This lady, who had accompanied her husband into the east, carried his ashes to Italy, and accused his murderer, Piso; who, unable to bear up against the public odium incurred by that transaction, laid violent hands upon himself. Agrippina was now nearly in the same predicament with regard to Tiberius, that Ovid had formerly been in respect of Augustus. He was sensible, that when she accused Piso, she was not ignorant of the person by whom the perpetrator of the murder had been instigated; and her presence, therefore, seeming continually to reproach him with his guilt, he resolved to rid himself of a person become so obnoxious to his sight, and banished her to the island of Pandataria, where she died some time afterwards of famine.

But it was not sufficient to gratify this sanguinary tyrant, that he had, without any cause, cut off both Germanicus and his wife Agrippina: the distinguished merits and popularity of that prince were yet to be revenged upon his children; and accordingly he (244) set himself to invent a pretext for their destruction. After endeavouring in vain, by various artifices, to provoke the resentment of Nero and Drusus against him, he had recourse to false accusation, and not only charged them with seditious designs, to which their tender years were ill adapted, but with vices of a nature the most scandalous. By a sentence of the senate, which manifested the extreme servility of that assembly, he procured them both to be declared open enemies to their country. Nero he banished to the island of Pontia, where, like his unfortunate mother, he miserably perished by famine; and Drusus was doomed to the same fate, in the lower part of the Palatium, after suffering for nine days the violence of hunger, and having, as is related, devoured part of his bed. The remaining son, Caius, on account of his vicious disposition, he resolved to appoint his successor on the throne, that, after his own death, a comparison might be made in favour of his memory, when the Romans should be governed by a sovereign yet more vicious and more tyrannical, if possible, than himself.

Sejanus, the minister in the present reign, imitated with success, for some time, the hypocrisy of his master; and, had his ambitious temper, impatient of attaining its object, allowed him to wear the mask for a longer period, he might have gained the imperial diadem; in the pursuit of which he was overtaken by that fate which he merited still more by his cruelties than his perfidy to Tiberius. This man was a native of Volsinium in Tuscany, and the son of a Roman knight. He had first insinuated himself into the favour of Caius Caesar, the grandson of

Augustus, after whose death he courted the friendship of Tiberius, and obtained in a short time his entire confidence, which he improved to the best advantage. The object which he next pursued, was to gain the attachment of the senate, and the officers of the army; besides whom, with a new kind of policy, he endeavoured to secure in his interest every lady of distinguished connections, by giving secretly to each of them a promise of marriage, as soon as he should arrive at the sovereignty. The chief obstacles in his way were the sons and grandsons of Tiberius; and these he soon sacrificed to his ambition, under various pretences. Drusus, the eldest of this progeny, having in a fit of passion struck the favourite, was destined by him to destruction. For this purpose, he had the presumption to seduce Livia, the wife of Drusus, to whom she had borne several children; and she consented to marry her adulterer upon the death of her husband, who was soon after poisoned, through the means of an eunuch named Lygdus, by order of her and Sejanus.

Drusus was the son of Tiberius by Vipsania, one of Agrippa's (245) daughters. He displayed great intrepidity during the war in the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia, but appears to have been dissolute in his morals. Horace is said to have written the Ode in praise of Drusus at the desire of Augustus; and while the poet celebrates the military courage of the prince, he insinuates indirectly a salutary admonition to the cultivation of the civil virtues:

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant:

Utcunque defecere mores,
Dedecorant bene nata culpae. — Ode iv. 4.

Yet sage instructions to refine the soul
And raise the genius, wondrous aid impart,
Conveying inward, as they purely roll,
Strength to the mind and vigour to the heart:

When morals fail, the stains of vice disgrace
The fairest honours of the noblest race. — Francis.

Upon the death of Drusus, Sejanus openly avowed a desire of marrying the widowed princess; but Tiberius opposing this measure, and at the same time recommending Germanicus to the senate as his successor in the empire, the mind of Sejanus was more than ever inflamed by the united, and now furious, passions of love and ambition. He therefore urged his demand with increased importunity;

but the emperor still refusing his consent, and things being not yet ripe for an immediate revolt, Sejanus thought nothing so favourable for the prosecution of his designs as the absence of Tiberius from the capital. With this view, under the pretence of relieving his master from the cares of government, he persuaded him to retire to a distance from Rome. The emperor, indolent and luxurious, approved of the proposal, and retired into Campania, leaving to his ambitious minister the whole direction of the empire. Had Sejanus now been governed by common prudence and moderation, he might have attained to the accomplishment of all his wishes; but a natural impetuosity of temper, and the intoxication of power, precipitated him into measures which soon effected his destruction. As if entirely emancipated from the control of a master, he publicly declared himself sovereign of the Roman empire, and that Tiberius, who had by this time retired to Capri, was only the dependent prince of that tributary island. He even went so far in degrading the emperor, as to have him introduced in a ridiculous light upon the stage. Advice of Sejanus's proceedings was soon carried to the emperor at Capri; his indignation was immediately excited; and with a confidence founded upon an authority exercised for several years, he sent orders for accusing Sejanus (246) before the senate. This mandate no sooner arrived, than the audacious minister was deserted by his adherents; he was in a short time after seized without resistance, and strangled in prison the same day.

Human nature recoils with horror at the cruelties of this execrable tyrant, who, having first imbrued his hands in the blood of his own relations, proceeded to exercise them upon the public with indiscriminate fury. Neither age nor sex afforded any exemption from his insatiable thirst for blood. Innocent children were condemned to death, and butchered in the presence of their parents; virgins, without any imputed guilt, were sacrificed to a similar destiny; but there being an ancient custom of not strangling females in that situation, they were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled, as if an atrocious addition to cruelty could sanction the exercise of it. Fathers were constrained by violence to witness the death of their own children; and even the tears of a mother, at the execution of her child, were punished as a capital offence. Some extraordinary calamities, occasioned by accident, added to the horrors of the reign. A great number of houses on Mount Caelius were destroyed by fire; and by the fall of a temporary building at Fidenae, erected for the purpose of exhibiting public shows, about twenty thousand persons were either greatly hurt, or crushed to death in the rains.

By another fire which afterwards broke out, a part of the Circus was destroyed, with the numerous buildings on Mount Aventine. The only act of munificence displayed by Tiberius during his reign, was upon the occasion of

those fires, when, to qualify the severity of his government, he indemnified the most considerable sufferers for the loss they had sustained.

Through the whole of his life, Tiberius seems to have conducted himself with a uniform repugnance to nature. Affable on a few occasions, but in general averse to society, he indulged, from his earliest years, a moroseness of disposition, which counterfeited the appearance of austere virtue; and in the decline of life, when it is common to reform from juvenile indiscretions, he launched forth into excesses, of a kind the most unnatural and most detestable. Considering the vicious passions which had ever brooded in his heart, it may seem surprising that he restrained himself within the bounds of decency during so many years after his accession; but though utterly destitute of reverence or affection for his mother, he still felt, during her life, a filial awe upon his mind: and after her death, he was actuated by a slavish fear of Sejanus, until at last political necessity absolved him likewise from this restraint. These checks being both removed, (247) he rioted without any control, either from sentiment or authority.

Pliny relates, that the art of making glass malleable was actually discovered under the reign of Tiberius, and that the shop and tools of the artist were destroyed, lest, by the establishment of this invention, gold and silver should lose their value. Dion adds, that the author of the discovery was put to death.

The gloom which darkened the Roman capital during this melancholy period, shed a baleful influence on the progress of science throughout the empire, and literature languished during the present reign, in the same proportion as it had flourished in the preceding. It is doubtful whether such a change might not have happened in some degree, even had the government of Tiberius been equally mild with that of his predecessor. The prodigious fame of the writers of the Augustan age, by repressing emulation, tended to a general diminution of the efforts of genius for some time; while the banishment of Ovid, it is probable, and the capital punishment of a subsequent poet, for censuring the character of Agamemnon, operated towards the farther discouragement of poetical exertions. There now existed no circumstance to counterbalance these disadvantages. Genius no longer found a patron either in the emperor or his minister; and the gates of the palace were shut against all who cultivated the elegant pursuits of the Muses. Panders, catamites, assassins, wretches stained with every crime, were the constant attendants, as the only fit companions, of the tyrant who now occupied the throne. We are informed, however, that even this emperor had a taste for the liberal arts, and that he composed a lyric poem upon the death of Lucius Caesar, with some Greek poems in imitation of Euphoriion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. But none of these has been transmitted to posterity: and if we should

form an opinion of them upon the principle of Catullus, that to be a good poet one ought to be a good man, there is little reason to regret that they have perished.

We meet with no poetical production in this reign; and of prose writers the number is inconsiderable, as will appear from the following account of them.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS was born of an equestrian family in Campania, and served as a military tribune under Tiberius, in his expeditions in Gaul and Germany. He composed an Epitome of the History of Greece and Rome, with that of other nations of remote antiquity: but of this work there only remain fragments of the history of Greece and Rome, from the conquest of Perseus to the seventeenth year of the reign of Tiberius. It is written in two books, addressed to Marcus Vinicius, who had (248) the office of consul. Rapid in the narrative, and concise as well as elegant in style, this production exhibits a pleasing epitome of ancient transactions, enlivened occasionally with anecdotes, and an expressive description of characters. In treating of the family of Augustus, Paterculus is justly liable to the imputation of partiality, which he incurs still more in the latter period of his history, by the praise which is lavished on Tiberius and his minister Sejanus. He intimates a design of giving a more full account of the civil war which followed the death of Julius Caesar; but this, if he ever accomplished it, has not been transmitted to posterity. Candid, but decided in his judgment of motives and actions, if we except his invectives against Pompey, he shows little propensity to censure; but in awarding praise, he is not equally parsimonious, and, on some occasions, risks the imputation of hyperbole. The grace, however, and the apparent sincerity with which it is bestowed, reconcile us to the compliment. This author concludes his history with a prayer for the prosperity of the Roman empire. —

VALERIUS MAXIMUS was descended of a Patrician family; but we learn nothing more concerning him, than that for some time he followed a military life under Sextus Pompey. He afterwards betook himself to writing, and has left an account, in nine books, of the memorable apophthegms and actions of eminent persons; first of the Romans, and afterwards of foreign nations. The subjects are of various kinds, political, moral, and natural, ranged into distinct classes. His transitions from one subject to another are often performed with gracefulness; and where he offers any remarks, they generally show the author to be a man of judgment and observation. Valerius Maximus is chargeable with no affectation of style, but is sometimes deficient in that purity of language which might be expected in the age of Tiberius, to whom the work is addressed. What inducement the author had to this dedication, we know not; but as it is evident

from a passage in the ninth book, that the compliment was paid after the death of Sejanus, and consequently in the most shameful period of Tiberius's reign, we cannot entertain any high opinion of the independent spirit of Valerius Maximus, who could submit to flatter a tyrant, in the zenith of infamy and detestation. But we cannot ascribe the cause to any delicate artifice, of conveying to Tiberius, indirectly, an admonition to reform his conduct. Such an expedient would have only provoked the severest resentment from his jealousy. ——

PHAEDRUS was a native of Thrace, and was brought to Rome as a slave. He had the good fortune to come into the service of Augustus, where, improving his talents by reading, he obtained (249) the favour of the emperor, and was made one of his freedmen. In the reign of Tiberius, he translated into Iambic verse the Fables of Aesop. They are divided into five books, and are not less conspicuous for precision and simplicity of thought, than for purity and elegance of style; conveying moral sentiments with unaffected ease and impressive energy. Phaedrus underwent, for some time, a persecution from Sejanus, who, conscious of his own delinquency, suspected that he was obliquely satirised in the commendations bestowed on virtue by the poet. The work of Phaedrus is one of the latest which have been brought to light since the revival of learning. It remained in obscurity until two hundred years ago, when it was discovered in a library at Rheims. ——

HYGINUS is said to have been a native of Alexandria, or, according to others, a Spaniard. He was, like Phaedrus, a freedman of Augustus; but, though industrious, he seems not to have improved himself so much as his companion, in the art of composition. He wrote, however, a mythological history, under the title of Fables, a work called Poeticon Astronomicum, with a treatise on agriculture, commentaries on Virgil, the lives of eminent men, and some other productions now lost. His remaining works are much mutilated, and, if genuine, afford an unfavourable specimen of his elegance and correctness as a writer.

CELSUS was a physician in the time of Tiberius, and has written eight books, De Medicina, in which he has collected and digested into order all that is valuable on the subject, in the Greek and Roman authors. The professors of Medicine were at that time divided into three sects, viz., the Dogmatists, Empirics, and Methodists; the first of whom deviated less than the others from the plan of Hippocrates; but they were in general irreconcilable to each other, in respect both of their opinions and practice. Celsus, with great judgment, has occasionally adopted particular doctrines from each of them; and whatever he admits into his system, he not only establishes by the most rational observations, but confirms by its practical utility. In justness of remark, in force of argument, in precision and perspicuity, as well as in elegance of expression, he deservedly

occupies the most distinguished rank amongst the medical writers of antiquity. It appears that Celsus likewise wrote on agriculture, rhetoric, and military affairs; but of those several treatises no fragments now remain.

To the writers of this reign we must add APICIUS COELIUS, who has left a book *De Re Coquinaria* [of Cookery]. There were three Romans of the name of Apicius, all remarkable for their (250) gluttony. The first lived in the time of the Republic, the last in that of Trajan, and the intermediate Apicius under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius. This man, as Seneca informs us, wasted on luxurious living, sexcenties sestertium, a sum equal to 484,375 pounds sterling. Upon examining the state of his affairs, he found that there remained no more of his estate than centies sestertium, 80,729l. 3s. 4d., which seeming to him too small to live upon, he ended his days by poison.

CAIUS CAESAR CALIGULA.

I. Germanicus, the father of Caius Caesar, and son of Drusus and the younger Antonia, was, after his adoption by Tiberius, his uncle, preferred to the quaestorship five years before he had attained the legal age, and immediately upon the expiration of that office, to the consulship. Having been sent to the army in Germany, he restored order among the legions, who, upon the news of Augustus's death, obstinately refused to acknowledge Tiberius as emperor, and offered to place him at the head of the state. In which affair it is difficult to say, whether his regard to filial duty, or the firmness of his resolution, was most conspicuous. Soon afterwards he defeated the enemy, and obtained the honours of a triumph. Being then made consul for the second time, before he could enter upon his office he was obliged to set out suddenly for the east, where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, he died at Antioch, of a lingering distemper, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, not without the suspicion of being poisoned. For besides the livid spots which appeared all over his body, and a foaming at the mouth; when his corpse was burnt, the heart was found entire among the bones; its nature being such, as it is supposed, that when tainted by poison, it is indestructible by fire.

II. It was a prevailing opinion, that he was taken off by the contrivance of Tiberius, and through the means of Cneius Piso. This person, who was about the same time prefect of Syria, and made no secret of his position being such, that (252) he must either offend the father or the son, loaded Germanicus, even during his sickness, with the most unbounded and scurrilous abuse, both by word and deed; for which, upon his return to Rome, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the people, and was condemned to death by the senate.

III. It is generally agreed, that Germanicus possessed all the noblest endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than had ever before fallen to the lot of any man; a handsome person, extraordinary courage, great proficiency in eloquence and other branches of learning, both Greek and Roman; besides a singular humanity, and a behaviour so engaging, as to captivate the affections of all about him. The slenderness of his legs did not correspond with the symmetry and beauty of his person in other respects; but this defect was at length corrected by his habit of riding after meals. In battle, he often engaged and slew an enemy in single combat. He pleaded causes, even after he had the honour of a triumph. Among other fruits of his studies, he left behind him some Greek comedies. Both at home and abroad he always conducted himself in a manner the most unassuming. On entering any free and confederate town, he never would be

attended by his lictors. Whenever he heard, in his travels, of the tombs of illustrious men, he made offerings over them to the infernal deities. He gave a common grave, under a mound of earth, to the scattered relics of the legionaries slain under Varus, and was the first to put his hand to the work of collecting and bringing them to the place of burial. He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, whoever they were, or on what account soever they bore him enmity, that, although Piso rescinded his decrees, and for a long time severely harassed his dependents, he never showed the smallest resentment, until he found himself attacked by magical charms and imprecations; and even then the only steps he took was to renounce all friendship with him, according to ancient custom, and to exhort his servants to avenge his death, if any thing untoward should befall him.

IV. He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long time in doubt, whether he should not appoint him his successor, at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular, that many authors tell us, the crowds of those who went to meet him upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life; and that upon his return from Germany, after he had quelled the mutiny in the army there, all the cohorts of the pretorian guards marched out to meet him, notwithstanding the order that only two should go; and that all the people of Rome, both men and women, of every age, sex, and rank, flocked as far as the twentieth milestone to attend his entrance.

V. At the time of his death, however, and afterwards, they displayed still greater and stronger proofs of their extraordinary attachment to him. The day on which he died, stones were thrown at the temples, the altars of the gods demolished, the household gods, in some cases, thrown into the streets, and newborn infants exposed. It is even said that barbarous nations, both those engaged in intestine wars, and those in hostilities against us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been mourning for some very near and common friend; that some petty kings shaved their beards and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings forbore his exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which, amongst the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us.

VI. At Rome, upon the first news of his sickness, the city was thrown into great consternation and grief, waiting impatiently for farther intelligence; when suddenly, in the evening, a report, without any certain author, was spread, that he was recovered; upon which the people flocked with torches (254) and victims to the Capitol, and were in such haste to pay the vows they had made for his

recovery, that they almost broke open the doors. Tiberius was roused from out of his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing about the streets,

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Rome is safe, our country safe, for our Germanicus is safe.

But when certain intelligence of his death arrived, the mourning of the people could neither be assuaged by consolation, nor restrained by edicts, and it continued during the holidays in the month of December. The atrocities of the subsequent times contributed much to the glory of Germanicus, and the endearment of his memory; all people supposing, and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon afterwards.

VII. Germanicus married Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, by whom he had nine children, two of whom died in their infancy, and another a few years after; a sprightly boy, whose effigy, in the character of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol. Augustus also placed another statue of him in his bed-chamber, and used to kiss it as often as he entered the apartment. The rest survived their father; three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, who were born in three successive years; and as many sons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius Caesar. Nero and Drusus, at the accusation of Tiberius, were declared public enemies.

VIII. Caius Caesar was born on the day before the calends [31st August] of September, at the time his father and Caius Fonteius Capito were consuls. But where he was born, is rendered uncertain from the number of places which are said to have given him birth. Cneius Lentulus Gaetulicus says that he was born at Tibur; Pliny the younger, in the country of the Treviri, at a village called Ambiatinus, above Confluentes; and he alleges, as a proof of it, that altars are there shown with this inscription: "For Agrippina's child-birth." Some verses which were published in his reign, intimate that he was born in the winter quarters of the legions,

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

Born in the camp, and train'd in every toil
Which taught his sire the haughtiest foes to foil;
Destin'd he seem'd by fate to raise his name,
And rule the empire with Augustan fame.

I find in the public registers that he was born at Antium. Pliny charges

Gaetulicus as guilty of an arrant forgery, merely to soothe the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving him the lustre of being born in a city sacred to Hercules; and says that he advanced this false assertion with the more assurance, because, the year before the birth of Caius, Germanicus had a son of the same name born at Tibur; concerning whose amiable childhood and premature death I have already spoken. Dates clearly prove that Pliny is mistaken; for the writers of Augustus's history all agree, that Germanicus, at the expiration of his consulship, was sent into Gaul, after the birth of Caius. Nor will the inscription upon the altar serve to establish Pliny's opinion; because Agrippina was delivered of two daughters in that country, and any child-birth, without regard to sex, is called puerperium, as the ancients were used to call girls pueræ, and boys puelli. There is also extant a letter written by Augustus, a few months before his death, to his granddaughter Agrippina, about the same Caius (for there was then no other child of hers living under that name). He writes as follows: "I gave orders yesterday for Talarius and Asellius to set out on their journey towards you, if the gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the calends of June [18th May]. I also send with him a physician of mine, and I wrote to Germanicus that he may retain him if he pleases. Farewell, my dear Agrippina, and take what care you can to (256) come safe and well to your Germanicus." I imagine it is sufficiently evident that Caius could not be born at a place to which he was carried from The City when almost two years old. The same considerations must likewise invalidate the evidence of the verses, and the rather, because the author is unknown. The only authority, therefore, upon which we can depend in this matter, is that of the acts, and the public register; especially as he always preferred Antium to every other place of retirement, and entertained for it all that fondness which is commonly attached to one's native soil. It is said, too, that, upon his growing weary of the city, he designed to have transferred thither the seat of empire.

IX. It was to the jokes of the soldiers in the camp that he owed the name of Caligula, he having been brought up among them in the dress of a common soldier. How much his education amongst them recommended him to their favour and affection, was sufficiently apparent in the mutiny upon the death of Augustus, when the mere sight of him appeased their fury, though it had risen to a great height. For they persisted in it, until they observed that he was sent away to a neighbouring city, to secure him against all danger. Then, at last, they began to relent, and, stopping the chariot in which he was conveyed, earnestly deprecated the odium to which such a proceeding would expose them.

X. He likewise attended his father in his expedition to Syria. After his return, he lived first with his mother, and, when she was banished, with his great-

grandmother, Livia Augusta, in praise of whom, after her decease, though then only a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostra. He was then transferred to the family of his grandmother, Antonia, and afterwards, in the twentieth year of his age, being called by Tiberius to Capri, he in one and the same day assumed the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without receiving any of the honours which had been paid to his brothers on a similar (257) occasion. While he remained in that island, many insidious artifices were practised, to extort from him complaints against Tiberius, but by his circumspection he avoided falling into the snare. He affected to take no more notice of the ill-treatment of his relations, than if nothing had befallen them. With regard to his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and behaved with such obsequiousness to his grandfather and all about him, that it was justly said of him, "There never was a better servant, nor a worse master."

XI. But he could not even then conceal his natural disposition to cruelty and lewdness. He delighted in witnessing the infliction of punishments, and frequented taverns and bawdy-houses in the night-time, disguised in a periwig and a long coat; and was passionately addicted to the theatrical arts of singing and dancing. All these levities Tiberius readily connived at, in hopes that they might perhaps correct the roughness of his temper, which the sagacious old man so well understood, that he often said, "That Caius was destined to be the ruin of himself and all mankind; and that he was rearing a hydra for the people of Rome, and a Phaeton for all the world."

XII. Not long afterwards, he married Junia Claudilla, the daughter of Marcus Silanus, a man of the highest rank. Being then chosen augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated he was advanced to the pontificate, with no small commendation of his dutiful behaviour, and great capacity. The situation of the court likewise was at this time favourable to his fortunes, as it was now left destitute of support, Sejanus being suspected, and soon afterwards taken off; and he was by degrees flattered with the hope of succeeding Tiberius in the empire. In order more effectually to secure this object, upon Junia's dying in child-bed, he engaged in a criminal commerce with Ennia Naevia, the wife (258) of Macro, at that time prefect of the pretorian cohorts; promising to marry her if he became emperor, to which he bound himself, not only by an oath, but by a written obligation under his hand. Having by her means insinuated himself into Macro's favour, some are of opinion that he attempted to poison Tiberius, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body; and that, because he seemed to hold it fast, he caused a pillow to be thrown upon him, squeezing him by the throat, at the same time, with his own hand. One of his freedmen crying out at this horrid barbarity, he was

immediately crucified. These circumstances are far from being improbable, as some authors relate that, afterwards, though he did not acknowledge his having a hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared that he had formerly entertained such a design; and as a proof of his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, "That, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard, but being seized with a fit of compassion, threw it away, and retired; and that Tiberius, though aware of his intention, durst not make any inquiries, or attempt revenge."

XIII. Having thus secured the imperial power, he fulfilled by his elevation the wish of the Roman people, I may venture to say, of all mankind; for he had long been the object of expectation and desire to the greater part of the provincials and soldiers, who had known him when a child; and to the whole people of Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus, his father, and compassion for the family almost entirely destroyed. Upon his moving from Misenum, therefore, although he was in mourning, and following the corpse of Tiberius, he had to walk amidst altars, victims, and lighted torches, with prodigious crowds of people everywhere attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other auspicious names, by those of "their star," "their chick," "their pretty puppet," and "bantling."

XIV. Immediately on his entering the city, by the joint acclamations of the senate, and people, who broke into the senate-house, Tiberius's will was set aside, it having left his (259) other grandson, then a minor, coheir with him, the whole government and administration of affairs was placed in his hands; so much to the joy and satisfaction of the public, that, in less than three months after, above a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been offered in sacrifice. Upon his going, a few days afterwards, to the nearest islands on the coast of Campania, vows were made for his safe return; every person emulously testifying their care and concern for his safety. And when he fell ill, the people hung about the Palatium all night long; some vowed, in public handbills, to risk their lives in the combats of the amphitheatre, and others to lay them down, for his recovery. To this extraordinary love entertained for him by his countrymen, was added an uncommon regard by foreign nations. Even Artabanus, king of the Parthians, who had always manifested hatred and contempt for Tiberius, solicited his friendship; came to hold a conference with his consular lieutenant, and passing the Euphrates, paid the highest honours to the eagles, the Roman standards, and the images of the Caesars.

XV. Caligula himself inflamed this devotion, by practising all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered, with floods of tears, a speech in praise of

Tiberius, and buried him with the utmost pomp, he immediately hastened over to Pandataria and the Pontian islands, to bring thence the ashes of his mother and brother; and, to testify the great regard he had for their memory, he performed the voyage in a very tempestuous season. He approached their remains with profound veneration, and deposited them in the urns with his own hands. Having brought them in grand solemnity to Ostia, with an ensign flying in the stern of the galley, and thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were borne by persons of the first distinction in the equestrian order, on two biers, into the mausoleum, (260) at noon-day. He appointed yearly offerings to be solemnly and publicly celebrated to their memory, besides Circensian games to that of his mother, and a chariot with her image to be included in the procession . The month of September he called Germanicus, in honour of his father. By a single decree of the senate, he heaped upon his grandmother, Antonia, all the honours which had been ever conferred on the empress Livia. His uncle, Claudius, who till then continued in the equestrian order, he took for his colleague in the consulship. He adopted his brother, Tiberius, on the day he took upon him the manly habit, and conferred upon him the title of “Prince of the Youths.” As for his sisters, he ordered these words to be added to the oaths of allegiance to himself: “Nor will I hold myself or my own children more dear than I do Caius and his sisters:” and commanded all resolutions proposed by the consuls in the senate to be prefaced thus: “May what we are going to do, prove fortunate and happy to Caius Caesar and his sisters.” With the like popularity he restored all those who had been condemned and banished, and granted an act of indemnity against all impeachments and past offences. To relieve the informers and witnesses against his mother and brothers from all apprehension, he brought the records of their trials into the forum, and there burnt them, calling loudly on the gods to witness that he had not read or handled them. A memorial which was offered him relative to his own security, he would not receive, declaring, “that he had done nothing to make any one his enemy:” and said, at the same time, “he had no ears for informers.”

XVI. The Spintriae, those panderers to unnatural lusts, he banished from the city, being prevailed upon not to throw them (261) into the sea, as he had intended. The writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been suppressed by an act of the senate, he permitted to be drawn from obscurity, and universally read; observing, “that it would be for his own advantage to have the transactions of former times delivered to posterity.” He published accounts of the proceedings of the government — a practice which had been introduced by Augustus, but discontinued by Tiberius . He granted the magistrates a full and free jurisdiction, without any appeal to himself. He made a

very strict and exact review of the Roman knights, but conducted it with moderation; publicly depriving of his horse every knight who lay under the stigma of any thing base and dishonourable; but passing over the names of those knights who were only guilty of venial faults, in calling over the list of the order. To lighten the labours of the judges, he added a fifth class to the former four. He attempted likewise to restore to the people their ancient right of voting in the choice of magistrates . He paid very honourably, and without any dispute, the legacies left by Tiberius in his will, though it had been set aside; as likewise those left by the will of Livia Augusta, which Tiberius had annulled. He remitted the hundredth penny, due to the government in all auctions throughout Italy. He made up to many their losses sustained by fire; and when he restored their kingdoms to any princes, he likewise allowed them all the arrears of the taxes and revenues which had accrued in the interval; as in the case of Antiochus of Comagene, where the confiscation would have amounted to a hundred millions of sesterces. To prove to the world that he was ready to encourage good examples of every kind, he gave to a freed-woman eighty thousand sesterces, for not discovering a crime committed by her patron, though she had been put to exquisite torture for that purpose. For all these acts of beneficence, amongst other honours, a golden shield was decreed to him, which the colleges of priests were to carry annually, upon a fixed day, into the Capitol, with the senate attending, and the youth of the nobility, of both sexes, celebrating the praise of his virtues in (262) songs. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he succeeded to the empire should be called Palilia, in token of the city's being at that time, as it were, new founded.

XVII. He held the consulship four times; the first, from the calends [the first] of July for two months: the second, from the calends of January for thirty days; the third, until the ides [the 13th] of January; and the fourth, until the seventh of the same ides [7th January]. Of these, the two last he held successively. The third he assumed by his sole authority at Lyons; not, as some are of opinion, from arrogance or neglect of rules; but because, at that distance, it was impossible for him to know that his colleague had died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice distributed to the people a bounty of three hundred sesterces a man, and as often gave a splendid feast to the senate and the equestrian order, with their wives and children. In the latter, he presented to the men forensic garments, and to the women and children purple scarfs. To make a perpetual addition to the public joy for ever, he added to the Saturnalia one day, which he called Juvenalis [the juvenile feast].

XVIII. He exhibited some combats of gladiators, either in the amphitheatre of Taurus, or in the Septa, with which he intermingled troops of the best pugilists

from Campania and Africa. He did not always preside in person upon those occasions, but sometimes gave a commission to magistrates or friends to supply his place. He frequently entertained the people with stage-plays (263) of various kinds, and in several parts of the city, and sometimes by night, when he caused the whole city to be lighted. He likewise gave various things to be scrambled for among the people, and distributed to every man a basket of bread with other victuals. Upon this occasion, he sent his own share to a Roman knight, who was seated opposite to him, and was enjoying himself by eating heartily. To a senator, who was doing the same, he sent an appointment of praetor-extraordinary. He likewise exhibited a great number of Circensian games from morning until night; intermixed with the hunting of wild beasts from Africa, or the Trojan exhibition. Some of these games were celebrated with peculiar circumstances; the Circus being overspread with vermilion and chrysolite; and none drove in the chariot races who were not of the senatorian order. For some of these he suddenly gave the signal, when, upon his viewing from the Gelotiana the preparations in the Circus, he was asked to do so by a few persons in the neighbouring galleries.

XIX. He invented besides a new kind of spectacle, such as had never been heard of before. For he made a bridge, of about three miles and a half in length, from Baiae to the mole of Puteoli, collecting trading vessels from all quarters, mooring them in two rows by their anchors, and spreading earth upon them to form a viaduct, after the fashion of the Appian Way . This bridge he crossed and recrossed for two days together; the first day mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, wearing on his head a crown of oak leaves, armed with a battle-axe, a Spanish buckler and a sword, and in a cloak made of cloth of gold; the day following, in the habit of a charioteer, standing in a chariot, drawn by two high-bred horses, having with him a young boy, Darius by name, one of the Parthian hostages, with a cohort of the pretorian guards attending him, and a (264) party of his friends in cars of Gaulish make . Most people, I know, are of opinion, that this bridge was designed by Caius, in imitation of Xerxes, who, to the astonishment of the world, laid a bridge over the Hellespont, which is somewhat narrower than the distance betwixt Baiae and Puteoli. Others, however, thought that he did it to strike terror in Germany and Britain, which he was upon the point of invading, by the fame of some prodigious work. But for myself, when I was a boy, I heard my grandfather say, that the reason assigned by some courtiers who were in habits of the greatest intimacy with him, was this; when Tiberius was in some anxiety about the nomination of a successor, and rather inclined to pitch upon his grandson, Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured him, "That Caius would no more be emperor, than he would ride on horseback across the gulf of Baiae."

XX. He likewise exhibited public diversions in Sicily, Grecian games at Syracuse, and Attic plays at Lyons in Gaul besides a contest for pre-eminence in the Grecian and Roman eloquence; in which we are told that such as were baffled bestowed rewards upon the best performers, and were obliged to compose speeches in their praise: but that those who performed the worst, were forced to blot out what they had written with a sponge or their tongue, unless they preferred to be beaten with a rod, or plunged over head and ears into the nearest river.

XXI. He completed the works which were left unfinished by Tiberius, namely, the temple of Augustus, and the theatre (265) of Pompey . He began, likewise, the aqueduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an amphitheatre near the Septa; of which works, one was completed by his successor Claudius, and the other remained as he left it. The walls of Syracuse, which had fallen to decay by length of time, he repaired, as he likewise did the temples of the gods. He formed plans for rebuilding the palace of Polycrates at Samos, finishing the temple of the Didymaeon Apollo at Miletus, and building a town on a ridge of the Alps; but, above all, for cutting through the isthmus in Achaia; and even sent a centurion of the first rank to measure out the work.

XXII. Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said of him, bespeaks him rather a monster than a man. He assumed a variety of titles, such as “Dutiful,” “The (266) Pious,” “The Child of the Camp, the Father of the Armies,” and “The Greatest and Best Caesar.” Upon hearing some kings, who came to the city to pay him court, conversing together at supper, about their illustrious descent, he exclaimed,

Eis koiranos eto, eis basileus.

Let there be but one prince, one king.

He was strongly inclined to assume the diadem, and change the form of government, from imperial to regal; but being told that he far exceeded the grandeur of kings and princes, he began to arrogate to himself a divine majesty. He ordered all the images of the gods, which were famous either for their beauty, or the veneration paid them, among which was that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own. Having continued part of the Palatium as far as the Forum, and the temple of Castor and Pollux being converted into a kind of vestibule to his house, he often stationed himself between the twin brothers, and so presented himself to be worshipped by all votaries; some of whom saluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. He also instituted a temple and priests, with choicest victims, in honour of his own divinity. In his temple stood a statue of gold, the exact image of himself, which was daily dressed in garments corresponding with those he wore

himself. The most opulent persons in the city offered themselves as candidates for the honour of being his priests, and purchased it successively at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, guinea-fowls, turkey and pheasant hens, each sacrificed on their respective days. On nights when the moon was full, he was in the constant habit of inviting her to his embraces and his bed. In the day-time he talked in private to Jupiter Capitolinus; one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him: sometimes he spoke aloud, and in railing language. For he was overheard to threaten the god thus:

Hae em' anaeir', hae ego se;
Raise thou me up, or I'll —

(267) until being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the god, as he said, to take up his abode with him, he built a bridge over the temple of the Deified Augustus, by which he joined the Palatium to the Capitol. Afterwards, that he might be still nearer, he laid the foundations of a new palace in the very court of the Capitol.

XXIII. He was unwilling to be thought or called the grandson of Agrippa, because of the obscurity of his birth; and he was offended if any one, either in prose or verse, ranked him amongst the Caesars. He said that his mother was the fruit of an incestuous commerce, maintained by Augustus with his daughter Julia. And not content with this vile reflection upon the memory of Augustus, he forbid his victories at Actium, and on the coast of Sicily, to be celebrated, as usual; affirming that they had been most pernicious and fatal to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augusta "Ulysses in a woman's dress," and had the indecency to reflect upon her in a letter to the senate, as of mean birth, and descended, by the mother's side, from a grandfather who was only one of the municipal magistrates of Fondi; whereas it is certain, from the public records, that Aufidius Lurco held high offices at Rome. His grandmother Antonia desiring a private conference with him, he refused to grant it, unless Macro, the prefect of the pretorian guards, were present. Indignities of this kind, and ill usage, were the cause of her death; but some think he also gave her poison. Nor did he pay the smallest respect to her memory after her death, but witnessed the burning from his private apartment. His brother Tiberius, who had no expectation of any violence, was suddenly dispatched by a military tribune sent by his order for that purpose. He forced Silanus, his father-in-law, to kill himself, by cutting his throat with a razor. The pretext he alleged for these murders was, that the latter had not followed him upon his putting to sea in stormy weather, but stayed behind with the view of seizing the city, if he should perish. The other, he said, smelt of an antidote, which he had taken to prevent his

being poisoned by him; whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea-sick, and the disagreeableness of a voyage; and Tiberius had merely taken a medicine for an habitual cough, (268) which was continually growing worse. As for his successor Claudius, he only saved him for a laughing-stock.

XXIV. He lived in the habit of incest with all his sisters; and at table, when much company was present, he placed each of them in turns below him, whilst his wife reclined above him. It is believed, that he deflowered one of them, Drusilla, before he had assumed the robe of manhood; and was even caught in her embraces by his grandmother Antonia, with whom they were educated together. When she was afterwards married to Cassius Longinus, a man of consular rank, he took her from him, and kept her constantly as if she were his lawful wife. In a fit of sickness, he by his will appointed her heiress both of his estate and the empire. After her death, he ordered a public mourning for her; during which it was capital for any person to laugh, use the bath, or sup with his parents, wife, or children. Being inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily, and in the night-time, from the City; going through Campania to Syracuse, and then suddenly returned without shaving his beard, or trimming his hair. Nor did he ever afterwards, in matters of the greatest importance, not even in the assemblies of the people or before the soldiers, swear any otherwise, than "By the divinity of Drusilla." The rest of his sisters he did not treat with so much fondness or regard; but frequently prostituted them to his catamites. He therefore the more readily condemned them in the case of Aemilius Lepidus, as guilty of adultery, and privy to that conspiracy against him. Nor did he only divulge their own hand-writing relative to the affair, which he procured by base and lewd means, but likewise consecrated to Mars the Avenger three swords which had been prepared to stab him, with an inscription, setting forth the occasion of their consecration.

XXV. Whether in the marriage of his wives, in repudiating them, or retaining them, he acted with greater infamy, it is difficult to say. Being at the wedding of Caius Piso with Livia Orestilla, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own house, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after banished her; because it was thought, that upon her divorce she returned to the embraces of her former husband. (269) Some say, that being invited to the wedding-supper, he sent a messenger to Piso, who sat opposite to him, in these words: "Do not be too fond with my wife," and that he immediately carried her off. Next day he published a proclamation, importing, "That he had got a wife as Romulus and Augustus had done." Lollia Paulina, who was married to a man of consular rank in command of an army, he suddenly called from the province where she was with her husband, upon mention being made that her grandmother was formerly

very beautiful, and married her; but he soon afterwards parted with her, interdicting her from having ever afterwards any commerce with man. He loved with a most passionate and constant affection Caesonia, who was neither handsome nor young; and was besides the mother of three daughters by another man; but a wanton of unbounded lasciviousness. Her he would frequently exhibit to the soldiers, dressed in a military cloak, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side. To his friends he even showed her naked. After she had a child, he honoured her with the title of wife; in one and the same day, declaring himself her husband, and father of the child of which she was delivered. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the goddesses, laid it on the lap of Minerva; to whom he recommended the care of bringing up and instructing her. He considered her as his own child for no better reason than her savage temper, which was such even in her infancy, that she would attack with her nails the face and eyes of the children at play with her.

XXVI. It would be of little importance, as well as disgusting, to add to all this an account of the manner in which he treated his relations and friends; as Ptolemy, king Juba's son, his cousin (for he was the grandson of Mark Antony by his daughter Selene), and especially Macro himself, and Ennia likewise, by whose assistance he had obtained the empire; all of whom, for their alliance and eminent services, he rewarded with violent deaths. Nor was he more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the senate. Some who had borne the (270) highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his litter in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins. Others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he nevertheless continued to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended that they had laid violent hands upon themselves. The consuls having forgotten to give public notice of his birth-day, he displaced them; and the republic was three days without any one in that high office. A quaestor who was said to be concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having first stripped off his clothes, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the work, that they might stand the more firm. The other orders likewise he treated with the same insolence and violence. Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places at midnight in the circus, as they were to have free admission, he drove them all away with clubs. In this tumult, above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death, with as many matrons, with a great crowd besides. When stage-plays were acted, to occasion disputes between the people and the knights, he distributed the money-tickets sooner than usual, that the seats assigned to the knights might be all occupied by the mob. In the spectacles of gladiators, sometimes, when the sun

was violently hot, he would order the curtains, which covered the amphitheatre, to be drawn aside, and forbid any person to be let out; withdrawing at the same time the usual apparatus for the entertainment, and presenting wild beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only to work the machinery, and decent house-keepers, who were remarkable for some bodily infirmity. Sometimes shutting up the public granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

XXVII. He evinced the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following indications. When flesh was only to be had at a high price for feeding his wild beasts reserved for the spectacles, he ordered that criminals should be given them (271) to be devoured; and upon inspecting them in a row, while he stood in the middle of the portico, without troubling himself to examine their cases he ordered them to be dragged away, from “bald-pate to bald-pate.” Of one person who had made a vow for his recovery to combat with a gladiator, he exacted its performance; nor would he allow him to desist until he came off conqueror, and after many entreaties. Another, who had vowed to give his life for the same cause, having shrunk from the sacrifice, he delivered, adorned as a victim, with garlands and fillets, to boys, who were to drive him through the streets, calling on him to fulfil his vow, until he was thrown headlong from the ramparts. After disfiguring many persons of honourable rank, by branding them in the face with hot irons, he condemned them to the mines, to work in repairing the high-ways, or to fight with wild beasts; or tying them by the neck and heels, in the manner of beasts carried to slaughter, would shut them up in cages, or saw them asunder. Nor were these severities merely inflicted for crimes of great enormity, but for making remarks on his public games, or for not having sworn by the Genius of the emperor. He compelled parents to be present at the execution of their sons; and to one who excused himself on account of indisposition, he sent his own litter. Another he invited to his table immediately after he had witnessed the spectacle, and coolly challenged him to jest and be merry. He ordered the overseer of the spectacles and wild beasts to be scourged in fetters, during several days successively, in his own presence, and did not put him to death until he was disgusted with the stench of his putrefied brain. He burned alive, in the centre of the arena of the amphitheatre, the writer of a farce, for some witty verse, which had a double meaning. A Roman knight, who had been exposed to the wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he called him back, and having had his tongue cut out, remanded him to the arena.

XXVIII. Asking a certain person, whom he recalled after a long exile, how he used to spend his time, he replied, with flattery, “I was always praying the gods for what has happened, that Tiberius might die, and you be emperor.”

Concluding, therefore, that those he had himself banished also (272) prayed for his death, he sent orders round the islands to have them all put to death. Being very desirous to have a senator torn to pieces, he employed some persons to call him a public enemy, fall upon him as he entered the senate-house, stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear asunder. Nor was he satisfied, until he saw the limbs and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged through the streets, piled up in a heap before him.

XXIX. He aggravated his barbarous actions by language equally outrageous. "There is nothing in my nature," said he, "that I commend or approve so much, as my *adiatrepsia* (inflexible rigour)." Upon his grandmother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if it was a small matter to pay no regard to it, he said to her, "Remember that all things are lawful for me." When about to murder his brother, whom he suspected of taking antidotes against poison, he said, "See then an antidote against Caesar!" And when he banished his sisters, he told them in a menacing tone, that he had not only islands at command, but likewise swords. One of pretorian rank having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, to have his leave of absence prolonged, he ordered him to be put to death; adding these words "Bleeding is necessary for one that has taken hellebore so long, and found no benefit." It was his custom every tenth day to sign the lists of prisoners appointed for execution; and this he called "clearing his accounts." And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he exclaimed in triumph, "I have conquered Gallograecia."

XXX. He generally prolonged the sufferings of his victims by causing them to be inflicted by slight and frequently repeated strokes; this being his well-known and constant order: (273) "Strike so that he may feel himself die." Having punished one person for another, by mistaking his name, he said, "he deserved it quite as much." He had frequently in his mouth these words of the tragedian,

Oderint dum metuant.

I scorn their hatred, if they do but fear me.

He would often inveigh against all the senators without exception, as clients of Sejanus, and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the memorials which he had pretended to burn, and excusing the cruelty of Tiberius as necessary, since it was impossible to question the veracity of such a number of accusers. He continually reproached the whole equestrian order, as devoting themselves to nothing but acting on the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Being incensed at the people's applauding a party at the Circensian games in opposition to him, he exclaimed, "I wish the Roman people had but one neck." When Tetrinius, the highwayman, was denounced, he said his persecutors too were all Tetrinius's. Five *Retiarii*, in tunics, fighting in a company, yielded without a

struggle to the same number of opponents; and being ordered to be slain, one of them taking up his lance again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation as a most cruel butchery, and cursed all those who had borne the sight of it.

XXXI. He used also to complain aloud of the state of the times, because it was not rendered remarkable by any public (274) calamities; for, while the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus, and that of Tiberius by the fall of the theatre at Fidenae, his was likely to pass into oblivion, from an uninterrupted series of prosperity. And, at times, he wished for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, conflagrations, or an earthquake.

XXXII. Even in the midst of his diversions, while gaming or feasting, this savage ferocity, both in his language and actions, never forsook him. Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing. A soldier, who was an adept in the art of beheading, used at such times to take off the heads of prisoners, who were brought in for that purpose. At Puteoli, at the dedication of the bridge which he planned, as already mentioned, he invited a number of people to come to him from the shore, and then suddenly, threw them headlong into the sea; thrusting down with poles and oars those who, to save themselves, had got hold of the rudders of the ships. At Rome, in a public feast, a slave having stolen some thin plates of silver with which the couches were inlaid, he delivered him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and lead him round the guests, with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label, signifying the cause of his punishment. A gladiator who was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poniard, and then ran about with a palm branch in his hand, after the manner of those who are victorious in the games. When a victim was to be offered upon an altar, he, clad in the habit of the Popae, and holding the axe aloft for a while, at last, instead of the animal, slaughtered an officer who attended to cut up the sacrifice. And at a sumptuous entertainment, he fell suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and upon the consuls, who reclined next to him, respectfully asking him the occasion, "Nothing," replied he, "but that, upon a single nod of mine, you might both have your throats cut."

(275) XXXIII. Among many other jests, this was one: As he stood by the statue of Jupiter, he asked Apelles, the tragedian, which of them he thought was biggest? Upon his demurring about it, he lashed him most severely, now and then commending his voice, whilst he entreated for mercy, as being well modulated even when he was venting his grief. As often as he kissed the neck of his wife or mistress, he would say, "So beautiful a throat must be cut whenever I

please;" and now and then he would threaten to put his dear Caesonia to the torture, that he might discover why he loved her so passionately.

XXXIV. In his behaviour towards men of almost all ages, he discovered a degree of jealousy and malignity equal to that of his cruelty and pride. He so demolished and dispersed the statues of several illustrious persons, which had been removed by Augustus, for want of room, from the court of the Capitol into the Campus Martius, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And, for the future, he forbade any statue whatever to be erected without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of suppressing Homer's poems: "For why," said he, "may not I do what Plato has done before me, who excluded him from his commonwealth?" He was likewise very near banishing the writings and the busts of Virgil and Livy from all libraries; censuring one of them as "a man of no genius and very little learning;" and the other as "a verbose and careless historian." He often talked of the lawyers as if he intended to abolish their profession. "By Hercules!" he would say, "I shall put it out of their power to answer any questions in law, otherwise than by referring to me!"

XXXV. He took from the noblest persons in the city the ancient marks of distinction used by their families; as the collar from Torquatus; from Cincinnatus the curl of (276) hair; and from Cneius Pompey, the surname of Great, belonging to that ancient family. Ptolemy, mentioned before, whom he invited from his kingdom, and received with great honours, he suddenly put to death, for no other reason, but because he observed that upon entering the theatre, at a public exhibition, he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, by the splendour of his purple robe. As often as he met with handsome men, who had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be shaved, to make them appear ridiculous. There was one Esius Proculus, the son of a centurion of the first rank, who, for his great stature and fine proportions, was called the Colossal. Him he ordered to be dragged from his seat in the arena, and matched with a gladiator in light armour, and afterwards with another completely armed; and upon his worsting them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led clothed in rags up and down the streets of the city, and, after being exhibited in that plight to the women, to be then butchered. There was no man of so abject or mean condition, whose excellency in any kind he did not envy. The Rex Nemorensis having many years enjoyed the honour of the priesthood, he procured a still stronger antagonist to oppose him. One Porius, who fought in a chariot, having been victorious in an exhibition, and in his joy given freedom to a slave, was applauded so vehemently, that Caligula rose in such haste from his seat, that, treading upon the hem of his toga, he tumbled down the steps, full of

indignation, (277) and crying out, “A people who are masters of the world, pay greater respect to a gladiator for a trifle, than to princes admitted amongst the gods, or to my own majesty here present amongst them.”

XXXVI. He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of others. He is said to have been inflamed with an unnatural passion for Marcus Lepidus Mnester, an actor in pantomimes, and for certain hostages; and to have engaged with them in the practice of mutual pollution. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a consular family, bawled aloud in public that he had been exhausted by him in that abominable act. Besides his incest with his sisters, and his notorious passion for Pyrallis, the prostitute, there was hardly any lady of distinction with whom he did not make free. He used commonly to invite them with their husbands to supper, and as they passed by the couch on which he reclined at table, examine them very closely, like those who traffic in slaves; and if any one from modesty held down her face, he raised it up with his hand. Afterwards, as often as he was in the humour, he would quit the room, send for her he liked best, and in a short time return with marks of recent disorder about them. He would then commend or disparage her in the presence of the company, recounting the charms or defects of her person and behaviour in private. To some he sent a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and ordered it to be registered in the public acts.

XXXVII. In the devices of his profuse expenditure, he surpassed all the prodigals that ever lived; inventing a new kind of bath, with strange dishes and suppers, washing in precious unguents, both warm and cold, drinking pearls of immense value dissolved in vinegar, and serving up for his guests loaves and other victuals modelled in gold; often saying, “that a man ought either to be a good economist or an emperor.” Besides, he scattered money to a prodigious amount among the people, from the top of the Julian Basilica, during several days successively. He built two ships with ten banks of oars, after the Liburnian fashion, the poops of which blazed with jewels, and the sails were of various parti-colours. They were fitted up with ample baths, galleries, and saloons, and supplied with a great variety of vines and other fruit-trees. In these he would sail in the day-time along the coast of Campania, feasting (278) amidst dancing and concerts of music. In building his palaces and villas, there was nothing he desired to effect so much, in defiance of all reason, as what was considered impossible. Accordingly, moles were formed in the deep and adverse sea, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging; and all these were to be executed with incredible speed, for the least remissness was a capital offence. Not to mention particulars, he spent enormous sums, and the whole

treasures which had been amassed by Tiberius Caesar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year.

XXXVIII. Having therefore quite exhausted these funds, and being in want of money, he had recourse to plundering the people, by every mode of false accusation, confiscation, and taxation, that could be invented. He declared that no one had any right to the freedom of Rome, although their ancestors had acquired it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons; for that none beyond that degree ought to be considered as posterity. When the grants of the Divine Julius and Augustus were produced to him, he only said, that he was very sorry they were obsolete and out of date. He also charged all those with making false returns, who, after the taking of the census, had by any means whatever increased their property. He annulled the wills of all who had been centurions of the first rank, as testimonies of their base ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign they had not left either that prince or himself their heir. He also set aside the wills of all others, if any person only pretended to say, that they designed at their death to leave Caesar their heir. The public becoming terrified at this proceeding, he was now appointed joint-heir with their friends, and in the case of parents with their children, by persons unknown to him. Those who lived any considerable time after making such a will, he said, were only making game of him; and accordingly he sent many of them poisoned cakes. He used to try such causes himself; fixing previously the sum he proposed to raise during the sitting, and, after he had secured it, quitting the tribunal. Impatient of the least delay, he condemned by a single sentence forty (279) persons, against whom there were different charges; boasting to Caesonia when she awoke, "how much business he had dispatched while she was taking her mid-day sleep." He exposed to sale by auction, the remains of the apparatus used in the public spectacles; and exacted such biddings, and raised the prices so high, that some of the purchasers were ruined, and bled themselves to death. There is a well-known story told of Aponius Saturninus, who happening to fall asleep as he sat on a bench at the sale, Caius called out to the auctioneer, not to overlook the praetorian personage who nodded to him so often; and accordingly the salesman went on, pretending to take the nods for tokens of assent, until thirteen gladiators were knocked down to him at the sum of nine millions of sesterces, he being in total ignorance of what was doing.

XXXIX. Having also sold in Gaul all the clothes, furniture, slaves, and even freedmen belonging to his sisters, at prodigious prices, after their condemnation, he was so much delighted with his gains, that he sent to Rome for all the furniture of the old palace; pressing for its conveyance all the carriages let to hire in the city, with the horses and mules belonging to the bakers, so that they often

wanted bread at Rome; and many who had suits at law in progress, lost their causes, because they could not make their appearance in due time according to their recognizances. In the sale of this furniture, every artifice of fraud and imposition was employed. Sometimes he would rail at the bidders for being niggardly, and ask them “if they were not ashamed to be richer than he was?” at another, he would affect to be sorry that the property of princes should be passing into the hands of private persons. He had found out that a rich provincial had given two hundred thousand sesterces to his chamberlains for an underhand invitation to his table, and he was much pleased to find that honour valued at so high a rate. The day following, as the same person was sitting at the sale, he sent him some bauble, for which he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sesterces, and “that he should sup with Caesar upon his own invitation.”

(280) XL. He levied new taxes, and such as were never before known, at first by the publicans, but afterwards, because their profit was enormous, by centurions and tribunes of the pretorian guards; no description of property or persons being exempted from some kind of tax or other. For all eatables brought into the city, a certain excise was exacted: for all law-suits or trials in whatever court, the fortieth part of the sum in dispute; and such as were convicted of compromising litigations, were made liable to a penalty. Out of the daily wages of the porters, he received an eighth, and from the gains of common prostitutes, what they received for one favour granted. There was a clause in the law, that all bawds who kept women for prostitution or sale, should be liable to pay, and that marriage itself should not be exempted.

XLI. These taxes being imposed, but the act by which they were levied never submitted to public inspection, great grievances were experienced from the want of sufficient knowledge of the law. At length, on the urgent demands of the Roman people, he published the law, but it was written in a very small hand, and posted up in a corner, so that no one could make a copy of it. To leave no sort of gain untried, he opened brothels in the Palatium, with a number of cells, furnished suitably to the dignity of the place; in which married women and free-born youths were ready for the reception of visitors. He sent likewise his nomenclators about the forums and courts, to invite people of all ages, the old as well as the young, to his brothel, to come and satisfy their lusts; and he was ready to lend his customers money upon interest; clerks attending to take down their names in public, as persons who contributed to the emperor’s revenue. Another method of raising money, which he thought not below his notice, was gaming; which, by the help of lying and perjury, he turned to considerable account. Leaving once the management of his play to his partner in the game, he stepped into the court, and observing two rich Roman knights passing by, he

ordered them immediately to be seized, and their estates confiscated. Then returning, in great glee, he boasted that he had never made a better throw in his life.

XLII. After the birth of his daughter, complaining of his (281) poverty, and the burdens to which he was subjected, not only as an emperor, but a father, he made a general collection for her maintenance and fortune. He likewise gave public notice, that he would receive new-year's gifts on the calends of January following; and accordingly stood in the vestibule of his house, to clutch the presents which people of all ranks threw down before him by handfuls and lapfuls. At last, being seized with an invincible desire of feeling money, taking off his slippers, he repeatedly walked over great heaps of gold coin spread upon the spacious floor, and then laying himself down, rolled his whole body in gold over and over again.

XLIII. Only once in his life did he take an active part in military affairs, and then not from any set purpose, but during his journey to Mevania, to see the grove and river of Clitumnus . Being recommended to recruit a body of Batavians, who attended him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany. Immediately he drew together several legions, and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and made every where new levies with the utmost rigour. Collecting supplies of all kinds, such as never had been assembled upon the like occasion, he set forward on his march, and pursued it sometimes with so much haste and precipitation, that the pretorian cohorts were obliged, contrary to custom, to pack their standards on horses or mules, and so follow him. At other times, he would march so slow and luxuriously, that he was carried in a litter by eight men; ordering the roads to be swept by the people of the neighbouring towns, and sprinkled with water to lay the dust.

XLIV. On arriving at the camp, in order to show himself an active general, and severe disciplinarian, he cashiered the lieutenants who came up late with the auxiliary forces from different quarters. In reviewing the army, he deprived of their companies most of the centurions of the first rank, who had now served their legal time in the wars, and some whose time would have expired in a few days; alleging against them their age and infirmity; and railing at the covetous disposition (282) of the rest of them, he reduced the bounty due to those who had served out their time to the sum of six thousand sesterces. Though he only received the submission of Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, a British king, who being driven from his native country by his father, came over to him with a small body of troops, yet, as if the whole island had been surrendered to him, he dispatched magnificent letters to Rome, ordering the bearers to proceed in their carriages directly up to the forum and the senate-house, and not to deliver the

letters but to the consuls in the temple of Mars, and in the presence of a full assembly of the senators.

XLV. Soon after this, there being no hostilities, he ordered a few Germans of his guard to be carried over and placed in concealment on the other side of the Rhine, and word to be brought him after dinner, that an enemy was advancing with great impetuosity. This being accordingly done, he immediately threw himself, with his friends, and a party of the pretorian knights, into the adjoining wood, where lopping branches from the trees, and forming trophies of them, he returned by torch-light, upbraiding those who did not follow him, with timorousness and cowardice; but he presented the companions, and sharers of his victory with crowns of a new form, and under a new name, having the sun, moon, and stars represented on them, and which he called *Exploratoriae*. Again, some hostages were by his order taken from the school, and privately sent off; upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the cavalry, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in fetters; proceeding to an extravagant pitch of ostentation likewise in this military comedy. Upon his again sitting down to table, it being reported to him that the troops were all reassembled, he ordered them to sit down as they were, in their armour, animating them in the words of that well-known verse of Virgil:

(283) *Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* — *Aen.* 1.

Bear up, and save yourselves for better days.

In the mean time, he reprimanded the senate and people of Rome in a very severe proclamation, “For revelling and frequenting the diversions of the circus and theatre, and enjoying themselves at their villas, whilst their emperor was fighting, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers.”

XLVI. At last, as if resolved to make war in earnest, he drew up his army upon the shore of the ocean, with his *balistae* and other engines of war, and while no one could imagine what he intended to do, on a sudden commanded them to gather up the sea shells, and fill their helmets, and the folds of their dress with them, calling them “the spoils of the ocean due to the Capitol and the Palatium.” As a monument of his success, he raised a lofty tower, upon which, as at Pharos, he ordered lights to be burnt in the night-time, for the direction of ships at sea; and then promising the soldiers a donative of a hundred *denarii* a man, as if he had surpassed the most eminent examples of generosity, “Go your ways,” said he, “and be merry: go, ye are rich.”

XLVII. In making preparations for his triumph, besides the prisoners and deserters from the barbarian armies, he picked out the men of greatest stature in

all Gaul, such as he said were fittest to grace a triumph, with some of the chiefs, and reserved them to appear in the procession; obliging them not only to dye their hair yellow, and let it grow long, but to learn the German language, and assume the names commonly used in that country. He ordered likewise the gallies in which he had entered the ocean, to be conveyed to Rome a great part of the way by land, and wrote to his comptrollers in the city, “to make proper preparations for a triumph against (284) his arrival, at as small expense as possible; but on a scale such as had never been seen before, since they had full power over the property of every one.”

XLVIII. Before he left the province, he formed a design of the most horrid cruelty — to massacre the legions which had mutinied upon the death of Augustus, for seizing and detaining by force his father, Germanicus, their commander, and himself, then an infant, in the camp. Though he was with great difficulty dissuaded from this rash attempt, yet neither the most urgent entreaties nor representations could prevent him from persisting in the design of decimating these legions. Accordingly, he ordered them to assemble unarmed, without so much as their swords; and then surrounded them with armed horse. But finding that many of them, suspecting that violence was intended, were making off, to arm in their own defence, he quitted the assembly as fast as he could, and immediately marched for Rome; bending now all his fury against the senate, whom he publicly threatened, to divert the general attention from the clamour excited by his disgraceful conduct. Amongst other pretexts of offence, he complained that he was defrauded of a triumph, which was justly his due, though he had just before forbidden, upon pain of death, any honour to be decreed him.

XLIX. In his march he was waited upon by deputies from the senatorian order, entreating him to hasten his return. He replied to them, “I will come, I will come, and this with me,” striking at the same time the hilt of his sword. He issued likewise this proclamation: “I am coming, but for those only who wish for me, the equestrian order and the people; for I shall no longer treat the senate as their fellow-citizen or prince.” He forbid any of the senators to come to meet him; and either abandoning or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation on his birthday. Within four months from this period he was slain, after he had perpetrated enormous crimes, and while he was meditating the execution, if possible, of still greater. He had entertained a design of removing to Antium, and afterwards to Alexandria; having first cut off the flower of the equestrian and senatorian orders. This is placed beyond all question, by two books which were found in his cabinet (285) under different titles; one being called the sword, and the other, the dagger. They both contained private marks, and the names of those

who were devoted to death. There was also found a large chest, filled with a variety of poisons which being afterwards thrown into the sea by order of Claudius, are said to have so infected the waters, that the fish were poisoned, and cast dead by the tide upon the neighbouring shores.

L. He was tall, of a pale complexion, ill-shaped, his neck and legs very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his brows broad and knit, his hair thin, and the crown of the head bald. The other parts of his body were much covered with hair. On this account, it was reckoned a capital crime for any person to look down from above, as he was passing by, or so much as to name a goat. His countenance, which was naturally hideous and frightful, he purposely rendered more so, forming it before a mirror into the most horrible contortions. He was crazy both in body and mind, being subject, when a boy, to the falling sickness. When he arrived at the age of manhood, he endured fatigue tolerably well; but still, occasionally, he was liable to a faintness, during which he remained incapable of any effort. He was not insensible of the disorder of his mind, and sometimes had thoughts of retiring to clear his brain. It is believed that his wife Caesonia administered to him a love potion which threw him into a frenzy. What most of all disordered him, was want of sleep, for he seldom had more than three or four hours' rest in a night; and even then his sleep was not sound, but disturbed by strange dreams; fancying, among other things, that a form representing the ocean spoke to him. Being therefore often weary with lying awake so long, sometimes he sat up in his bed, at others, walked in the longest porticos about the house, and from time to time, invoked and looked out for the approach of day.

LI. To this crazy constitution of his mind may, I think, very justly be ascribed two faults which he had, of a nature directly repugnant one to the other, namely, an excessive confidence and the most abject timidity. For he, who affected so (286) much to despise the gods, was ready to shut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his cloak at the slightest storm of thunder and lightning; and if it was violent, he got up and hid himself under his bed. In his visit to Sicily, after ridiculing many strange objects which that country affords, he ran away suddenly in the night from Messina, terrified by the smoke and rumbling at the summit of Mount Aetna. And though in words he was very valiant against the barbarians, yet upon passing a narrow defile in Germany in his light car, surrounded by a strong body of his troops, some one happening to say, "There would be no small consternation amongst us, if an enemy were to appear," he immediately mounted his horse, and rode towards the bridges in great haste; but finding them blocked up with camp-followers and baggage-waggons, he was in such a hurry, that he caused himself to be carried in men's hands over the heads of the crowd. Soon

afterwards, upon hearing that the Germans were again in rebellion, he prepared to quit Rome, and equipped a fleet; comforting himself with this consideration, that if the enemy should prove victorious, and possess themselves of the heights of the Alps, as the Cimbri had done, or of the city, as the Senones formerly did, he should still have in reserve the transmarine provinces . Hence it was, I suppose, that it occurred to his assassins, to invent the story intended to pacify the troops who mutinied at his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, in a fit of terror occasioned by the news brought him of the defeat of his army.

LII. In the fashion of his clothes, shoes, and all the rest of his dress, he did not wear what was either national, or properly civic, or peculiar to the male sex, or appropriate to mere mortals. He often appeared abroad in a short coat of stout cloth, richly embroidered and blazing with jewels, in a tunic with sleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms; sometimes all in silks and (287) habited like a woman; at other times in the crepidae or buskins; sometimes in the sort of shoes used by the light-armed soldiers, or in the sock used by women, and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of distinction belonging to the gods only. Sometimes, too, he appeared in the habit of Venus. He wore very commonly the triumphal ornaments, even before his expedition, and sometimes the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, taken out of his coffin.

LIII. With regard to the liberal sciences, he was little conversant in philology, but applied himself with assiduity to the study of eloquence, being indeed in point of enunciation tolerably elegant and ready; and in his perorations, when he was moved to anger, there was an abundant flow of words and periods. In speaking, his action was vehement, and his voice so strong, that he was heard at a great distance. When winding up an harangue, he threatened to draw “the sword of his lucubration,” holding a loose and smooth style in such contempt, that he said Seneca, who was then much admired, “wrote only detached essays,” and that “his language was nothing but sand without lime.” He often wrote answers to the speeches of successful orators; and employed himself in composing accusations or vindications of eminent persons, who were impeached before the senate; and gave his vote for or against the party accused, according to his success in speaking, inviting the equestrian order, by proclamation, to hear him.

LIV. He also zealously applied himself to the practice of several other arts of different kinds, such as fencing, charioteering, singing, and dancing. In the first of these, he practised with the weapons used in war; and drove the chariot in circuses built in several places. He was so extremely fond of singing and

dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatre from singing with the tragedians, and imitating the gestures of the actors, either by way of applause or correction. A night exhibition which he had ordered the day he was slain, was thought to be intended for no other reason, than to take the opportunity afforded by the licentiousness of the season, to make his first appearance upon the stage. Sometimes, also, (288) he danced in the night. Summoning once to the Palatium, in the second watch of the night, three men of consular rank, who feared the words from the message, he placed them on the proscenium of the stage, and then suddenly came bursting out, with a loud noise of flutes and castanets, dressed in a mantle and tunic reaching down to his heels. Having danced out a song, he retired. Yet he who had acquired such dexterity in other exercises, never learnt to swim.

LV. Those for whom he once conceived a regard, he favoured even to madness. He used to kiss Mnester, the pantomimic actor, publicly in the theatre; and if any person made the least noise while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged from his seat, and scourged him with his own hand. A Roman knight once making some bustle, he sent him, by a centurion, an order to depart forthwith for Ostia, and carry a letter from him to king Ptolemy in Mauritania. The letter was comprised in these words: "Do neither good nor harm to the bearer." He made some gladiators captains of his German guards. He deprived the gladiators called Mirmillones of some of their arms. One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being slightly wounded, he ordered some poison to be infused in the wound, which he thence called Columbinum. For thus it was certainly named with his own hand in a list of other poisons. He was so extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers whose colours were green, that he supped and lodged for some time constantly in the stable where their horses were kept. At a certain revel, he made a present of two millions of sesterces to one Cythicus, a driver of a chariot. The day before the Circensian games, he used to send his soldiers to enjoin silence in the (289) neighbourhood, that the repose of his horse Incitatus might not be disturbed. For this favourite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory manger, purple housings, and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a house, with a retinue of slaves, and fine furniture, for the reception of such as were invited in the horse's name to sup with him. It is even said that he intended to make him consul.

LVI. In this frantic and savage career, numbers had formed designs for cutting him off; but one or two conspiracies being discovered, and others postponed for want of opportunity, at last two men concerted a plan together, and accomplished their purpose; not without the privity of some of the greatest favourites amongst his freedmen, and the prefects of the pretorian guards; because, having been

named, though falsely, as concerned in one conspiracy against him, they perceived that they were suspected and become objects of his hatred. For he had immediately endeavoured to render them obnoxious to the soldiery, drawing his sword, and declaring, "That he would kill himself if they thought him worthy of death;" and ever after he was continually accusing them to one another, and setting them all mutually at variance. The conspirators having resolved to fall upon him as he returned at noon from the Palatine games, Cassius Chaerea, tribune of the pretorian guards, claimed the part of making the onset. This Chaerea was now an elderly man, and had been often reproached by Caius for effeminacy. When he came for the watchword, the latter would give "Priapus," or "Venus;" and if on any occasion he returned thanks, would offer him his hand to kiss, making with his fingers an obscene gesture.

LVII. His approaching fate was indicated by many prodigies. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken down and brought to Rome, suddenly burst out into such a violent fit of laughter, that, the machines employed in the work giving way, the workmen took to their heels. When this accident happened, there came up a man named Cassius, who said that he was commanded in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The Capitol at Capua was (290) struck with lightning upon the ides of March [15th March] as was also, at Rome, the apartment of the chief porter of the Palatium. Some construed the latter into a presage that the master of the place was in danger from his own guards; and the other they regarded as a sign, that an illustrious person would be cut off, as had happened before on that day. Sylla, the astrologer, being, consulted by him respecting his nativity, assured him, "That death would unavoidably and speedily befall him." The oracle of Fortune at Antium likewise forewarned him of Cassius; on which account he had given orders for putting to death Cassius Longinus, at that time proconsul of Asia, not considering that Chaerea bore also that name. The day preceding his death he dreamt that he was standing in heaven near the throne of Jupiter, who giving him a push with the great toe of his right foot, he fell headlong upon the earth. Some things which happened the very day of his death, and only a little before it, were likewise considered as ominous presages of that event. Whilst he was at sacrifice, he was bespattered with the blood of a flamingo. And Mnester, the pantomimic actor, performed in a play, which the tragedian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games in which Philip, the king of Macedon, was slain. And in the piece called Laureolus, in which the principal actor, running out in a hurry, and falling, vomited blood, several of the inferior actors vying with each other to give the best specimen of their art, made the whole stage flow with blood. A spectacle had been purposed to be performed that night, in which the fables of the infernal

regions were to be represented by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

LVIII. On the ninth of the calends of February [24th January], and about the seventh hour of the day, after hesitating whether he should rise to dinner, as his stomach was disordered by what he had eaten the day before, at last, by the advice of his friends, he came forth. In the vaulted passage through which he had to pass, were some boys of noble extraction, who had been brought from Asia to act upon the stage, waiting for him in a private corridor, and he stopped to see and speak to them; and had not the leader of the party said that he was suffering from cold, he would have gone back, and made them act immediately. Respecting what followed, (291) two different accounts are given. Some say, that, whilst he was speaking to the boys, Chaerea came behind him, and gave him a heavy blow on the neck with his sword, first crying out, "Take this:" that then a tribune, by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the conspirators, ran him through the breast. Others say, that the crowd being kept at a distance by some centurions who were in the plot, Sabinus came, according to custom, for the word, and that Caius gave him "Jupiter," upon which Chaerea cried out, "Be it so!" and then, on his looking round, clove one of his jaws with a blow. As he lay on the ground, crying out that he was still alive, the rest dispatched him with thirty wounds. For the word agreed upon among them all was, "Strike again." Some likewise ran their swords through his privy parts. Upon the first bustle, the litter bearers came running in with their poles to his assistance, and, immediately afterwards, his German body guards, who killed some of the assassins, and also some senators who had no concern in the affair.

LIX. He lived twenty-nine years, and reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. His body was carried privately into the Lamian Gardens, where it was half burnt upon a pile hastily raised, and then had some earth carelessly thrown over it. It was afterwards disinterred by his sisters, on their return from banishment, burnt to ashes, and buried. Before this was done, it is well known that the keepers of the gardens were greatly disturbed by apparitions; and that not a night passed without some terrible alarm or other in the house where he was slain, until it was destroyed by fire. His wife Caesonia was killed with him, being stabbed by a centurion; and his daughter had her brains knocked out against a wall.

LX. Of the miserable condition of those times, any person (292) may easily form an estimate from the following circumstances. When his death was made public, it was not immediately credited. People entertained a suspicion that a report of his being killed had been contrived and spread by himself, with the view of discovering how they stood affected towards him. Nor had the conspirators fixed upon any one to succeed him. The senators were so

unanimous in their resolution to assert the liberty of their country, that the consuls assembled them at first not in the usual place of meeting, because it was named after Julius Caesar, but in the Capitol. Some proposed to abolish the memory of the Caesars, and level their temples with the ground. It was particularly remarked on this occasion, that all the Caesars, who had the praenomen of Caius, died by the sword, from the Caius Caesar who was slain in the times of Cinna.

* * * * *

Unfortunately, a great chasm in the Annals of Tacitus, at this period, precludes all information from that historian respecting the reign of Caligula; but from what he mentions towards the close of the preceding chapter, it is evident that Caligula was forward to seize the reins of government, upon the death of Tiberius, whom, though he rivalled him in his vices, he was far from imitating in his dissimulation. Amongst the people, the remembrance of Germanicus' virtues cherished for his family an attachment which was probably, increased by its misfortunes; and they were anxious to see revived in the son the popularity of the father. Considering, however, that Caligula's vicious disposition was already known, and that it had even been an inducement with Tiberius to procure his succession, in order that it might prove a foil to his own memory; it is surprising that no effort was made at this juncture to shake off the despotism which had been so intolerable in the last reign, and restore the ancient liberty of the republic. Since the commencement of the imperial dominion, there never had been any period so favourable for a counter-revolution as the present crisis. There existed now no Livia, to influence the minds of the senate and people in respect of the government; nor was there any other person allied to the family of Germanicus, whose countenance or intrigues could promote the views of Caligula. He himself was now only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was totally inexperienced in the administration of public affairs, had never performed even the smallest service to his country, and was generally known to be of a character which (293) disgraced his illustrious descent. Yet, in spite of all these circumstances, such was the destiny of Rome, that his accession afforded joy to the soldiers, who had known him in his childhood, and to the populace in the capital, as well as the people in the provinces, who were flattered with the delusive expectation of receiving a prince who should adorn the throne with the amiable virtues of Germanicus.

It is difficult to say, whether weakness of understanding, or corruption of morals, were more conspicuous in the character of Caligula. He seems to have

discovered from his earliest years an innate depravity of mind, which was undoubtedly much increased by defect of education. He had lost both his parents at an early period of life; and from Tiberius' own character, as well as his views in training the person who should succeed him on the throne, there is reason to think, that if any attention whatever was paid to the education of Caligula, it was directed to vitiate all his faculties and passions, rather than to correct and improve them. If such was really the object, it was indeed prosecuted with success.

The commencement, however, of his reign was such as by no means prognosticated its subsequent transition. The sudden change of his conduct, the astonishing mixture of imbecility and presumption, of moral turpitude and frantic extravagance, which he afterwards evinced; such as rolling himself over heaps of gold, his treatment of his horse Incitatus, and his design of making him consul, seem to justify a suspicion that his brain had actually been affected, either by the potion, said to have been given him by his wife Caesonia, or otherwise. Philtres, or love-potions, as they were called, were frequent in those times; and the people believed that they operated upon the mind by a mysterious and sympathetic power. It is, however, beyond a doubt, that their effects were produced entirely by the action of their physical qualities upon the organs of the body. They were usually made of the satyrion, which, according to Pliny, was a provocative. They were generally given by women to their husbands at bed-time; and it was necessary towards their successful operation, that the parties should sleep together. This circumstance explains the whole mystery. The philtres were nothing more than medicines of a stimulating quality, which, after exciting violent, but temporary effects, enfeebled the constitution, and occasioned nervous disorders, by which the mental faculties, as well as the corporeal, might be injured. That this was really the case with Caligula, seems probable, not only from the falling sickness, to which he was subject, but from the habitual wakefulness of which he complained.

(294) The profusion of this emperor, during his short reign of three years and ten months, is unexampled in history. In the midst of profound peace, without any extraordinary charges either civil or military, he expended, in less than one year, besides the current revenue of the empire, the sum of 21,796,875 pounds sterling, which had been left by Tiberius at his death. To supply the extravagance of future years, new and exorbitant taxes were imposed upon the people, and those too on the necessities of life. There existed now amongst the Romans every motive that could excite a general indignation against the government; yet such was still the dread of imperial power, though vested in the hands of so weak and despicable a sovereign, that no insurrection was attempted, nor any

extensive conspiracy formed; but the obnoxious emperor fell at last a sacrifice to a few centurions of his own guard.

This reign was of too short duration to afford any new productions in literature; but, had it been extended to a much longer period, the effects would probably have been the same. Polite learning never could flourish under an emperor who entertained a design of destroying the writings of Virgil and Livy. It is fortunate that these, and other valuable productions of antiquity, were too widely diffused over the world, and too carefully preserved, to be in danger of perishing through the frenzy of this capricious barbarian.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CAESAR.

I. Livia, having married Augustus when she was pregnant, was within three months afterwards delivered of Drusus, the father of Claudius Caesar, who had at first the praenomen of Decimus, but afterwards that of Nero; and it was suspected that he was begotten in adultery by his father-in-law. The following verse, however, was immediately in every one's mouth:

Tois eutychousi kai primaena paidia.

Nine months for common births the fates decree;
But, for the great, reduce the term to three.

This Drusus, during the time of his being quaestor and praetor, commanded in the Rhaetian and German wars, and was the first of all the Roman generals who navigated the Northern Ocean. He made likewise some prodigious trenches beyond the Rhine, which to this day are called by his name. He overthrew the enemy in several battles, and drove them far back into the depths of the desert. Nor did he desist from pursuing them, until an apparition, in the form of a barbarian woman, of more than human size, appeared to him, and, in the Latin tongue, forbid him to proceed any farther. For these achievements he had the honour of an ovation, and the triumphal ornaments. After his praetorship, he immediately entered on the office of consul, and returning again to Germany, died of disease, in the summer encampment, which thence obtained the name of "The Unlucky Camp." His corpse was carried to Rome by the principal persons of the several municipalities and colonies upon the road, being met and received by the records of each place, and buried in the Campus Martius. In honour of his (296) memory, the army erected a monument, round which the soldiers used, annually, upon a certain day, to march in solemn procession, and persons deputed from the several cities of Gaul performed religious rites. The senate likewise, among various other honours, decreed for him a triumphal arch of marble, with trophies, in the Appian Way, and gave the cognomen of Germanicus to him and his posterity. In him the civil and military virtues were equally displayed; for, besides his victories, he gained from the enemy the Spolia Opima, and frequently marked out the German chiefs in the midst of their army, and encountered them in single combat, at the utmost hazard of his life. He likewise often declared that he would, some time or other, if possible, restore the ancient government. In this account, I suppose, some have ventured to affirm that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him; and because he made no

haste to comply with the order, took him off by poison. This I mention, that I may not be guilty of any omission, more than because I think it either true or probable; since Augustus loved him so much when living, that he always, in his wills, made him joint-heir with his sons, as he once declared in the senate; and upon his decease, extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the gods “to make his Caesars like him, and to grant himself as honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him.” And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb an epitaph in verse composed by himself, he wrote likewise the history of his life in prose. He had by the younger Antonia several children, but left behind him only three, namely, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

II. Claudius was born at Lyons, in the consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very day upon which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus. He was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus, but soon afterwards, (297) upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almost the whole of his minority, and for some time after he attained the age of manhood, was afflicted with a variety of obstinate disorders, insomuch that his mind and body being greatly impaired, he was, even after his arrival at years of maturity, never thought sufficiently qualified for any public or private employment. He was, therefore, during a long time, and even after the expiration of his minority, under the direction of a pedagogue, who, he complains in a certain memoir, “was a barbarous wretch, and formerly superintendent of the mule-drivers, who was selected for his governor, on purpose to correct him severely on every trifling occasion.” On account of this crazy constitution of body and mind, at the spectacle of gladiators, which he gave the people, jointly with his brother, in honour of his father’s memory, he presided, muffled up in a pallium — a new fashion. When he assumed the manly habit, he was carried in a litter, at midnight, to the Capitol, without the usual ceremony.

III. He applied himself, however, from an early age, with great assiduity to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in each of them. But never, with all his endeavours, could he attain to any public post in the government, or afford any hope of arriving at distinction thereafter. His mother, Antonia, frequently called him “an abortion of a man, that had been only begun, but never finished, by nature.” And when she would upbraid any one with dulness, she said, “He was a greater fool than her son, Claudius.” His grandmother, Augusta, always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely spoke to him, and when she did admonish him upon any occasion, it was in

writing, very briefly and severely, or by messengers. His sister, Livilla, upon hearing that he was about to be created emperor, openly and loudly expressed her indignation that the Roman people should experience a fate so severe and so much below their grandeur. To exhibit the opinion, both favourable and otherwise, entertained concerning him by Augustus, his great-uncle, I have here subjoined some extracts from the letters of that emperor.

IV. "I have had some conversation with Tiberius, according (298) to your desire, my dear Livia, as to what must be done with your grandson, Tiberius, at the games of Mars. We are both agreed in this, that, once for all, we ought to determine what course to take with him. For if he be really sound and, so to speak, quite right in his intellects, why should we hesitate to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him below par, and deficient both in body and mind, we must beware of giving occasion for him and ourselves to be laughed at by the world, which is ready enough to make such things the subject of mirth and derision. For we never shall be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, without settling, in the first instance, whether he be really capable of public offices or not. With regard to what you consult me about at the present moment, I am not against his superintending the feast of the priests, in the games of Mars, if he will suffer himself to be governed by his kinsman, Silanus's son, that he may do nothing to make the people stare and laugh at him. But I do not approve of his witnessing the Circensian games from the Pulvinar. He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre. Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban Mount, or be at Rome during the Latin festivals. For if he be capable of attending his brother to the mount, why is he not made prefect of the city? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter. In my opinion, we ought to (299) settle this affair once for all, that we may not be always in suspense between hope and fear. You may, if you think proper, give your kinsman Antonia this part of my letter to read." In another letter, he writes as follows: "I shall invite: the youth, Tiberius, every day during your absence, to supper, that he may not sup alone with his friends Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wish the poor creature was more cautious and attentive in the choice of some one, whose manners, air, and gait might be proper for his imitation:

Atuchei panu en tois spoudaiois lian.

In things of consequence he sadly fails.

Where his mind does not run astray, he discovers a noble disposition." In a third letter, he says, "Let me die, my dear Livia, if I am not astonished, that the declamation of your grandson, Tiberius, should please me; for how he who talks

so ill, should be able to declaim so clearly and properly, I cannot imagine.” There is no doubt but Augustus, after this, came to a resolution upon the subject, and, accordingly, left him invested with no other honour than that of the Augural priesthood; naming him amongst the heirs of the third degree, who were but distantly allied to his family, for a sixth part of his estate only, with a legacy of no more than eight hundred thousand sesterces.

V. Upon his requesting some office in the state, Tiberius granted him the honorary appendages of the consulship, and when he pressed for a legitimate appointment, the emperor wrote word back, that “he sent him forty gold pieces for his expenses, during the festivals of the Saturnalia and Sigillaria.” Upon this, laying aside all hope of advancement, he resigned himself entirely to an indolent life; living in great privacy, one while in his gardens, or a villa which he had near the city; another while in Campania, where he passed his time in the lowest society; by which means, besides his former character of a dull, heavy fellow, he acquired that of a drunkard and gamester.

VI. Notwithstanding this sort of life, much respect was shown him both in public and private. The equestrian (300) order twice made choice of him to intercede on their behalf; once to obtain from the consuls the favour of bearing on their shoulders the corpse of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate him upon the death of Sejanus. When he entered the theatre, they used to rise, and put off their cloaks. The senate likewise decreed, that he should be added to the number of the Augustal college of priests, who were chosen by lot; and soon afterwards, when his house was burnt down, that it should be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he should have the privilege of giving his vote amongst the men of consular rank. This decree was, however, repealed; Tiberius insisting to have him excused on account of his imbecility, and promising to make good his loss at his own expense. But at his death, he named him in his will, amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate; leaving him besides a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and expressly recommending him to the armies, the senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations.

VII. At last, Caius, his brother’s son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavouring to gain the affections of the public by all the arts of popularity, Claudius also was admitted to public offices, and held the consulship jointly with his nephew for two months. As he was entering the Forum for the first time with the fasces, an eagle which was flying that way; alighted upon his right shoulder. A second consulship was also allotted him, to commence at the expiration of the fourth year. He sometimes presided at the public spectacles, as the representative of Caius; being always, on those occasions, complimented with the acclamations of the people, wishing him all happiness, sometimes under the title of the

emperor's uncle, and sometimes under that of Germanicus's brother.

VIII. Still he was subjected to many slights. If at any time he came in late to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time before he could get a place at table. When he indulged himself with sleep after eating, which was a common practice with him, the company used to throw olive-stones and dates at him. And the buffoons who attended would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a whip. Sometimes they would put slippers upon his hands; as he lay snoring, that he might, upon awaking, rub his face with them.

IX. He was not only exposed to contempt, but sometimes likewise to considerable danger: first, in his consulship; for, having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statues of Caius's brothers, Nero and Drusus, he was very near being deprived of his office; and afterwards he was continually harassed with informations against him by one or other, sometimes even by his own domestics. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gaetulicus was discovered, being sent with some other deputies into Germany, to congratulate the emperor upon the occasion, he was in danger of his life; Caius being greatly enraged, and loudly complaining, that his uncle was sent to him, as if he was a boy who wanted a governor. Some even say, that he was thrown into a river, in his travelling dress. From this period, he voted in the senate always the last of the members of consular rank; being called upon after the rest, on purpose to disgrace him. A charge for the forgery of a will was also allowed to be prosecuted, though he had only signed it as a witness. At last, being obliged to pay eight millions of sesterces on entering upon a new office of priesthood, he was reduced to such straits in his private affairs, that in order to discharge his bond to the treasury, he was under the necessity of exposing to sale his whole estate, by an order of the prefects.

X. Having spent the greater part of his life under these and the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age, by a very surprising turn of fortune. Being, as well as the rest, prevented from approaching Caius by the conspirators, who dispersed the crowd, under the pretext of his desiring to be private, he retired into an apartment called the *Hermæum*; and soon afterwards, terrified by the report of Caius being slain, he crept into an adjoining balcony, where he hid himself behind the hangings of (302) the door. A common soldier, who happened to pass that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, pulled him out; when immediately recognizing him, he threw himself in a great fright at his feet, and saluted him by the title of emperor. He then conducted him to his fellow-soldiers, who were all in a great rage, and irresolute what they should do. They put him into a litter, and as the slaves of the palace had all fled, took their turns in carrying him on their

shoulders, and brought him into the camp, sad and trembling; the people who met him lamenting his situation, as if the poor innocent was being carried to execution. Being received within the ramparts, he continued all night with the sentries on guard, recovered somewhat from his fright, but in no great hopes of the succession. For the consuls, with the senate and civic troops, had possessed themselves of the Forum and Capitol, with the determination to assert the public liberty; and he being sent for likewise, by a tribune of the people, to the senate-house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs, returned answer, "I am under constraint, and cannot possibly come." The day afterwards, the senate being dilatory in their proceedings, and worn out by divisions amongst themselves, while the people who surrounded the senate-house shouted that they would have one master, naming Claudius, he suffered the soldiers assembled under arms to swear allegiance to him, promising them fifteen thousand sesterces a man; he being the first of the Caesars who purchased the submission of the soldiers with money.

XI. Having thus established himself in power, his first object was to abolish all remembrance of the two preceding days, in which a revolution in the state had been canvassed. Accordingly, he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time; and this he faithfully observed, with the exception only of putting to death a few tribunes and centurions concerned in the conspiracy against Caius, both as an example, and because he understood that they had also planned his own death. He now turned (303) his thoughts towards paying respect to the memory of his relations. His most solemn and usual oath was, "By Augustus." He prevailed upon the senate to decree divine honours to his grandmother Livia, with a chariot in the Circensian procession drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Augustus; and public offerings to the shades of his parents. Besides which, he instituted Circensian games for his father, to be celebrated every year, upon his birth-day, and, for his mother, a chariot to be drawn through the circus; with the title of Augusta, which had been refused by his grandmother. To the memory of his brother, to which, upon all occasions, he showed a great regard, he gave a Greek comedy, to be exhibited in the public diversions at Naples, and awarded the crown for it, according to the sentence of the judges in that solemnity. Nor did he omit to make honourable and grateful mention of Mark Antony; declaring by a proclamation, "That he the more earnestly insisted upon the observation of his father Drusus's birth-day, because it was likewise that of his grandfather Antony." He completed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre, which had formerly been decreed by the senate in honour of Tiberius, but which had been neglected. And though he cancelled all the acts of Caius, yet he forbade the day

of his assassination, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the empire, to be reckoned amongst the festivals.

XII. But with regard to his own aggrandisement, he was sparing and modest, declining the title of emperor, and refusing all excessive honours. He celebrated the marriage of his daughter and the birth-day of a grandson with great privacy, at home. He recalled none of those who had been banished, without a decree of the senate: and requested of them permission for the prefect of the military tribunes and pretorian guards to attend him in the senate-house; and (304) also that they would be pleased to bestow upon his procurators judicial authority in the provinces. He asked of the consuls likewise the privilege of holding fairs upon his private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they gave public spectacles, he would rise up with the rest of the spectators, and salute them both by words and gestures. When the tribunes of the people came to him while he was on the tribunal, he excused himself, because, on account of the crowd, he could not hear them unless they stood. In a short time, by this conduct, he wrought himself so much into the favour and affection of the public, that when, upon his going to Ostia, a report was spread in the city that he had been way-laid and slain, the people never ceased cursing the soldiers for traitors, and the senate as parricides, until one or two persons, and presently after several others, were brought by the magistrates upon the rostra, who assured them that he was alive, and not far from the city, on his way home.

XIII. Conspiracies, however, were formed against him, not only by individuals separately, but by a faction; and at last his government was disturbed with a civil war. A low fellow was found with a poniard about him, near his chamber, at midnight. Two men of the equestrian order were discovered waiting for him in the streets, armed with a tuck and a huntsman's dagger; one of them intending to attack him as he came out of the theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Gallus Asinius and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, formed a conspiracy against him, in which they engaged many of his freedmen and slaves. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, broke into rebellion, but was reduced in (305) the space of five days; the legions which he had seduced from their oath of fidelity relinquishing their purpose, upon an alarm occasioned by ill omens. For when orders were given them to march, to meet their new emperor, the eagles could not be decorated, nor the standards pulled out of the ground, whether it was by accident, or a divine interposition.

XIV. Besides his former consulship, he held the office afterwards four times; the first two successively, but the following, after an interval of four years each;

the last for six months, the others for two; and the third, upon his being chosen in the room of a consul who died; which had never been done by any of the emperors before him. Whether he was consul or out of office, he constantly attended the courts for the administration of justice, even upon such days as were solemnly observed as days of rejoicing in his family, or by his friends; and sometimes upon the public festivals of ancient institution. Nor did he always adhere strictly to the letter of the laws, but overruled the rigour or lenity of many of their enactments, according to his sentiments of justice and equity. For where persons lost their suits by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due, before the judges of private causes, he granted them the indulgence of a second trial. And with regard to such as were convicted of any great delinquency, he even exceeded the punishment appointed by law, and condemned them to be exposed to wild beasts.

XV. But in hearing and determining causes, he exhibited a strange inconsistency of temper, being at one time circumspect and sagacious, at another inconsiderate and rash, and sometimes frivolous, and like one out of his mind. In correcting the roll of judges, he struck off the name of one who, concealing the privilege his children gave him to be excused from serving, had answered to his name, as too eager for the office. Another who was summoned before him in a cause of his own, but alleged that the affair did not properly come under the (306) emperor's cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he ordered to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and show in a case of his own, how equitable a judge he would prove in that of other persons. A woman refusing to acknowledge her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by ordering her to marry the young man. He was much inclined to determine causes in favour of the parties who appeared, against those who did not, without inquiring whether their absence was occasioned by their own fault, or by real necessity. On proclamation of a man's being convicted of forgery, and that he ought to have his hand cut off, he insisted that an executioner should be immediately sent for, with a Spanish sword and a block. A person being prosecuted for falsely assuming the freedom of Rome, and a frivolous dispute arising between the advocates in the cause, whether he ought to make his appearance in the Roman or Grecian dress, to show his impartiality, he commanded him to change his clothes several times according to the character he assumed in the accusation or defence. An anecdote is related of him, and believed to be true, that, in a particular cause, he delivered his sentence in writing thus: "I am in favour of those who have spoken the truth." By this he so much forfeited the good opinion of the world, that he was everywhere and openly despised. A person making an excuse for the non-appearance of a witness

whom he had sent for from the provinces, declared it was impossible for him to appear, concealing the reason for some time: at last, after several interrogatories were put to him on the subject, he answered, "The man is dead;" to which Claudius replied, "I think that is a sufficient excuse." Another thanking him for suffering a person who was prosecuted to make his defence by counsel, added, "And yet it is no more than what is usual." I have likewise heard some old men say, that the advocates used to abuse his patience so grossly, that they would not only (307) call him back, as he was quitting the tribunal, but would seize him by the lap of his coat, and sometimes catch him by the heels, to make him stay. That such behaviour, however strange, is not incredible, will appear from this anecdote. Some obscure Greek, who was a litigant, had an altercation with him, in which he called out, "You are an old fool." It is certain that a Roman knight, who was prosecuted by an impotent device of his enemies on a false charge of abominable obscenity with women, observing that common strumpets were summoned against him and allowed to give evidence, upbraided Claudius in very harsh and severe terms with his folly and cruelty, and threw his style, and some books which he had in his hands, in his face, with such violence as to wound him severely in the cheek.

XVI. He likewise assumed the censorship, which had been discontinued since the time that Paulus and Plancus had jointly held it. But this also he administered very unequally, and with a strange variety of humour and conduct. In his review of the knights, he passed over, without any mark of disgrace, a profligate young man, only because his father spoke of him in the highest terms; "for," said he, "his father is his proper censor." Another, who was infamous for debauching youths and for adultery, he only admonished "to indulge his youthful inclinations more sparingly, or at least more cautiously;" adding, "why must I know what mistress you keep?" When, at the request of his friends, he had taken off a mark of infamy which he had set upon one knight's name, he said, "Let the blot, however, remain." He not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of the freedom of Rome, an illustrious man of the highest provincial rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language. Nor in this review did he suffer any one to give an account of his conduct by an advocate, but obliged each man to speak for himself in the best way he could. He disgraced many, and some that little expected it, and for a reason entirely new, namely, for going out of Italy without his license; (308) and one likewise, for having in his province been the familiar companion of a king; observing, that, in former times, Rabirius Posthumus had been prosecuted for treason, although he only went after Ptolemy to Alexandria for the purpose of securing payment of a debt. Having tried to brand with disgrace several others, he, to his own greater shame, found

them generally innocent, through the negligence of the persons employed to inquire into their characters; those whom he charged with living in celibacy, with want of children, or estate, proving themselves to be husbands, parents, and in affluent circumstances. One of the knights who was charged with stabbing himself, laid his bosom bare, to show that there was not the least mark of violence upon his body. The following incidents were remarkable in his censorship. He ordered a car, plated with silver, and of very sumptuous workmanship, which was exposed for sale in the Sigillaria, to be purchased, and broken in pieces before his eyes. He published twenty proclamations in one day, in one of which he advised the people, "Since the vintage was very plentiful, to have their casks well secured at the bung with pitch:" and in another, he told them, "that nothing would sooner cure the bite of a viper, than the sap of the yew-tree."

XVII. He undertook only one expedition, and that was of short duration. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, he considered as beneath the imperial dignity, and was therefore resolved to have the honour of a real triumph. For this purpose, he selected Britain, which had never been attempted by any one since Julius Caesar, and was then chafing (309) with rage, because the Romans would not give up some deserters. Accordingly, he set sail from Ostia, but was twice very near being wrecked by the boisterous wind called Circius, upon the coast of Liguria, and near the islands called Stoechades . Having marched by land from Marseilles to Gessoriacum, he thence passed over to Britain, and part of the island submitting to him, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed, he returned to Rome in less than six months from the time of his departure, and triumphed in the most solemn manner; to witness which, he not only (310) gave leave to governors of provinces to come to Rome, but even to some of the exiles. Among the spoils taken from the enemy, he fixed upon the pediment of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown, in token of his having passed, and, as it were, conquered the Ocean, and had it suspended near the civic crown which was there before. Messalina, his wife, followed his chariot in a covered litter . Those who had attained the honour of triumphal ornaments in the same war, rode behind; the rest followed on foot, wearing the robe with the broad stripes. Crassus Frugi was mounted upon a horse richly caparisoned, in a robe embroidered with palm leaves, because this was the second time of his obtaining that honour.

XVIII. He paid particular attention to the care of the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire happening in the Aemiliana, which lasted some time, he passed two nights in the Diribitorium, and the soldiers and gladiators not being in sufficient numbers to extinguish it, he caused the

magistrates to summon the people out of all the streets in the city, to their assistance. Placing bags of money before him, he encouraged them to do their utmost, declaring, that he would reward every one on the spot, according to their exertions.

XIX. During a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by bad crops for several successive years, he was stopped in the middle of the Forum by the mob, who so abused him, at the same time pelting him with fragments of bread, that he had some (311) difficulty in escaping into the palace by a back door. He therefore used all possible means to bring provisions to the city, even in the winter. He proposed to the merchants a sure profit, by indemnifying them against any loss that might befall them by storms at sea; and granted great privileges to those who built ships for that traffic. To a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the Papia-Poppaeian law; to one who had only the privilege of Latium, the freedom of the city; and to women the rights which by law belonged to those who had four children: which enactments are in force to this day.

XX. He completed some important public works, which, though not numerous, were very useful. The principal were an aqueduct, which had been begun by Caius; an emissary for the discharge of the waters of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia; although he knew that Augustus had refused to comply with the repeated application of the Marsians for one of these; and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Caesar, but as often abandoned on account of the difficulty of its execution. He brought to the city the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water, one of which is called Caeruleus, and the other Curtius and Albulinus, as likewise the river of the New Anio, in a stone canal; and distributed them into many magnificent reservoirs. The canal from the Fucine lake was undertaken as much for the sake of profit, as for the honour of the enterprise; for there were parties who offered to drain it at their own expense, on condition of their having a grant of the land laid dry. With great difficulty he completed a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by tunnelling, a mountain; thirty thousand men being constantly employed in the work for eleven years. He formed the harbour at Ostia, by carrying out circular piers on the right and on the left, with (312) a mole protecting, in deep water, the entrance of the port. To secure the foundation of this mole, he sunk the vessel in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt; and built upon piles a very lofty tower, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, on which lights were burnt to direct mariners in the night.

XXI. He often distributed largesses of corn and money among the people, and entertained them with a great variety of public magnificent spectacles, not only such as were usual, and in the accustomed places, but some of new invention,

and others revived from ancient models, and exhibited in places where nothing of the kind had been ever before attempted. In the games which he presented at the dedication of Pompey's theatre, which had been burnt down, and was rebuilt by him, he presided upon a tribunal erected for him in the orchestra; having first paid his devotions, in the temple above, and then coming down through the centre of the circle, while all the people kept their seats in profound silence . He likewise (313) exhibited the secular games, giving out that Augustus had anticipated the regular period; though he himself says in his history, "That they had been omitted before the age of Augustus, who had calculated the years with great exactness, and again brought them to their regular period." The crier was therefore ridiculed, when he invited people in the usual form, "to games which no person had ever before seen, nor ever would again;" when many were still living who had already seen them; and some of the performers who had formerly acted in them, were now again brought upon the stage. He likewise frequently celebrated the Circensian games in the Vatican, sometimes exhibiting a hunt of wild beasts, after every five courses. He embellished the Circus Maximus with marble barriers, and gilded goals, which before were of common stone and wood, and assigned proper places for the senators, who were used to sit promiscuously with the other spectators. Besides the chariot-races, he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were encountered by a troop of pretorian knights, with their tribunes, and even the prefect at the head of them; besides Thessalian horse, who drive fierce bulls round the circus, leap upon their backs when they have exhausted their fury, and drag them by the horns to the ground. He gave exhibitions of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds; one yearly on the anniversary of his accession in the pretorian camp, but without any hunting, or the usual apparatus; another in the Septa as usual; and in the same place, another out of the common way, and of a few days' continuance only, which he called Sportula; because when he was going to present it, he informed the people by proclamation, "that he invited them to a late supper, got up in haste, and without ceremony." Nor did he lend himself to any kind of public diversion with more freedom and hilarity; insomuch that he would hold out his left hand, and (314) joined by the common people, count upon his fingers aloud the gold pieces presented to those who came off conquerors. He would earnestly invite the company to be merry; sometimes calling them his "masters," with a mixture of insipid, far-fetched jests. Thus, when the people called for Palumbus, he said, "He would give them one when he could catch it." The following was well-intended, and well-timed; having, amidst great applause, spared a gladiator, on the intercession of his four sons, he sent a billet immediately round the theatre, to remind the people, "how much it

behaved them to get children, since they had before them an example how useful they had been in procuring favour and security for a gladiator.” He likewise represented in the Campus Martius, the assault and sacking of a town, and the surrender of the British kings, presiding in his general’s cloak. Immediately before he drew off the waters from the Fucine lake, he exhibited upon it a naval fight. But the combatants on board the fleets crying out, “Health attend you, noble emperor! We, who are about to peril our lives, salute you;” and he replying, “Health attend you too,” they all refused to fight, as if by that response he had meant to excuse them. Upon this, he hesitated for a time, whether he should not destroy them all with fire and sword. At last, leaping from his seat, and running along the shore of the lake with tottering steps, the result of his foul excesses, he, partly by fair words, and partly by threats, persuaded them to engage. This spectacle represented an engagement between the fleets of Sicily and Rhodes; consisting each of twelve ships of war, of three banks of oars. The signal for the encounter was given by a silver Triton, raised by machinery from the middle of the lake.

XXII. With regard to religious ceremonies, the administration of affairs both civil and military, and the condition of all orders of the people at home and abroad, some practices he corrected, others which had been laid aside he revived; and some regulations he introduced which were entirely new. In appointing new priests for the several colleges, he made no appointments without being sworn. When an earthquake (315) happened in the city, he never failed to summon the people together by the praetor, and appoint holidays for sacred rites. And upon the sight of any ominous bird in the City or Capitol, he issued an order for a supplication, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high priest, after an exhortation from the rostra, he recited in the presence of the people, who repeated them after him; all workmen and slaves being first ordered to withdraw.

XXIII. The courts of judicature, whose sittings had been formerly divided between the summer and winter months, he ordered, for the dispatch of business, to sit the whole year round. The jurisdiction in matters of trust, which used to be granted annually by special commission to certain magistrates, and in the city only, he made permanent, and extended to the provincial judges likewise. He altered a clause added by Tiberius to the Papia-Poppaeian law, which inferred that men of sixty years of age were incapable of begetting children. He ordered that, out of the ordinary course of proceeding, orphans might have guardians appointed them by the consuls; and that those who were banished from any province by the chief magistrate, should be debarred from coming into the City, or any part of Italy. He inflicted on certain persons a new sort of banishment, by

forbidding them to depart further than three miles from Rome. When any affair of importance came before the senate, he used to sit between the two consuls upon the seats of the tribunes. He reserved to himself the power of granting license to travel out of Italy, which before had belonged to the senate.

XXIV. He likewise granted the consular ornaments to his Ducenarian procurators. From those who declined the senatorian dignity, he took away the equestrian. Although he had in the beginning of his reign declared, that he would admit no man into the senate who was not the great-grandson of a Roman citizen, yet he gave the "broad hem" to the son of a freedman, on condition that he should be adopted by a Roman knight. Being afraid, however, of incurring censure by such an act, he informed the public, that his ancestor Appius Caecus, the censor, had elected the sons of freedmen into (316) the senate; for he was ignorant, it seems, that in the times of Appius, and a long while afterwards, persons manumitted were not called freedmen, but only their sons who were free-born. Instead of the expense which the college of quaestors was obliged to incur in paving the high-ways, he ordered them to give the people an exhibition of gladiators; and relieving them of the provinces of Ostia and [Cisalpine] Gaul, he reinstated them in the charge of the treasury, which, since it was taken from them, had been managed by the praetors, or those who had formerly filled that office. He gave the triumphal ornaments to Silanus, who was betrothed to his daughter, though he was under age; and in other cases, he bestowed them on so many, and with so little reserve, that there is extant a letter unanimously addressed to him by all the legions, begging him "to grant his consular lieutenants the triumphal ornaments at the time of their appointment to commands, in order to prevent their seeking occasion to engage in unnecessary wars." He decreed to Aulus Plautius the honour of an ovation, going to meet him at his entering the city, and walking with him in the procession to the Capitol, and back, in which he took the left side, giving him the post of honour. He allowed Gabinius Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chauci, a German tribe, to assume the cognomen of Chaucius.

XXV. His military organization of the equestrian order was this. After having the command of a cohort, they were promoted to a wing of auxiliary horse, and subsequently received the commission of tribune of a legion. He raised a body of militia, who were called Supernumeraries, who, though they were a sort of soldiers, and kept in reserve, yet received pay. He procured an act of the senate to prohibit all soldiers from attending senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freedmen who presumed to take upon themselves the equestrian rank. Such of them as were ungrateful to their patrons, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their

former condition of (317) slavery; and declared to their advocates, that he would always give judgment against the freedmen, in any suit at law which the masters might happen to have with them. Some persons having exposed their sick slaves, in a languishing condition, on the island of Aesculapius, because of the tediousness of their cure; he declared all who were so exposed perfectly free, never more to return, if they should recover, to their former servitude; and that if any one chose to kill at once, rather than expose, a slave, he should be liable for murder. He published a proclamation, forbidding all travellers to pass through the towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot, or in a litter or chair . He quartered a cohort of soldiers at Puteoli, and another at Ostia, to be in readiness against any accidents from fire. He prohibited foreigners from adopting Roman names, especially those which belonged to families . Those who falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome, he beheaded on the Esquiline. He gave up to the senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had transferred to his own administration. He deprived the Lycians of their liberties, as a punishment for their fatal dissensions; but restored to the Rhodians their freedom, upon their repenting of their former misdemeanors. He exonerated for ever the people of Ilium from the payment of taxes, as being the founders of the Roman race; reciting upon the occasion a letter in Greek, (318) from the senate and people of Rome to king Seleucus, on which they promised him their friendship and alliance, provided that he would grant their kinsmen the Iliensians immunity from all burdens.

He banished from Rome all the Jews, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus . He allowed the ambassadors of the Germans to sit at the public spectacles in the seats assigned to the senators, being induced to grant them favours by their frank and honourable conduct. For, having been seated in the rows of benches which were common to the people, on observing the Parthian and Armenian ambassadors sitting among the senators, they took upon themselves to cross over into the same seats, as being, they said, no way inferior to the others, in point either, of merit or rank. The religious rites of the Druids, solemnized with such horrid cruelties, which had only been forbidden the citizens of Rome during the reign of Augustus, he utterly abolished among the Gauls . On the other hand, he attempted (319) to transfer the Eleusinian mysteries from Attica to Rome . He likewise ordered the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which was old and in a ruinous condition, to be repaired at the expense of the Roman people. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the forum, with the sacrifice of a sow, and the form of words used by the heralds in former times. But in these and other things, and indeed the greater part of his administration, he was directed not so much by his own judgment, as

by the influence of his wives and freedmen; for the most part acting in conformity to what their interests or fancies dictated.

XXVI. He was twice married at a very early age, first to Aemilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Augustus, and afterwards to Livia Medullina, who had the cognomen of Camilla, and was descended from the old dictator Camillus. The former he divorced while still a virgin, because her parents had incurred the displeasure of Augustus; and he lost the latter by sickness on the day fixed for their nuptials. He next married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had enjoyed the honour of a triumph; and soon afterwards, Aelia Paetina, the daughter of a man of consular rank. But he divorced them both; Paetina, upon some trifling causes of disgust; and Urgulanilla, for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murder. After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Barbatus Messala, his cousin. But finding that, besides her other shameful debaucheries, she had even gone so far as to marry in his own absence Caius Silius, the settlement of her dower being formally signed, in the presence of the augurs, he put her to death. When summoning his pretorians to his presence, he made to them this declaration: "As I have been so unhappy in my unions, I am resolved to continue in future unmarried; and if I should not, I give you leave to stab me." He was, however, unable to persist in this resolution; for he began immediately to think of another wife; and even of taking back Paetina, whom he had formerly divorced: he thought also of Lollia Paulina, who had been married to Caius Caesar. But being ensnared by the arts of Agrippina, (320) the daughter of his brother Germanicus, who took advantage of the kisses and endearments which their near relationship admitted, to inflame his desires, he got some one to propose at the next meeting of the senate, that they should oblige the emperor to marry Agrippina, as a measure highly conducive to the public interest; and that in future liberty should be given for such marriages, which until that time had been considered incestuous. In less than twenty-four hours after this, he married her. No person was found, however, to follow the example, excepting one freedman, and a centurion of the first rank, at the solemnization of whose nuptials both he and Agrippina attended.

XXVII. He had children by three of his wives: by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia; by Paetina, Antonia; and by Messalina, Octavia, and also a son, whom at first he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannicus. He lost Drusus at Pompeii, when he was very young; he being choked with a pear, which in his play he tossed into the air, and caught in his mouth. Only a few days before, he had betrothed him to one of Sejanus's daughters; and I am therefore surprised that some authors should say he lost his life by the treachery of Sejanus. Claudia, who was, in truth, the daughter of Boter his freedman, though she was born five

months before his divorce, he ordered to be thrown naked at her mother's door. He married Antonia to Cneius Pompey the Great, and afterwards to Faustus Sylla, both youths of very noble parentage; Octavia to his step-son Nero, after she had been contracted to Silanus. Britannicus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his second consulship. He often earnestly commended him to the soldiers, holding him in his arms before their ranks; and would likewise show him to the people in the theatre, setting him upon his lap, or holding him out whilst he was still very young; and was sure to receive their acclamations, and good wishes on his behalf. Of his (321) sons-in-law, he adopted Nero. He not only dismissed from his favour both Pompey and Silanus, but put them to death.

XXVIII. Amongst his freedmen, the greatest favourite was the eunuch Posides, whom, in his British triumph, he presented with the pointless spear, classing him among the military men. Next to him, if not equal, in favour was Felix, whom he not only preferred to commands both of cohorts and troops, but to the government of the province of Judaea; and he became, in consequence of his elevation, the husband of three queens. Another favourite was Harpocras, to whom he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter within the city, and of holding public spectacles for the entertainment of the people. In this class was likewise Polybius, who assisted him in his studies, and had often the honour of walking between the two consuls. But above all others, Narcissus, his secretary, and Pallas, the comptroller of his accounts, were in high favour with him. He not only allowed them to receive, by decree of the senate, immense presents, but also to be decorated with the quaestorian and praetorian ensigns of honour. So much did he indulge them in amassing wealth, and plundering the public, that, upon his complaining, once, of the lowness of his exchequer, some one said, with great reason, that "It would be full enough, if those two freedmen of his would but take him into partnership with them."

XXIX. Being entirely governed by these freedmen, and, as I have already said, by his wives, he was a tool to others, rather than a prince. He distributed offices, or the command of armies, pardoned or punished, according as it suited their interests, (322) their passions, or their caprice; and for the most part, without knowing, or being sensible of what he did. Not to enter into minute details relative to the revocation of grants, the reversal of judicial decisions, obtaining his signature to fictitious appointments, or the bare-faced alteration of them after signing; he put to death Appius Silanus, the father of his son-in-law, and the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any positive proof of the crimes with which they were charged, or so much as permitting them to make any defence. He also cut off Cneius Pompey, the

husband of his eldest daughter; and Lucius Silanus, who was betrothed to the younger Pompey, was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a favourite paramour. Silanus was obliged to quit the office of praetor upon the fourth of the calends of January [29th Dec.], and to kill himself on new year's day following, the very same on which Claudius and Agrippina were married. He condemned to death five and thirty senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, with so little attention to what he did, that when a centurion brought him word of the execution of a man of consular rank, who was one of the number, and told him that he had executed his order, he declared, "he had ordered no such thing, but that he approved of it;" because his freedmen, it seems, had said, that the soldiers did nothing more than their duty, in dispatching the emperor's enemies without waiting for a warrant. But it is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the marriage of Messalina with the adulterous Silius, should actually sign the writings relative to her dowry; induced, as it is pretended, by the design of diverting from himself and transferring upon another the danger which some omens seemed to threaten him.

XXX. Either standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, he had a majestic and graceful appearance; for he was tall, but not slender. His grey looks became him well, and he had a full neck. But his knees were feeble, and failed him in walking, so that his gait was ungainly, both when he assumed state, and when he was taking diversion. He was outrageous in his laughter, and still more so in his wrath, for then he foamed at the mouth, and discharged from his nostrils. He also stammered in his speech, and had a tremulous motion (323) of the head at all times, but particularly when he was engaged in any business, however trifling.

XXXI. Though his health was very infirm during the former part of his life, yet, after he became emperor, he enjoyed a good state of health, except only that he was subject to a pain of the stomach. In a fit of this complaint, he said he had thoughts of killing himself.

XXXII. He gave entertainments as frequent as they were splendid, and generally when there was such ample room, that very often six hundred guests sat down together. At a feast he gave on the banks of the canal for draining the Fucine Lake, he narrowly escaped being drowned, the water at its discharge rushing out with such violence, that it overflowed the conduit. At supper he had always his own children, with those of several of the nobility, who, according to an ancient custom, sat at the feet of the couches. One of his guests having been suspected of purloining a golden cup, he invited him again the next day, but served him with a porcelain jug. It is said, too, that he intended to publish an edict, "allowing to all people the liberty of giving vent at table to any distension

occasioned by flatulence," upon hearing of a person whose modesty, when under restraint, had nearly cost him his life.

XXXIII. He was always ready to eat and drink at any time or in any place. One day, as he was hearing causes in the Forum of Augustus, he smelt the dinner which was preparing for the Salii, in the temple of Mars adjoining, whereupon he quitted (324) the tribunal, and went to partake of the feast with the priests.

He scarcely ever left the table until he had thoroughly crammed himself and drank to intoxication; and then he would immediately fall asleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open. While in this condition, a feather was put down his throat, to make him throw up the contents of his stomach. Upon composing himself to rest, his sleep was short, and he usually awoke before midnight; but he would sometimes sleep in the daytime, and that, even, when he was upon the tribunal; so that the advocates often found it difficult to wake him, though they raised their voices for that purpose. He set no bounds to his libidinous intercourse with women, but never betrayed any unnatural desires for the other sex. He was fond of gaming, and published a book upon the subject. He even used to play as he rode in his chariot, having the tables so fitted, that the game was not disturbed by the motion of the carriage.

XXXIV. His cruel and sanguinary disposition was exhibited upon great as well as trifling occasions. When any person was to be put to the torture, or criminal punished for parricide, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed in his own presence. When he was at Tibur, being desirous of seeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, some were immediately bound to a stake for the purpose; but there being no executioner to be had at the place, he sent for one from Rome, and waited for his coming until night. In any exhibition of gladiators, presented either by himself or others, if any of the combatants chanced to fall, he ordered them to be butchered, especially the Retiarii, that he might see their faces in the agonies of death. Two gladiators happening to kill each other, he immediately ordered some little knives to be made of their swords for his own use. He took great pleasure in seeing men engage with wild beasts, and the combatants who appeared on the stage at noon. He would therefore come to the theatre by break of day, and at noon, dismissing the people to dinner, continued sitting himself; and besides those who were devoted to that sanguinary fate, he would match others with the beasts, upon slight or sudden occasions; as, for instance, the carpenters and their (326) assistants, and people of that sort, if a machine, or any piece of work in which they had been employed about the theatre did not answer the purpose for which it had been intended. To this desperate kind of encounter he forced one of his nomenclators, even encumbered as he was by wearing the toga.

XXXV. But the characteristics most predominant in him were fear and distrust. In the beginning of his reign, though he much affected a modest and humble appearance, as has been already observed, yet he durst not venture himself at an entertainment without being attended by a guard of spearmen, and made soldiers wait upon him at table instead of servants. He never visited a sick person, until the chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined. At other times, all persons who came to pay their court to him were strictly searched by officers appointed for that purpose; nor was it until after a long time, and with much difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to excuse women, boys, and girls from such rude handling, or suffer their attendants or writing-masters to retain their cases for pens and styles. When Camillus formed his plot against him, not doubting but his timidity might be worked upon without a war, he wrote to him a scurrilous, petulant, and threatening letter, desiring him to resign the government, and betake himself to a life of privacy. Upon receiving this requisition, he had some thoughts of complying with it, and summoned together the principal men of the city, to consult with them on the subject.

XXXVI. Having heard some loose reports of conspiracies formed against him, he was so much alarmed, that he thought of immediately abdicating the government. And when, as I have before related, a man armed with a dagger was discovered near him while he was sacrificing, he instantly ordered the heralds to convoke the senate, and with tears and dismal exclamations, lamented that such was his condition, that he was safe no where; and for a long time afterwards he abstained from appearing in public. He smothered his ardent love for Messalina, not so much on account of her infamous conduct, as from apprehension of danger; believing that she aspired to share with Silius, her partner in adultery, the imperial dignity. (326) Upon this occasion he ran in a great fright, and a very shameful manner, to the camp, asking all the way he went, “if the empire were indeed safely his?”

XXXVII. No suspicion was too trifling, no person on whom it rested too contemptible, to throw him into a panic, and induce him to take precautions for his safety, and meditate revenge. A man engaged in a litigation before his tribunal, having saluted him, drew him aside, and told him he had dreamt that he saw him murdered; and shortly afterwards, when his adversary came to deliver his plea to the emperor, the plaintiff, pretending to have discovered the murderer, pointed to him as the man he had seen in his dream; whereupon, as if he had been taken in the act, he was hurried away to execution. We are informed, that Appius Silanus was got rid of in the same manner, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus, in which they had their several parts assigned them. Narcissus therefore burst into his lord’s chamber before daylight, apparently in

great fright, and told him that he had dreamt that Appius Silanus had murdered him. The empress, upon this, affecting great surprise, declared she had the like dream for several nights successively. Presently afterwards, word was brought, as it had been agreed on, that Appius was come, he having, indeed, received orders the preceding day to be there at that time; and, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture, he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death. The day following, Claudius related the whole affair to the senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freedmen for watching over him even in his sleep.

XXXVIII. Sensible of his being subject to passion and resentment, he excused himself in both instances by a proclamation, assuring the public that “the former should be short and harmless, and the latter never without good cause.” After severely reprimanding the people of Ostia for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, in terms which might expose them to the public resentment, he wrote to Rome that he had been treated as a private person; yet immediately afterwards he pardoned them, and that in a way which had the appearance of making them (327) satisfaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people who addressed him unseasonably in public, he pushed away with his own hand. He likewise banished a person who had been secretary to a quaestor, and even a senator who had filled the office of praetor, without a hearing, and although they were innocent; the former only because he had treated him with rudeness while he was in a private station, and the other, because in his aedileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling cooked victuals contrary to law, and ordered his steward, who interfered, to be whipped. On this account, likewise, he took from the aediles the jurisdiction they had over cooks’-shops. He did not scruple to speak of his own absurdities, and declared in some short speeches which he published, that he had only feigned imbecility in the reign of Caius, because otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have escaped and arrived at the station he had then attained. He could not, however, gain credit for this assertion; for a short time afterwards, a book was published under the title of *Moron anastasis*, “The Resurrection of Fools,” the design of which was to show “that nobody ever counterfeited folly.”

XXXIX. Amongst other things, people admired in him his indifference and unconcern; or, to express it in Greek, his *meteoría* and *ablepsia*. Placing himself at table a little after Messalina’s death, he enquired, “Why the empress did not come?” Many of those whom he had condemned to death, he ordered the day after to be invited to his table, and to game with him, and sent to reprimand them as sluggish fellows for not making greater haste. When he was meditating his

incestuous marriage with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her, "My daughter, my nursling, born and brought up upon my lap." And when he was going to adopt Nero, as if there was little cause for censure in his adopting a son-in-law, when he had a son of his own arrived at years of maturity; he continually gave out in public, "that no one had ever been admitted by adoption into the Claudian family."

XL. He frequently appeared so careless in what he said, and so inattentive to circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected who he himself was, or amongst whom, or at (328) what time, or in what place, he spoke. In a debate in the senate relative to the butchers and vintners, he cried out, "I ask you, who can live without a bit of meat?" And mentioned the great plenty of old taverns, from which he himself used formerly to have his wine. Among other reasons for his supporting a certain person who was candidate for the quaestorship, he gave this: "His father," said he, "once gave me, very seasonably, a draught of cold water when I was sick." Upon his bringing a woman as a witness in some cause before the senate, he said, "This woman was my mother's freedwoman and dresser, but she always considered me as her master; and this I say, because there are some still in my family that do not look upon me as such." The people of Ostia addressing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and said, "There is no reason why I should oblige you: if any one else is free to act as he pleases, surely I am." The following expressions he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and seasons: "What! do you take me for a Theogonius?" And in Greek *lalei kai mae thingane*, "Speak, but do not touch me;" besides many other familiar sentences, below the dignity of a private person, much more of an emperor, who was not deficient either in eloquence or learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences.

XLI. By the encouragement of Titus Livius, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavius, he attempted at an early age the composition of a history; and having called together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment upon it, he read it over with much difficulty, and frequently interrupting himself. For after he had begun, a great laugh was raised amongst the company, by the breaking of several benches from the weight of a very fat man; and even when order was restored, he could not forbear bursting out into violent fits of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident. After he became emperor, likewise, he wrote several things (329) which he was careful to have recited to his friends by a reader. He commenced his history from the death of the dictator Caesar; but afterwards he took a later period, and began at the conclusion of the civil wars; because he found he could not speak with freedom, and a due regard to truth, concerning the former period, having been often taken to task both by his mother

and grandmother. Of the earlier history he left only two books, but of the latter, one and forty. He compiled likewise the "History of his Own Life," in eight books, full of absurdities, but in no bad style; also, "A Defence of Cicero against the Books of Asinius Gallus," which exhibited a considerable degree of learning. He besides invented three new letters, and added them to the former alphabet, as highly necessary. He published a book to recommend them while he was yet only a private person; but on his elevation to imperial power he had little difficulty in introducing them into common use; and these letters are still extant in a variety of books, registers, and inscriptions upon buildings.

XLII. He applied himself with no less attention to the study of Grecian literature, asserting upon all occasions his love of that language, and its surpassing excellency. A stranger once holding a discourse both in Greek and Latin, he addressed him thus; "Since you are skilled in both our tongues." And recommending Achaia to the favour of the senate, he said, "I have a particular attachment to that province, on account of our common studies." In the senate he often made long replies to ambassadors in that language. On the tribunal he frequently quoted the verses of Homer. When at any time he had taken vengeance on an enemy or a conspirator, he scarcely ever gave to the tribune on guard, who, (330) according to custom, came for the word, any other than this.

Andr' epamynastai, ote tis proteros chalepaenae.

'Tis time to strike when wrong demands the blow.

To conclude, he wrote some histories likewise in Greek, namely, twenty books on Tuscan affairs, and eight on the Carthaginian; in consequence of which, another museum was founded at Alexandria, in addition to the old one, and called after his name; and it was ordered, that, upon certain days in every year, his Tuscan history should be read over in one of these, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in a school; each history being read through by persons who took it in turn.

XLIII. Towards the close of his life, he gave some manifest indications that he repented of his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freedmen noticing with approbation his having condemned, the day before, a woman accused of adultery, he remarked, "It has been my misfortune to have wives who have been unfaithful to my bed; but they did not escape punishment." Often, when he happened to meet Britannicus, he would embrace him tenderly, and express a desire "that he might grow apace," and receive from him an account of all his actions: using the Greek phrase, "o trosas kai iasetai, — He who has wounded will also heal." And intending to give him the manly habit, while he was yet under age and a tender youth, because his stature would allow of it, he added, "I do so, that the Roman people may at last have a real Caesar."

XLIV. Soon afterwards he made his will, and had it signed by all the magistrates as witnesses. But he was prevented from proceeding further by Agrippina, accused by her own guilty conscience, as well as by informers, of a variety of crimes. It is agreed that he was taken off by poison; but where, and by whom administered, remains in uncertainty. Some authors say that it was given him as he was feasting with the priests in the Capitol, by the eunuch Halotus, his taster. Others say (331) by Agrippina, at his own table, in mushrooms, a dish of which he was very fond . The accounts of what followed likewise differ. Some relate that he instantly became speechless, was racked with pain through the night, and died about day-break; others, that at first he fell into a sound sleep, and afterwards, his food rising, he threw up the whole; but had another dose given him; whether in water-gruel, under pretence of refreshment after his exhaustion, or in a clyster, as if designed to relieve his bowels, is likewise uncertain.

XLV. His death was kept secret until everything was settled relative to his successor. Accordingly, vows were made for his recovery, and comedians were called to amuse him, as it was pretended, by his own desire. He died upon the third of the ides of October [13th October], in the consulship of Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Aviola, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign . His funeral was celebrated with the customary imperial pomp, and he was ranked amongst the gods. This honour was taken from him by Nero, but restored by Vespasian.

XLVI. The chief presages of his death were, the appearance of a comet, his father Drusus's monument being struck by lightning, and the death of most of the magistrates of all ranks that year. It appears from several circumstances, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it. For when he nominated the consuls, he appointed no one to fill the office beyond the month in which he died. At the last assembly of the senate in which he made his appearance, he earnestly exhorted his two sons to unity with each other, and with earnest entreaties commended to the fathers the care of their tender years. And in the last cause he heard from the tribunal, he repeatedly declared in open court, "That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortal existence;" whilst all who heard it shrunk at hearing these ominous words.

* * * * *

The violent death of Caligula afforded the Romans a fresh opportunity to have asserted the liberty of their country; but the conspirators had concerted no plan, by which they should proceed upon the assassination of that tyrant; and the

indecision of the senate, in a debate of two days, on so sudden an emergency, gave time to the caprice of the soldiers to interpose in the settlement of the government. By an accident the most fortuitous, a man devoid of all pretensions to personal merit, so weak in understanding as to be the common sport of the emperor's household, and an object of contempt even to his own kindred; this man, in the hour of military insolence, was nominated by the soldiers as successor to the Roman throne. Not yet in possession of the public treasury, which perhaps was exhausted, he could not immediately reward the services of his electors with a pecuniary gratification; but he promised them a largess of fifteen thousand sesterces a man, upwards of a hundred and forty pounds sterling; and as we meet with no account of any subsequent discontents in the army, we may justly conclude that the promise was soon after fulfilled. This transaction laid the foundation of that military despotism, which, through many succeeding ages, convulsed the Roman empire.

Besides the interposition of the soldiers upon this occasion, it appears that the populace of Rome were extremely clamorous for the government of a single person, and for that of Claudius in particular. This partiality for a monarchical government proceeded from two causes. The commonalty, from their obscure situation, were always the least exposed to oppression, under a tyrannical prince. They had likewise ever been remarkably fond of stage-plays and public shows, with which, as well as with scrambles, and donations of bread and other victuals, the preceding emperor had frequently gratified them. They had therefore less to fear, and more to hope, from the government of a single person than any other class of Roman citizens. With regard to the partiality for Claudius, it may be accounted for partly from the low habits of life to which he had been addicted, in consequence of which many of them were familiarly acquainted with him; and this circumstance likewise increased their hope of deriving some advantage from his accession. Exclusive of all these considerations, it is highly probable that the populace were instigated in favour of Claudius by the artifices of his freedmen, persons of mean extraction, by whom he was afterwards entirely governed, and who, upon such an occasion, would exert their utmost efforts to procure his appointment to the throne. From the debate in the senate having continued during (333) two days, it was evident that there was still a strong party for restoring the ancient form of government. That they were in the end overawed by the clamour of the multitude, is not surprising, when we consider that the senate was totally unprovided with resources of every kind for asserting the independence of the nation by arms; and the commonalty, who interrupted their deliberations, were the only people by whose assistance they ever could effect the restitution of public freedom. To this may be added, that the senate, by the

total reduction of their political importance, ever since the overthrow of the republic, had lost both the influence and authority which they formerly enjoyed. The extreme cruelty, likewise, which had been exercised during the last two reigns, afforded a further motive for relinquishing all attempts in favour of liberty, as they might be severely revenged upon themselves by the subsequent emperor: and it was a degree of moderation in Claudius, which palliates the injustice of his cause, that he began his government with an act of amnesty respecting the public transactions which ensued upon the death of Caligula.

Claudius, at the time of his accession, was fifty years of age; and though he had hitherto lived apparently unambitious of public honours, accompanied with great ostentation, yet he was now seized with a desire to enjoy a triumph. As there existed no war, in which he might perform some military achievement, his vanity could only be gratified by invading a foreign country, where, contrary to the advice contained in the testament of Augustus, he might attempt to extend still further the limits of the empire. Either Britain, therefore, or some nation on the continent, at a great distance from the capital, became the object of such an enterprize; and the former was chosen, not only as more convenient, from its vicinity to the maritime province of Gaul, but on account of a remonstrance lately presented by the Britons to the court of Rome, respecting the protection afforded to some persons of that nation, who had fled thither to elude the laws of their country. Considering the state of Britain at that time, divided as it was into a number of principalities, amongst which there was no general confederacy for mutual defence, and where the alarm excited by the invasion of Julius Caesar, upwards of eighty years before, had long since been forgotten; a sudden attempt upon the island could not fail to be attended with success. Accordingly, an army was sent over, under the command of Aulus Plautius, an able general, who defeated the natives in several engagements, and penetrated a considerable way into the country. Preparations for the emperor's voyage now being made, Claudius set sail from Ostia, at the mouth of (334) the Tiber; but meeting with a violent storm in the Mediterranean, he landed at Marseilles, and proceeding thence to Boulogne in Picardy, passed over into Britain. In what part he debarked, is uncertain, but it seems to have been at some place on the south-east coast of the island. He immediately received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited those parts; and returning to Rome, after an absence of six months, celebrated with great pomp the triumph, for which he had undertaken the expedition.

In the interior parts of Britain, the natives, under the command of Caractacus, maintained an obstinate resistance, and little progress was made by the Roman arms, until Ostorius Scapula was sent over to prosecute the war. He penetrated

into the country of the Silures, a warlike tribe, who inhabited the banks of the Severn; and having defeated Caractacus in a great battle, made him prisoner, and sent him to Rome. The fame of the British prince had by this time spread over the provinces of Gaul and Italy; and upon his arrival in the Roman capital, the people flocked from all quarters to behold him. The ceremonial of his entrance was conducted with great solemnity. On a plain adjoining the Roman camp, the pretorian troops were drawn up in martial array: the emperor and his court took their station in front of the lines, and behind them was ranged the whole body of the people. The procession commenced with the different trophies which had been taken from the Britons during the progress of the war. Next followed the brothers of the vanquished prince, with his wife and daughter, in chains, expressing by their supplicating looks and gestures the fears with which they were actuated. But not so Caractacus himself. With a manly gait and an undaunted countenance, he marched up to the tribunal, where the emperor was seated, and addressed him in the following terms:

“If to my high birth and distinguished rank, I had added the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me rather as a friend than a captive; and you would not have rejected an alliance with a prince, descended from illustrious ancestors, and governing many nations. The reverse of my fortune to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and horses; I possessed extraordinary riches; and can it be any wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? Because Rome aspires to universal dominion, must men therefore implicitly resign themselves to subjection? I opposed for a long time the progress of your arms, and had I acted otherwise, would either you have had the glory of conquest, or I of a brave resistance? I am now in your (335) power: if you are determined to take revenge, my fate will soon be forgotten, and you will derive no honour from the transaction. Preserve my life, and I shall remain to the latest ages a monument of your clemency.”

Immediately upon this speech, Claudius granted him his liberty, as he did likewise to the other royal captives. They all returned their thanks in a manner the most grateful to the emperor; and as soon as their chains were taken off, walking towards Agrippina, who sat upon a bench at a little distance, they repeated to her the same fervent declarations of gratitude and esteem.

History has preserved no account of Caractacus after this period; but it is probable, that he returned in a short time to his own country, where his former valour, and the magnanimity, which he had displayed at Rome, would continue to render him illustrious through life, even amidst the irretrievable ruin of his fortunes.

The most extraordinary character in the present reign was that of Valeria

Messalina, the daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus. She was married to Claudius, and had by him a son and a daughter. To cruelty in the prosecution of her purposes, she added the most abandoned incontinence. Not confining her licentiousness within the limits of the palace, where she committed the most shameful excesses, she prostituted her person in the common stews, and even in the public streets of the capital. As if her conduct was already not sufficiently scandalous, she obliged C. Silius, a man of consular rank, to divorce his wife, that she might procure his company entirely to herself. Not contented with this indulgence to her criminal passion, she next persuaded him to marry her; and during an excursion which the emperor made to Ostia, the ceremony of marriage was actually performed between them. The occasion was celebrated with a magnificent supper, to which she invited a large company; and lest the whole should be regarded as a frolic, not meant to be consummated, the adulterous parties ascended the nuptial couch in the presence of the astonished spectators. Great as was the facility of Claudius's temper in respect of her former behaviour, he could not overlook so flagrant a violation both of public decency and the laws of the country. Silius was condemned to death for the adultery which he had perpetrated with reluctance; and Messalina was ordered into the emperor's presence, to answer for her conduct. Terror now operating upon her mind in conjunction with remorse, she could not summon the resolution to support such an interview, but retired into the gardens of Lucullus, there to indulge at last the compunction which she felt for her crimes, and to meditate the entreaties by which she should endeavour to soothe the resentment (336) of her husband. In the extremity of her distress, she attempted to lay violent hands upon herself, but her courage was not equal to the emergency. Her mother, Lepida, who had not spoken with her for some years before, was present upon the occasion, and urged her to the act which alone could put a period to her infamy and wretchedness. Again she made an effort, but again her resolution abandoned her; when a tribune burst into the gardens, and plunging his sword into her body, she instantly expired. Thus perished a woman, the scandal of whose lewdness resounded throughout the empire, and of whom a great satirist, then living, has said, perhaps without a hyperbole,

Et lassata viris, necdum satiata, recessit. — Juvenal, Sat. VI.

It has been already observed, that Claudius was entirely governed by his freedmen; a class of retainers which enjoyed a great share of favour and confidence with their patrons in those times. They had before been the slaves of their masters, and had obtained their freedom as a reward for their faithful and attentive services. Of the esteem in which they were often held, we meet with an

instance in Tiro, the freedman of Cicero, to whom that illustrious Roman addresses several epistles, written in the most familiar and affectionate strain of friendship. As it was common for them to be taught the more useful parts of education in the families of their masters, they were usually well qualified for the management of domestic concerns, and might even be competent to the superior departments of the state, especially in those times when negotiations and treaties with foreign princes seldom or never occurred; and in arbitrary governments, where public affairs were directed more by the will of the sovereign or his ministers, than by refined suggestions of policy.

From the character generally given of Claudius before his elevation to the throne, we should not readily imagine that he was endowed with any taste for literary composition; yet he seems to have exclusively enjoyed this distinction during his own reign, in which learning was at a low ebb. Besides history, Suetonius informs us that he wrote a Defence of Cicero against the Charges of Asinius Gallus. This appears to be the only tribute of esteem or approbation paid to the character of Cicero, from the time of Livy the historian, to the extinction of the race of the Caesars. Asinius Gallus was the son of Asinius Pollio, the orator. Marrying Vipsania after she had been divorced by Tiberius, he incurred the displeasure of that emperor, and died of famine, either voluntarily, or by order of the tyrant. He wrote a comparison between his father and Cicero, in which, with more filial partiality than justice, he gave the preference to the former.

NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR.

I. Two celebrated families, the Calvini and Aenobarbi, sprung from the race of the Domitii. The Aenobarbi derive both their extraction and their cognomen from one Lucius Domitius, of whom we have this tradition: — As he was returning out of the country to Rome, he was met by two young men of a most august appearance, who desired him to announce to the senate and people a victory, of which no certain intelligence had yet reached the city. To prove that they were more than mortals, they stroked his cheeks, and thus changed his hair, which was black, to a bright colour, resembling that of brass; which mark of distinction descended to his posterity, for they had generally red beards. This family had the honour of seven consulships, one triumph, and two censorships; and being admitted into the patrician order, they continued the use of the same cognomen, with no other praenomina than those of Cneius and Lucius. These, however, they assumed with singular irregularity; three persons in succession sometimes adhering to one of them, and then they were changed alternately. For the first, second, and third of the Aenobarbi had the praenomen of Lucius, and again the three following, successively, that of Cneius, while those who came after were called, by turns, one, Lucius, and the other, Cneius. It appears to me proper to give a short account of several of the family, to show that Nero so far degenerated from the noble qualities of his ancestors, that he retained only their vices; as if those alone had been transmitted to him by his descent.

II. To begin, therefore, at a remote period, his great-grandfather's grandfather, Cneius Domitius, when he was tribune of the people, being offended with the high priests for electing another than himself in the room of his father, obtained the (338) transfer of the right of election from the colleges of the priests to the people. In his consulship, having conquered the Allobroges and the Arverni, he made a progress through the province, mounted upon an elephant, with a body of soldiers attending him, in a sort of triumphal pomp. Of this person the orator Licinius Crassus said, "It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of iron, and a heart of lead." His son, during his praetorship, proposed that Cneius Caesar, upon the expiration of his consulship, should be called to account before the senate for his administration of that office, which was supposed to be contrary both to the omens and the laws. Afterwards, when he was consul himself, he tried to deprive Cneius of the command of the army, and having been, by intrigue and cabal, appointed his successor, he was made prisoner at Corsinium, in the beginning of the civil war. Being set at liberty, he went to Marseilles, which was then besieged; where having, by his presence, animated

the people to hold out, he suddenly deserted them, and at last was slain in the battle of Pharsalia. He was a man of little constancy, and of a sullen temper. In despair of his fortunes, he had recourse to poison, but was so terrified at the thoughts of death, that, immediately repenting, he took a vomit to throw it up again, and gave freedom to his physician for having, with great prudence and wisdom, given him only a gentle dose of the poison. When Cneius Pompey was consulting with his friends in what manner he should conduct himself towards those who were neuter and took no part in the contest, he was the only one who proposed that they should be treated as enemies.

III. He left a son, who was, without doubt, the best of the family. By the Peditian law, he was condemned, although innocent, amongst others who were concerned in the death of Caesar. Upon this, he went over to Brutus and Cassius, his near relations; and, after their death, not only kept together the fleet, the command of which had been given him some time before, but even increased it. At last, when the party had everywhere been defeated, he voluntarily surrendered it to (339) Mark Antony; considering it as a piece of service for which the latter owed him no small obligations. Of all those who were condemned by the law above-mentioned, he was the only man who was restored to his country, and filled the highest offices. When the civil war again broke out, he was appointed lieutenant under the same Antony, and offered the chief command by those who were ashamed of Cleopatra; but not daring, on account of a sudden indisposition with which he was seized, either to accept or refuse it, he went over to Augustus, and died a few days after, not without an aspersion cast upon his memory. For Antony gave out, that he was induced to change sides by his impatience to be with his mistress, Servilia Nais.

IV. This Cneius had a son, named Domitius, who was afterwards well known as the nominal purchaser of the family property left by Augustus's will; and no less famous in his youth for his dexterity in chariot-driving, than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great arrogance, prodigality, and cruelty. When he was aedile, he obliged Lucius Plancus, the censor, to give him the way; and in his praetorship, and consulship, he made Roman knights and married women act on the stage. He gave hunts of wild beasts, both in the Circus and in all the wards of the city; as also a show of gladiators; but with such barbarity, that Augustus, after privately reprimanding him, to no purpose, was obliged to restrain him by a public edict.

V. By the elder Antonia he had Nero's father, a man of execrable character in every part of his life. During his attendance upon Caius Caesar in the East, he killed a freedman of his own, for refusing to drink as much as he ordered him.

Being dismissed for this from Caesar's society, he did not mend his habits; for, in a village upon the Appian road, he suddenly whipped his horses, and drove his chariot, on purpose, (340) over a poor boy, crushing him to pieces. At Rome, he struck out the eye of a Roman knight in the Forum, only for some free language in a dispute between them. He was likewise so fraudulent, that he not only cheated some silversmiths of the price of goods he had bought of them, but, during his praetorship, defrauded the owners of chariots in the Circensian games of the prizes due to them for their victory. His sister, jeering him for the complaints made by the leaders of the several parties, he agreed to sanction a law, "That, for the future, the prizes should be immediately paid." A little before the death of Tiberius, he was prosecuted for treason, adulteries, and incest with his sister Lepida, but escaped in the timely change of affairs, and died of a dropsy, at Pyrgi; leaving behind him his son, Nero, whom he had by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus.

VI. Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, upon the eighteenth of the calends of January [15th December], just as the sun rose, so that its beams touched him before they could well reach the earth. While many fearful conjectures, in respect to his future fortune, were formed by different persons, from the circumstances of his nativity, a saying of his father, Domitius, was regarded as an ill presage, who told his friends who were congratulating him upon the occasion, "That nothing but what was detestable, and pernicious to the public, could ever be produced of him and Agrippina." Another manifest prognostic of his future infelicity occurred upon his lustration day. For Caius Caesar being requested by his sister to give the child what name he thought proper — looking at his uncle, Claudius, who (341) afterwards, when emperor, adopted Nero, he gave his: and this not seriously, but only in jest; Agrippina treating it with contempt, because Claudius at that time was a mere laughing-stock at the palace. He lost his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his estate; of which he never got possession, the whole being seized by his co-heir, Caius. His mother being soon after banished, he lived with his aunt Lepida, in a very necessitous condition, under the care of two tutors, a dancing-master and a barber. After Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father's estate, but was enriched with the additional inheritance of that of his step-father, Crispus Passienus. Upon his mother's recall from banishment, he was advanced to such favour, through Nero's powerful interest with the emperor, that it was reported, assassins were employed by Messalina, Claudius's wife, to strangle him, as Britannicus's rival, whilst he was taking his noon-day repose. In addition to the story, it was said that they were frightened by a serpent, which crept from under his cushion, and ran away. The tale was

occasioned by finding on his couch, near the pillow, the skin of a snake, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a bracelet of gold. This amulet, at last, he laid aside, from aversion to her memory; but he sought for it again, in vain, in the time of his extremity.

VII. When he was yet a mere boy, before he arrived at the age of puberty, during the celebration of the Circensian games, he performed his part in the Trojan play with a degree of firmness which gained him great applause. In the eleventh year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and placed under the tuition of Annaeus Seneca, who had been made a senator. It is said, that Seneca dreamt the night after, that he was giving a lesson to Caius Caesar. Nero soon verified his dream, betraying the cruelty of his disposition in every way he could. For he attempted to persuade his father that his brother, Britannicus, was nothing but a changeling, because the latter had (342) saluted him, notwithstanding his adoption, by the name of Aenobarbus, as usual. When his aunt, Lepida, was brought to trial, he appeared in court as a witness against her, to gratify his mother, who persecuted the accused. On his introduction into the Forum, at the age of manhood, he gave a largess to the people and a donative to the soldiers: for the pretorian cohorts, he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and marched at the head of them with a shield in his hand; after which he went to return thanks to his father in the senate. Before Claudius, likewise, at the time he was consul, he made a speech for the Bolognese, in Latin, and for the Rhodians and people of Ilium, in Greek. He had the jurisdiction of praefect of the city, for the first time, during the Latin festival; during which the most celebrated advocates brought before him, not short and trifling causes, as is usual in that case, but trials of importance, notwithstanding they had instructions from Claudius himself to the contrary. Soon afterwards, he married Octavia, and exhibited the Circensian games, and hunting of wild beasts, in honour of Claudius.

VIII. He was seventeen years of age at the death of that prince, and as soon as that event was made public, he went out to the cohort on guard between the hours of six and seven; for the omens were so disastrous, that no earlier time of the day was judged proper. On the steps before the palace gate, he was unanimously saluted by the soldiers as their emperor, and then carried in a litter to the camp; thence, after making a short speech to the troops, into the senate-house, where he continued until the evening; of all the immense honours which were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, on account of his youth,

IX. He began his reign with an ostentation of dutiful regard to the memory of Claudius, whom he buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, pronouncing

the funeral oration himself, and then had him enrolled amongst the gods. He paid likewise the highest honours to the memory of his father Domitius. He left the management of affairs, both public and private, to his mother. The word which he gave the first day of his reign to the tribune on guard, was, “The (343) Best of Mothers,” and afterwards he frequently appeared with her in the streets of Rome in her litter. He settled a colony at Antium, in which he placed the veteran soldiers belonging to the guards; and obliged several of the richest centurions of the first rank to transfer their residence to that place; where he likewise made a noble harbour at a prodigious expense.

X. To establish still further his character, he declared, “that he designed to govern according to the model of Augustus;” and omitted no opportunity of showing his generosity, clemency, and complaisance. The more burthensome taxes he either entirely took off, or diminished. The rewards appointed for informers by the Papian law, he reduced to a fourth part, and distributed to the people four hundred sesterces a man. To the noblest of the senators who were much reduced in their circumstances, he granted annual allowances, in some cases as much as five hundred thousand sesterces; and to the pretorian cohorts a monthly allowance of corn gratis. When called upon to subscribe the sentence, according to custom, of a criminal condemned to die, “I wish,” said he, “I had never learnt to read and write.” He continually saluted people of the several orders by name, without a prompter. When the senate returned him their thanks for his good government, he replied to them, “It will be time enough to do so when I shall have deserved it.” He admitted the common people to see him perform his exercises in the Campus Martius. He frequently declaimed in public, and recited verses of his own composing, not only at home, but in the theatre; so much to the joy of all the people, that public prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account; and the verses which had been publicly read, were, after being written in gold letters, consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

(344) XI. He presented the people with a great number and variety of spectacles, as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage-plays, and an exhibition of gladiators. In the Juvenal, he even admitted senators and aged matrons to perform parts. In the Circensian games, he assigned the equestrian order seats apart from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn each by four camels. In the games which he instituted for the eternal duration of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called Maximi, many of the senatorian and equestrian order, of both sexes, performed. A distinguished Roman knight descended on the stage by a rope, mounted on an elephant. A Roman play, likewise, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage. It was entitled, “The Fire;” and in it the performers were allowed to carry off, and to keep to

themselves, the furniture of the house, which, as the plot of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre. Every day during the solemnity, many thousand articles of all descriptions were thrown amongst the people to scramble for; such as fowls of different kinds, tickets for corn, clothes, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, wild beasts that had been tamed; at last, ships, lots of houses, and lands, were offered as prizes in a lottery.

XII. These games he beheld from the front of the proscenium. In the show of gladiators, which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, built within a year in the district of the Campus Martius, he ordered that none should be slain, not even the condemned criminals employed in the combats. He secured four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, amongst whom were some of unbroken fortunes and unblemished reputation, to act as gladiators. From the same orders, he engaged persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services in the theatre. He presented the public with the representation of a naval fight, upon sea-water, with huge fishes swimming in it; as also with the Pyrrhic dance, performed by certain youths, to each of whom, after the performance was over, he granted the freedom of Rome. During this diversion, a bull covered Pasiphae, concealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed. Icarus, upon his first attempt to fly, fell on the stage close to (345) the emperor's pavilion, and bespattered him with blood. For he very seldom presided in the games, but used to view them reclining on a couch, at first through some narrow apertures, but afterwards with the Podium quite open. He was the first who instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several exercises of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed at Rome every five years, and which he called Neronia. Upon the dedication of his bath and gymnasium, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oil. He appointed as judges of the trial men of consular rank, chosen by lot, who sat with the praetors. At this time he went down into the orchestra amongst the senators, and received the crown for the best performance in Latin prose and verse, for which several persons of the greatest merit contended, but they unanimously yielded to him. The crown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise awarded to him by the judges, he devoutly saluted it, and ordered it to be carried to the statue of Augustus. In the gymnastic exercises, which he presented in the Septa, while they were preparing the great sacrifice of an ox, he shaved his beard for the first time, and putting it up in a casket of gold studded with pearls of great price, consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. He invited the Vestal Virgins to see the (346) wrestlers perform, because, at Olympia, the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of witnessing that exhibition.

XIII. Amongst the spectacles presented by him, the solemn entrance of

Tiridates into the city deserves to be mentioned. This personage, who was king of Armenia, he invited to Rome by very liberal promises. But being prevented by unfavourable weather from showing him to the people upon the day fixed by proclamation, he took the first opportunity which occurred; several cohorts being drawn up under arms, about the temples in the forum, while he was seated on a curule chair on the rostra, in a triumphal dress, amidst the military standards and ensigns. Upon Tiridates advancing towards him, on a stage made shelving for the purpose, he permitted him to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right hand, and kissed him. The emperor then, at the king's request, took the turban from his head, and replaced it by a crown, whilst a person of pretorian rank proclaimed in Latin the words in which the prince addressed the emperor as a suppliant. After this ceremony, the king was conducted to the theatre, where, after renewing his obeisance, Nero seated him on his right hand. Being then greeted by universal acclamation with the title of Emperor, and sending his laurel crown to the Capitol, Nero shut the temple of the two-faced Janus, as though there now existed no war throughout the Roman empire.

XIV. He filled the consulship four times : the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four; the two intermediate ones he held successively, but the others after an interval of some years between them.

XV. In the administration of justice, he scarcely ever gave his decision on the pleadings before the next day, and then in writing. His manner of hearing causes was not to allow any adjournment, but to dispatch them in order as they stood. When he withdrew to consult his assessors, he did not debate the matter openly with them; but silently and privately reading over their opinions, which they gave separately in writing, (347) he pronounced sentence from the tribunal according to his own view of the case, as if it was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sons of freedmen into the senate; and those who had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all public offices. To supernumerary candidates he gave command in the legions, to comfort them under the delay of their hopes. The consulship he commonly conferred for six months; and one of the two consuls dying a little before the first of January, he substituted no one in his place; disliking what had been formerly done for Caninius Rebilus on such an occasion, who was consul for one day only. He allowed the triumphal honours only to those who were of quaestorian rank, and to some of the equestrian order; and bestowed them without regard to military service. And instead of the quaestors, whose office it properly was, he frequently ordered that the addresses, which he sent to the senate on certain occasions, should be read by the consuls.

XVI. He devised a new style of building in the city, ordering piazzas to be

erected before all houses, both in the streets and detached, to give facilities from their terraces, in case of fire, for preventing it from spreading; and these he built at his own expense. He likewise designed to extend the city walls as far as Ostia, and bring the sea from thence by a canal into the old city. Many severe regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumptuary law was enacted. Public suppers were limited to the *Sportulae*; and victualling-houses restrained from selling any dressed victuals, except pulse and herbs, whereas before they sold all kinds of meat. He likewise inflicted punishments on the Christians, a sort of people who held a new and impious superstition.

(348) He forbade the revels of the charioteers, who had long assumed a licence to stroll about, and established for themselves a kind of prescriptive right to cheat and thief, making a jest of it. The partisans of the rival theatrical performers were banished, as well as the actors themselves.

XVII. To prevent forgery, a method was then first invented, of having writings bored, run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise provided that in wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to those who were to sign them as witnesses; and that no one who wrote a will for another, should insert any legacy for himself. It was likewise ordained that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the court, which was to be gratuitous, the charges for it being paid out of the public treasury; that causes, the cognizance of which before belonged to the judges of the exchequer, should be transferred to the forum, and the ordinary tribunals; and that all appeals from the judges should be made to the senate.

XVIII. He never entertained the least ambition or hope of augmenting and extending the frontiers of the empire. On the contrary, he had thoughts of withdrawing the troops from Britain, and was only restrained from so doing by the fear of appearing to detract from the glory of his father. All (349) that he did was to reduce the kingdom of Pontus, which was ceded to him by Polemon, and also the Alps, upon the death of Cottius, into the form of a province.

XIX. Twice only he undertook any foreign expeditions, one to Alexandria, and the other to Achaia; but he abandoned the prosecution of the former on the very day fixed for his departure, by being deterred both by ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage. For while he was making the circuit of the temples, having seated himself in that of Vesta, when he attempted to rise, the skirt of his robe stuck fast; and he was instantly seized with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see a yard before him. In Achaia, he attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus; and, having made a speech encouraging his pretorians to set about the work, on a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a

spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations for an expedition to the Pass of the Caspian mountains; forming a new legion out of his late levies in Italy, of men all six feet high, which he called the phalanx of Alexander the Great. These transactions, in part unexceptionable, and in part highly commendable, I have brought into one view, in order to separate them from the scandalous and criminal part of his conduct, of which I shall now give an account.

XX. Among the other liberal arts which he was taught in his youth, he was instructed in music; and immediately after (350) his advancement to the empire, he sent for Terpnus, a performer upon the harp, who flourished at that time with the highest reputation. Sitting with him for several days following, as he sang and played after supper, until late at night, he began by degrees to practise upon the instrument himself. Nor did he omit any of those expedients which artists in music adopt, for the preservation and improvement of their voices. He would lie upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his stomach and bowels by vomits and clysters, and forbear the eating of fruits, or food prejudicial to the voice. Encouraged by his proficiency, though his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear, he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently repeating amongst his friends a Greek proverb to this effect: “that no one had any regard for music which they never heard.” Accordingly, he made his first public appearance at Naples; and although the theatre quivered with the sudden shock of an earthquake, he did not desist, until he had finished the piece of music he had begun. He played and sung in the same place several times, and for several days together; taking only now and then a little respite to refresh his voice. Impatient of retirement, it was his custom to go from the bath to the theatre; and after dining in the orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people, he promised them in Greek, “that after he had drank a little, he would give them a tune which would make their ears tingle.” Being highly pleased with the songs that were sung in his praise by some Alexandrians belonging to the fleet just arrived at Naples, he sent for more of the like singers from Alexandria. At the same time, he chose young men of the equestrian order, and above five thousand robust young fellows from the common people, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause, called bombi, imbrices, and testae, which they were to practise in his favour, whenever he performed. They were (351) divided into several parties, and were remarkable for their fine heads of hair, and were extremely well dressed, with rings upon their left hands. The leaders of these bands had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them.

XXI. At Rome also, being extremely proud of his singing, he ordered the games called Neronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. All

now becoming importunate to hear “his heavenly voice,” he informed them, “that he would gratify those who desired it at the gardens.” But the soldiers then on guard seconding the voice of the people, he promised to comply with their request immediately, and with all his heart. He instantly ordered his name to be entered upon the list of musicians who proposed to contend, and having thrown his lot into the urn among the rest, took his turn, and entered, attended by the prefects of the pretorian cohorts bearing his harp, and followed by the military tribunes, and several of his intimate friends. After he had taken his station, and made the usual prelude, he commanded Cluvius Rufus, a man of consular rank, to proclaim in the theatre, that he intended to sing the story of Niobe. This he accordingly did, and continued it until nearly ten o’clock, but deferred the disposal of the crown, and the remaining part of the solemnity, until the next year; that he might have more frequent opportunities of performing. But that being too long, he could not refrain from often appearing as a public performer during the interval. He made no scruple of exhibiting on the stage, even in the spectacles presented to the people by private persons, and was offered by one of the praetors, no less than a million of sesterces for his services. He likewise sang tragedies in a mask; the visors of the heroes and gods, as also of the heroines and goddesses, being formed into a resemblance of his own face, and that of any woman he was in love with. Amongst the rest, he sung “Canace in Labour,” “Orestes the Murderer of his Mother,” “Oedipus (352) Blinded,” and “Hercules Mad.” In the last tragedy, it is said that a young sentinel, posted at the entrance of the stage, seeing him in a prison dress and bound with fetters, as the fable of the play required, ran to his assistance.

XXII. He had from his childhood an extravagant passion for horses; and his constant talk was of the Circensian races, notwithstanding it was prohibited him. Lamenting once, among his fellow-pupils, the case of a charioteer of the green party, who was dragged round the circus at the tail of his chariot, and being reprimanded by his tutor for it, he pretended that he was talking of Hector. In the beginning of his reign, he used to amuse himself daily with chariots drawn by four horses, made of ivory, upon a table. He attended at all the lesser exhibitions in the circus, at first privately, but at last openly; so that nobody ever doubted of his presence on any particular day. Nor did he conceal his desire to have the number of the prizes doubled; so that the races being increased accordingly, the diversion continued until a late hour; the leaders of parties refusing now to bring out their companies for any time less than the whole day. Upon this, he took a fancy for driving the chariot himself, and that even publicly. Having made his first experiment in the gardens, amidst crowds of slaves and other rabble, he at length performed in the view of all the people, in the Circus Maximus, whilst

one of his freedmen dropped the napkin in the place where the magistrates used to give the signal. Not satisfied with exhibiting various specimens of his skill in those arts at Rome, he went over to Achaia, as has been already said, principally for this purpose. The several cities, in which solemn trials of musical skill used to be publicly held, had resolved to send him the crowns belonging to those who bore away the prize. These he accepted so graciously, that he not only gave the deputies who brought them an immediate audience, but even invited them to his table. Being requested by some of them to sing at supper, and prodigiously applauded, he said, "the Greeks were the only people who has an ear for music, and were the only good judges of him and his attainments." Without delay he commenced his journey, and on his arrival at Cassiope, (352) exhibited his first musical performance before the altar of Jupiter Cassius.

XXIII. He afterwards appeared at the celebration of all public games in Greece: for such as fell in different years, he brought within the compass of one, and some he ordered to be celebrated a second time in the same year. At Olympia, likewise, contrary to custom, he appointed a public performance in music: and that he might meet with no interruption in this employment, when he was informed by his freedman Helius, that affairs at Rome required his presence, he wrote to him in these words: "Though now all your hopes and wishes are for my speedy return, yet you ought rather to advise and hope that I may come back with a character worthy of Nero." During the time of his musical performance, nobody was allowed to stir out of the theatre upon any account, however necessary; insomuch, that it is said some women with child were delivered there. Many of the spectators being quite wearied with hearing and applauding him, because the town gates were shut, slipped privately over the walls; or counterfeiting themselves dead, were carried out for their funeral. With what extreme anxiety he engaged in these contests, with what keen desire to bear away the prize, and with how much awe of the judges, is scarcely to be believed. As if his adversaries had been on a level with himself, he would watch them narrowly, defame them privately, and sometimes, upon meeting them, rail at them in very scurrilous language; or bribe them, if they were better performers than himself. He always addressed the judges with the most profound reverence before he began, telling them, "he had done all things that were necessary, by way of preparation, but that the issue of the approaching trial was in the hand of fortune; and that they, as wise and skilful men, ought to exclude from their judgment things merely accidental." Upon their encouraging him to have a good heart, he went off with more assurance, but not entirely free from anxiety; interpreting the silence and modesty of some of them into sourness and ill-nature, and saying that he was suspicious of them.

XXIV. In these contests, he adhered so strictly to the rules, (354) that he never durst spit, nor wipe the sweat from his forehead in any other way than with his sleeve. Having, in the performance of a tragedy, dropped his sceptre, and not quickly recovering it, he was in a great fright, lest he should be set aside for the miscarriage, and could not regain his assurance, until an actor who stood by swore he was certain it had not been observed in the midst of the acclamations and exultations of the people. When the prize was adjudged to him, he always proclaimed it himself; and even entered the lists with the heralds. That no memory or the least monument might remain of any other victor in the sacred Grecian games, he ordered all their statues and pictures to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the common sewers. He drove the chariot with various numbers of horses, and at the Olympic games with no fewer than ten; though, in a poem of his, he had reflected upon Mithridates for that innovation. Being thrown out of his chariot, he was again replaced, but could not retain his seat, and was obliged to give up, before he reached the goal, but was crowned notwithstanding. On his departure, he declared the whole province a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the freedom of Rome, with large sums of money. All these favours he proclaimed himself with his own voice, from the middle of the Stadium, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games.

XXV. On his return from Greece, arriving at Naples, because he had commenced his career as a public performer in that city, he made his entrance in a chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the city-wall, according to the practice of those who were victorious in the sacred Grecian games. In the same manner he entered Antium, Alba, and Rome. He made his entry into the city riding in the same chariot in which Augustus had triumphed, in a purple tunic, and a cloak embroidered with golden stars, having on his head the crown won at Olympia, and in his right hand that which was given him at the Parthian games: the rest being carried in a procession before him, with inscriptions denoting the places where they had been won, from whom, and in what plays or musical performances; whilst a train followed him with loud acclamations, crying out, that “they (355) were the emperor’s attendants, and the soldiers of his triumph.” Having then caused an arch of the Circus Maximus to be taken down, he passed through the breach, as also through the Velabrum and the forum, to the Palatine hill and the temple of Apollo. Everywhere as he marched along, victims were slain, whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, chaplets, and sweetmeats scattered abroad. He suspended the sacred crowns in his chamber, about his beds, and caused statues of himself to be erected in the attire of a harper, and had his likeness stamped upon the coin in the same dress. After this

period, he was so far from abating any thing of his application to music, that, for the preservation of his voice, he never addressed the soldiers but by messages, or with some person to deliver his speeches for him, when he thought fit to make his appearance amongst them. Nor did he ever do any thing either in jest or earnest, without a voice-master standing by him to caution him against overstraining his vocal organs, and to apply a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. He offered his friendship, or avowed (356) open enmity to many, according as they were lavish or sparing in giving him their applause.

XXVI. Petulancy, lewdness, luxury, avarice, and cruelty, he practised at first with reserve and in private, as if prompted to them only by the folly of youth; but, even then, the world was of opinion that they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age. After it was dark, he used to enter the taverns disguised in a cap or a wig, and ramble about the streets in sport, which was not void of mischief. He used to beat those he met coming home from supper; and, if they made any resistance, would wound them, and throw them into the common sewer. He broke open and robbed shops; establishing an auction at home for selling his booty. In the scuffles which took place on those occasions, he often ran the hazard of losing his eyes, and even his life; being beaten almost to death by a senator, for handling his wife indecently. After this adventure, he never again ventured abroad at that time of night, without some tribunes following him at a little distance. In the day-time he would be carried to the theatre incognito in a litter, placing himself upon the upper part of the proscenium, where he not only witnessed the quarrels which arose on account of the performances, but also encouraged them. When they came to blows, and stones and pieces of broken benches began to fly about, he threw them plentifully amongst the people, and once even broke a praetor's head.

XXVII. His vices gaining strength by degrees, he laid aside his jocular amusements, and all disguise; breaking out into enormous crimes, without the least attempt to conceal them. His revels were prolonged from mid-day to midnight, while he was frequently refreshed by warm baths, and, in the summer time, by such as were cooled with snow. He often supped in public, in the Naumachia, with the sluices shut, or in the Campus Martius, or the Circus Maximus, being waited upon at table by common prostitutes of the town, and Syrian strumpets and glee-girls. As often as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted through the gulf of Baiae, booths furnished as brothels and eating-houses, were erected along the shore and river banks; before which stood matrons, who, like bawds and hostesses, allured him to land. It was also his custom to invite (357) himself to supper with his friends; at one of which was expended no less than four millions of sesterces in chaplets, and at another

something more in roses.

XXVIII. Besides the abuse of free-born lads, and the debauch of married women, he committed a rape upon Rubria, a Vestal Virgin. He was upon the point of marrying Acte, his freedwoman, having suborned some men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. He gelded the boy Sporus, and endeavoured to transform him into a woman. He even went so far as to marry him, with all the usual formalities of a marriage settlement, the rose-coloured nuptial veil, and a numerous company at the wedding. When the ceremony was over, he had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him as his wife. It was jocularly observed by some person, "that it would have been well for mankind, had such a wife fallen to the lot of his father Domitius." This Sporus he carried about with him in a litter round the solemn assemblies and fairs of Greece, and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed in the rich attire of an empress; kissing him from time to time as they rode together. That he entertained an incestuous passion for his mother, but was deterred by her enemies, for fear that this haughty and overbearing woman should, by her compliance, get him entirely into her power, and govern in every thing, was universally believed; especially after he had introduced amongst his concubines a strumpet, who was reported to have a strong resemblance to Agrippina. —

XXIX. He prostituted his own chastity to such a degree, that (358) after he had defiled every part of his person with some unnatural pollution, he at last invented an extraordinary kind of diversion; which was, to be let out of a den in the arena, covered with the skin of a wild beast, and then assail with violence the private parts both of men and women, while they were bound to stakes. After he had vented his furious passion upon them, he finished the play in the embraces of his freedman Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same way that Sporus had been married to himself; imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are ravished. I have been informed from numerous sources, that he firmly believed, no man in the world to be chaste, or any part of his person undefiled; but that most men concealed that vice, and were cunning enough to keep it secret. To those, therefore, who frankly owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgave all other crimes.

XXX. He thought there was no other use of riches and money than to squander them away profusely; regarding all those as sordid wretches who kept their expenses within due bounds; and extolling those as truly noble and generous souls, who lavished away and wasted all they possessed. He praised and admired his uncle Caius, upon no account more, than for squandering in a short time the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly, he was himself

extravagant and profuse, beyond all bounds. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible; and at his departure, presented him with upwards of a million . He likewise bestowed upon Menecrates the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of men who had received the honour of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Panerotes with estates both in town and country; and gave him a funeral, in pomp and magnificence little inferior to that of princes. He never wore the same garment twice. He (359) has been known to stake four hundred thousand sesterces on a throw of the dice. It was his custom to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of purple and scarlet. It is said, that he never travelled with less than a thousand baggage-carts; the mules being all shod with silver, and the drivers dressed in scarlet jackets of the finest Canusian cloth, with a numerous train of footmen, and troops of Mazacans, with bracelets on their arms, and mounted upon horses in splendid trappings.

XXXI. In nothing was he more prodigal than in his buildings. He completed his palace by continuing it from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill, calling the building at first only "The Passage," but, after it was burnt down and rebuilt, "The Golden House." Of its dimensions and furniture, it may be sufficient to say thus much: the porch was so high that there stood in it a colossal statue of himself a hundred and twenty feet in height; and the space included in it was so ample, that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a lake like a sea, surrounded with buildings which had the appearance of a city. Within its area were corn fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, containing a vast number of animals of various kinds, both wild and tame. In other parts it was entirely overlaid with gold, and adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The supper rooms were vaulted, and compartments of the ceilings, inlaid with ivory, were made to revolve, and scatter flowers; while they contained pipes which (360) shed unguents upon the guests. The chief banqueting room was circular, and revolved perpetually, night and day, in imitation of the motion of the celestial bodies. The baths were supplied with water from the sea and the Albula. Upon the dedication of this magnificent house after it was finished, all he said in approval of it was, "that he had now a dwelling fit for a man." He commenced making a pond for the reception of all the hot streams from Baiae, which he designed to have continued from Misenum to the Avernian lake, in a conduit, enclosed in galleries; and also a canal from Avernus to Ostia, that ships might pass from one to the other, without a sea voyage. The length of the proposed canal was one hundred and sixty miles; and it was intended to be of breadth sufficient to permit ships with five banks of oars to pass each other. For the execution of these designs, he ordered all prisoners, in every part of the empire, to be brought to

Italy; and that even those who were convicted of the most heinous crimes, in lieu of any other sentence, should be condemned to work at them. He was encouraged to all this wild and enormous profusion, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but by the sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure, which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought with her to Africa. This, a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good grounds, was still hid there in some deep caverns, and might with a little labour be recovered.

XXXII. But being disappointed in his expectations of this resource, and reduced to such difficulties, for want of money, that he was obliged to defer paying his troops, and the rewards due to the veterans; he resolved upon supplying his necessities by means of false accusations and plunder. In the first place, he ordered, that if any freedman, without sufficient reason, bore the name of the family to which he belonged; the half, instead of three fourths, of his estate should be brought into the exchequer at his decease: also that the estates of all such persons as had not in their wills been mindful of their prince, should be confiscated; and that the lawyers who had drawn or dictated such wills, should be liable to a fine. He ordained likewise, that all words and actions, upon which any informer could ground a prosecution, should be deemed treason. He demanded an equivalent for the crowns which the cities of (361) Greece had at any time offered him in the solemn games. Having forbid any one to use the colours of amethyst and Tyrian purple, he privately sent a person to sell a few ounces of them upon the day of the Nundinae, and then shut up all the merchants' shops, on the pretext that his edict had been violated. It is said, that, as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in the purple which he had prohibited, he pointed her out to his procurators; upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her clothes, but her property. He never nominated a person to any office without saying to him, "You know what I want; and let us take care that nobody has any thing he can call his own." At last he rifled many temples of the rich offerings with which they were stored, and melted down all the gold and silver statues, and amongst them those of the penates, which Galba afterwards restored.

XXXIII. He began the practice of parricide and murder with Claudius himself; for although he was not the contriver of his death, he was privy to the plot. Nor did he make any secret of it; but used afterwards to commend, in a Greek proverb, mushrooms as food fit for the gods, because Claudius had been poisoned with them. He traduced his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner; one while charging him with folly, another while with cruelty. For he used to say by way of jest, that he had ceased morari amongst men, pronouncing the first syllable long; and treated as null many of his decrees and

ordinances, as made by a doting old blockhead. He enclosed the place where his body was burnt with only a low wall of rough masonry. He attempted to poison (362) Britannicus, as much out of envy because he had a sweeter voice, as from apprehension of what might ensue from the respect which the people entertained for his father's memory. He employed for this purpose a woman named Locusta, who had been a witness against some persons guilty of like practices. But the poison she gave him, working more slowly than he expected, and only causing a purge, he sent for the woman, and beat her with his own hand, charging her with administering an antidote instead of poison; and upon her alleging in excuse, that she had given Britannicus but a gentle mixture in order to prevent suspicion, "Think you," said he, "that I am afraid of the Julian law;" and obliged her to prepare, in his own chamber and before his eyes, as quick and strong a dose as possible. This he tried upon a kid: but the animal lingering for five hours before it expired, he ordered her to go to work again; and when she had done, he gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he commanded the potion to be brought into the eating-room and given to Britannicus, while he was at supper with him. The prince had no sooner tasted it than he sunk on the floor, Nero meanwhile, pretending to the guests, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness, to which, he said, he was subject. He buried him the following day, in a mean and hurried way, during violent storms of rain. He gave Locusta a pardon, and rewarded her with a great estate in land, placing some disciples with her, to be instructed in her trade.

XXXIV. His mother being used to make strict inquiry into what he said or did, and to reprimand him with the freedom of a parent, he was so much offended, that he endeavoured to expose her to public resentment, by frequently pretending a resolution to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes. Soon afterwards, he deprived her of all honour and power, took from her the guard of Roman and German soldiers, banished her from the palace and from his society, and persecuted her in every way he could contrive; employing persons to harass her when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirement from town with the most scurrilous and abusive language, following her about by land and sea. But being terrified with her menaces and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction, and thrice attempted it by poison. Finding, however, (363) that she had previously secured herself by antidotes, he contrived machinery, by which the floor over her bed-chamber might be made to fall upon her while she was asleep in the night. This design miscarrying likewise, through the little caution used by those who were in the secret, his next stratagem was to construct a ship which could be easily shivered, in hopes of destroying her either by drowning, or by the deck above her cabin crushing her in its fall. Accordingly, under colour of

a pretended reconciliation, he wrote her an extremely affectionate letter, inviting her to Baiae, to celebrate with him the festival of Minerva. He had given private orders to the captains of the galleys which were to attend her, to shatter to pieces the ship in which she had come, by falling foul of it, but in such manner that it might appear to be done accidentally. He prolonged the entertainment, for the more convenient opportunity of executing the plot in the night; and at her return for Bauli, instead of the old ship which had conveyed her to Baiae, he offered that which he had contrived for her destruction. He attended her to the vessel in a very cheerful mood, and, at parting with her, kissed her breasts; after which he sat up very late in the night, waiting with great anxiety to learn the issue of his project. But receiving information that every thing had fallen out contrary to his wish, and that she had saved herself by swimming, — not knowing what course to take, upon her freedman, Lucius Agerinus bringing word, with great joy, that she was safe and well, he privately dropped a poniard by him. He then commanded the freedman to be seized and put in chains, under pretence of his having been employed by his mother to assassinate him; at the same time ordering her to be put to death, and giving out, that, to avoid punishment for her intended crime, she had laid violent hands upon herself. Other circumstances, still more horrible, are related on good authority; as that he went to view her corpse, and handling her limbs, pointed out some blemishes, and commended other points; and that, growing thirsty during the survey, he called for drink. Yet he was never afterwards able to bear the stings of his own conscience for this atrocious act, although encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate, and people. He frequently affirmed that he was haunted by his mother's ghost, and persecuted with the whips (364) and burning torches of the Furies. Nay, he attempted by magical rites to bring up her ghost from below, and soften her rage against him. When he was in Greece, he durst not attend the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, at the initiation of which, impious and wicked persons are warned by the voice of the herald from approaching the rites. Besides the murder of his mother, he had been guilty of that of his aunt; for, being obliged to keep her bed in consequence of a complaint in her bowels, he paid her a visit, and she, being then advanced in years, stroking his downy chin, in the tenderness of affection, said to him: "May I but live to see the day when this is shaved for the first time, and I shall then die contented." He turned, however, to those about him, made a jest of it, saying, that he would have his beard immediately taken off, and ordered the physicians to give her more violent purgatives. He seized upon her estate before she had expired; suppressing her will, that he might enjoy the whole himself.

XXXV. He had, besides Octavia, two other wives: Poppaea Sabina, whose

father had borne the office of quaestor, and who had been married before to a Roman knight: and, after her, Statilia Messalina, great-grand-daughter of Taurus who was twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph. To obtain possession of her, he put to death her husband, Atticus Vestinus, who was then consul. He soon became disgusted with Octavia, and ceased from having any intercourse with her; and being censured by his friends for it, he replied, "She ought to be satisfied with having the rank and appendages of his wife." Soon afterwards, he made several attempts, but in vain, to strangle her, and then divorced her for barrenness. But the people, disapproving of the divorce, and making severe comments upon it, he also banished her. At last he (365) put her to death, upon a charge of adultery, so impudent and false, that, when all those who were put to the torture positively denied their knowledge of it, he suborned his pedagogue, Anicetus, to affirm, that he had secretly intrigued with and debauched her. He married Poppaea twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and entertained a great affection for her; but, nevertheless, killed her with a kick which he gave her when she was big with child, and in bad health, only because she found fault with him for returning late from driving his chariot. He had by her a daughter, Claudia Augusta, who died an infant. There was no person at all connected with him who escaped his deadly and unjust cruelty. Under pretence of her being engaged in a plot against him, he put to death Antonia, Claudius's daughter, who refused to marry him after the death of Poppaea. In the same way, he destroyed all who were allied to him either by blood or marriage; amongst whom was young Aulus Plautinus. He first compelled him to submit to his unnatural lust, and then ordered him to be executed, crying out, "Let my mother bestow her kisses on my successor thus defiled;" pretending that he had been his mother's paramour, and by her encouraged to aspire to the empire. His step-son, Rufinus Crispinus, Poppaea's son, though a minor, he ordered to be drowned in the sea, while he was fishing, by his own slaves, because he was reported to act frequently amongst his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. He banished Tuscus, his nurse's son, for presuming, when he was procurator of Egypt, to wash in the baths which had been constructed in expectation of his own coming. Seneca, his preceptor, he forced to kill himself, though, upon his desiring leave to retire, and offering to surrender his estate, he solemnly swore, "that there was no foundation for his suspicions, and that he would perish himself sooner than hurt him." Having promised Burrhus, the pretorian prefect, a remedy for a swelling in his throat, he sent him poison. Some old rich freedmen of Claudius, who had formerly not only promoted (366) his adoption, but were also instrumental to his advancement to the empire, and had been his governors, he took off by poison given them in their meat or drink.

XXXVI. Nor did he proceed with less cruelty against those who were not of his family. A blazing star, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horizon several nights successively. He felt great anxiety on account of this phenomenon, and being informed by one Babilus, an astrologer, that princes were used to expiate such omens by the sacrifice of illustrious persons, and so avert the danger foreboded to their own persons, by bringing it on the heads of their chief men, he resolved on the destruction of the principal nobility in Rome. He was the more encouraged to this, because he had some plausible pretence for carrying it into execution, from the discovery of two conspiracies against him; the former and more dangerous of which was that formed by Piso, and discovered at Rome; the other was that of Vinicius, at Beneventum. The conspirators were brought to their trials loaded with triple fetters. Some ingenuously confessed the charge; others avowed that they thought the design against his life an act of favour for which he was obliged to them, as it was impossible in any other way than by death to relieve a person rendered infamous by crimes of the greatest enormity. The children of those who had been condemned, were banished the city, and afterwards either poisoned or starved to death. It is asserted that some of them, with their tutors, and the slaves who carried their satchels, were all poisoned together at one dinner; and others not suffered to seek their daily bread.

XXXVII. From this period he butchered, without distinction or quarter, all whom his caprice suggested as objects for his cruelty; and upon the most frivolous pretences. To mention only a few: Salvidienus Orfitus was accused of letting (367) out three taverns attached to his house in the Forum to some cities for the use of their deputies at Rome. The charge against Cassius Longinus, a lawyer who had lost his sight, was, that he kept amongst the busts of his ancestors that of Caius Cassius, who was concerned in the death of Julius Caesar. The only charge objected against Paetus Thrasea was, that he had a melancholy cast of features, and looked like a schoolmaster. He allowed but one hour to those whom he obliged to kill themselves; and, to prevent delay, he sent them physicians “to cure them immediately, if they lingered beyond that time;” for so he called bleeding them to death. There was at that time an Egyptian of a most voracious appetite, who would digest raw flesh, or any thing else that was given him. It was credibly reported, that the emperor was extremely desirous of furnishing him with living men to tear and devour. Being elated with his great success in the perpetration of crimes, he declared, “that no prince before himself ever knew the extent of his power.” He threw out strong intimations that he would not even spare the senators who survived, but would entirely extirpate that order, and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman knights

and his own freedmen. It is certain that he never gave or vouchsafed to allow any one the customary kiss, either on entering or departing, or even returned a salute. And at the inauguration of a work, the cut through the Isthmus, he, with a loud voice, amidst the assembled multitude, uttered a prayer, that “the undertaking might prove fortunate for himself and the Roman people,” without taking the smallest notice of the senate.

XXXVIII. He spared, moreover, neither the people of Rome, nor the capital of his country. Somebody in conversation saying:

Emou thanontos gaia michthaeto pyri

When I am dead let fire devour the world —

“Nay,” said he, “let it be while I am living” [emou xontos]. And he acted accordingly: for, pretending to be disgusted with the old buildings, and the narrow and winding streets, he set the city on fire so openly, that many of consular rank caught his own household servants on their property with tow, and (368) torches in their hands, but durst not meddle with them. There being near his Golden House some granaries, the site of which he exceedingly coveted, they were battered as if with machines of war, and set on fire, the walls being built of stone. During six days and seven nights this terrible devastation continued, the people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and shelter. Meanwhile, a vast number of stately buildings, the houses of generals celebrated in former times, and even then still decorated with the spoils of war, were laid in ashes; as well as the temples of the gods, which had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the Punic and Gallic wars: in short, everything that was remarkable and worthy to be seen which time had spared. This fire he beheld from a tower in the house of Mecaenas, and “being greatly delighted,” as he said, “with the beautiful effects of the conflagration,” he sung a poem on the ruin of Troy, in the tragic dress he used on the stage. To turn this calamity to his own advantage by plunder and rapine, he promised to remove the bodies of those who had perished in the fire, and clear the rubbish at his own expense; suffering no one to meddle with the remains of their property. But he not only received, but exacted contributions on account of the loss, until he had exhausted the means both of the provinces and private persons.

XXXIX. To these terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the people by their prince, were added some proceeding from misfortune. Such were a pestilence, by which, within the space of one autumn, there died no less than thirty thousand persons, as appeared from the registers in the temple of Libitina; a great disaster in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging to the Romans were plundered; and a (369) dreadful havoc made both amongst our

troops and allies; a shameful discomfiture of the army of the East; where, in Armenia, the legions were obliged to pass under the yoke, and it was with great difficulty that Syria was retained. Amidst all these disasters, it was strange, and, indeed, particularly remarkable, that he bore nothing more patiently than the scurrilous language and railing abuse which was in every one's mouth; treating no class of persons with more gentleness, than those who assailed him with invective and lampoons. Many things of that kind were posted up about the city, or otherwise published, both in Greek and Latin: such as these,

Neron, Orestaes, Alkmaion, maetroktonai.
Neonymphon Neron, idian maeter apekteinen.

Orestes and Alcaeon — Nero too,
The lustful Nero, worst of all the crew,
Fresh from his bridal — their own mothers slew.

Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem: sustulit ille patrem.

Sprung from Aeneas, pious, wise and great,
Who says that Nero is degenerate?
Safe through the flames, one bore his sire; the other,
To save himself, took off his loving mother.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Paeon, ille Ekataebeletaes.

His lyre to harmony our Nero strings;
His arrows o'er the plain the Parthian wings:

Ours call the tuneful Paeon, — famed in war,
The other Phoebus name, the god who shoots afar.

Roma domus fiet: Vejos migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Vejos occupat ista domus.

All Rome will be one house: to Veii fly,
Should it not stretch to Veii, by and by.

(370) But he neither made any inquiry after the authors, nor when information was laid before the senate against some of them, would he allow a severe sentence to be passed. Isidorus, the Cynic philosopher, said to him aloud, as he

was passing along the streets, "You sing the misfortunes of Nauplius well, but behave badly yourself." And Datus, a comic actor, when repeating these words in the piece, "Farewell, father! Farewell mother!" mimicked the gestures of persons drinking and swimming, significantly alluding to the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina: and on uttering the last clause,

Orcus vobis ducit pedes;

You stand this moment on the brink of Orcus;

he plainly intimated his application of it to the precarious position of the senate. Yet Nero only banished the player and philosopher from the city and Italy; either because he was insensible to shame, or from apprehension that if he discovered his vexation, still keener things might be said of him.

XL. The world, after tolerating such an emperor for little less than fourteen years, at length forsook him; the Gauls, headed by Julius Vindex, who at that time governed the province as pro-praetor, being the first to revolt. Nero had been formerly told by astrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at last deserted by all the world; and this occasioned that celebrated saying of his, "An artist can live in any country;" by which he meant to offer as an excuse for his practice of music, that it was not only his amusement as a prince, but might be his support when reduced to a private station. Yet some of the astrologers promised him, in his forlorn state, the rule of the East, and some in express words the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the greater part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to his former fortune. And being most inclined to believe the latter prediction, upon losing Britain and Armenia, he imagined he had run through all the misfortunes which the fates had decreed him. But when, upon consulting the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, he was advised to beware of the seventy-third year, as if he were not to die till then, never thinking of Galba's age, he conceived such hopes, not only of living to advanced years, but of constant and singular good fortune, that having lost some things of great value by shipwreck, he scrupled not to say amongst his friends, that (371) "the fishes would bring them back to him." At Naples he heard of the insurrection in Gaul, on the anniversary of the day on which he killed his mother, and bore it with so much unconcern, as to excite a suspicion that he was really glad of it, since he had now a fair opportunity of plundering those wealthy provinces by the right of war. Immediately going to the gymnasium, he witnessed the exercise of the wrestlers with the greatest delight. Being interrupted at supper with letters which brought yet worse news, he expressed no greater resentment, than only to threaten the rebels. For eight days together, he never attempted to answer any letters, nor give any orders, but buried the whole affair in profound silence.

XLI. Being roused at last by numerous proclamations of Vindex, treating him

with reproaches and contempt, he in a letter to the senate exhorted them to avenge his wrongs and those of the republic; desiring them to excuse his not appearing in the senate-house, because he had got cold. But nothing so much galled him, as to find himself railed at as a pitiful harper, and, instead of Nero, styled Aenobarbus: which being his family name, since he was upbraided with it, he declared that he would resume it, and lay aside the name he had taken by adoption. Passing by the other accusations as wholly groundless, he earnestly refuted that of his want of skill in an art upon which he had bestowed so much pains, and in which he had arrived at such perfection; asking frequently those about him, “if they knew any one who was a more accomplished musician?” But being alarmed by messengers after messengers of ill news from Gaul, he returned in great consternation to Rome. On the road, his mind was somewhat relieved, by observing the frivolous omen of a Gaulish soldier defeated and dragged by the hair by a Roman knight, which was sculptured on a monument; so that he leaped for joy, and adored the heavens. Even then he made no appeal either to the senate or people, but calling together some of the leading men at his own house, he held a hasty consultation upon the present state of affairs, and then, during the remainder of the day, carried them about with him to view some musical instruments, of a new invention, which were played by water (372) exhibiting all the parts, and discoursing upon the principles and difficulties of the contrivance; which, he told them, he intended to produce in the theatre, if Vindex would give him leave.

XLII. Soon afterwards, he received intelligence that Galba and the Spaniards had declared against him; upon which, he fainted, and losing his reason, lay a long time speechless, apparently dead. As soon as recovered from this state stupefaction he tore his clothes, and beat his head, crying out, “It is all over with me!” His nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied, “I am beyond all example wretched, for I have lost an empire whilst I am still living.” He, nevertheless, abated nothing of his luxury and inattention to business. Nay, on the arrival of good news from the provinces, he, at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of merriment, some jovial verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made public; and accompanied them with suitable gestures. Being carried privately to the theatre, he sent word to an actor who was applauded by the spectators, “that he had it all his own way, now that he himself did not appear on the stage.”

XLIII. At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed that he had formed many designs of a monstrous nature, although conformable enough to his natural disposition. These were to send new governors and commanders to the

provinces and the armies, and employ assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as men unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him; to massacre the exiles in every quarter, and all the Gaulish population in Rome; the former lest they should join the insurrection; the latter as privy to the designs of their countrymen, and ready to support (373) them; to abandon Gaul itself, to be wasted and plundered by his armies; to poison the whole senate at a feast; to fire the city, and then let loose the wild beasts upon the people, in order to impede their stopping the progress of the flames. But being deterred from the execution of these designs not so much by remorse of conscience, as by despair of being able to effect them, and judging an expedition into Gaul necessary, he removed the consuls from their office, before the time of its expiration was arrived; and in their room assumed the consulship himself without a colleague, as if the fates had decreed that Gaul should not be conquered, but by a consul. Upon assuming the fasces, after an entertainment at the palace, as he walked out of the room leaning on the arms of some of his friends, he declared, that as soon as he arrived in the province, he would make his appearance amongst the troops, unarmed, and do nothing but weep: and that, after he had brought the mutineers to repentance, he would, the next day, in the public rejoicings, sing songs of triumph, which he must now, without loss of time, apply himself to compose.

XLIV. In preparing for this expedition, his first care was to provide carriages for his musical instruments and machinery to be used upon the stage; to have the hair of the concubines he carried with him dressed in the fashion of men; and to supply them with battle-axes, and Amazonian bucklers. He summoned the city-tribes to enlist; but no qualified persons appearing, he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, the best they had, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded the several orders of the people to bring in a fixed proportion of their estates, as they stood in the censor's books; all tenants of houses and mansions to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer; and, with unheard-of strictness, would receive only new coin of the purest silver and the finest gold; insomuch that most people refused to pay, crying out unanimously that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to surrender their gains.

XLV. The general odium in which he was held received an increase by the great scarcity of corn, and an occurrence connected with it. For, as it happened just at that time, there arrived from Alexandria a ship, which was said to be freighted (374) with dust for the wrestlers belonging to the emperor. This so much inflamed the public rage, that he was treated with the utmost abuse and scurrility. Upon the top of one of his statues was placed the figure of a chariot

with a Greek inscription, that “Now indeed he had a race to run; let him be gone.” A little bag was tied about another, with a ticket containing these words; “What could I do?”— “Truly thou hast merited the sack.” Some person likewise wrote on the pillars in the forum, “that he had even woke the cocks with his singing.” And many, in the night-time, pretending to find fault with their servants, frequently called for a Vindex.

XLVI. He was also terrified with manifest warnings, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices, and omens. He had never been used to dream before the murder of his mother. After that event, he fancied in his sleep that he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him: that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigiously dark place; and was at one time covered over with a vast swarm of winged ants, and at another, surrounded by the national images which were set up near Pompey’s theatre, and hindered from advancing farther; that a Spanish jennet he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape; and having his head only left unaltered, neighed very harmoniously. The doors of the mausoleum of Augustus flying open of themselves, there issued from it a voice, calling on him by name. The Lares being adorned with fresh garlands on the calends (the first) of January, fell down during the preparations for sacrificing to them. While he was taking (375) the omens, Sporus presented him with a ring, the stone of which had carved upon it the Rape of Proserpine. When a great multitude of the several orders was assembled, to attend at the solemnity of making vows to the gods, it was a long time before the keys of the Capitol could be found. And when, in a speech of his to the senate against Vindex, these words were read, “that the miscreants should be punished and soon make the end they merited,” they all cried out, “You will do it, Augustus.” It was likewise remarked, that the last tragic piece which he sung, was Oedipus in Exile, and that he fell as he was repeating this verse:

Thanein m’ anoge syngamos, maetaer, pataer.

Wife, mother, father, force me to my end.

XLVII. Meanwhile, on the arrival of the news, that the rest of the armies had declared against him, he tore to pieces the letters which were delivered to him at dinner, overthrew the table, and dashed with violence against the ground two favourite cups, which he called Homer’s, because some of that poet’s verses were cut upon them. Then taking from Locusta a dose of poison, which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servilian gardens, and thence dispatching a trusty freedman to Ostia, with orders to make ready a fleet, he endeavoured to prevail with some tribunes and centurions of the pretorian guards to attend him

in his flight; but part of them showing no great inclination to comply, others absolutely refusing, and one of them crying out aloud,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Say, is it then so sad a thing to die?

he was in great perplexity whether he should submit himself to Galba, or apply to the Parthians for protection, or else appear before the people dressed in mourning, and, upon the rostra, in the most piteous manner, beg pardon for his past misdemeanors, and, if he could not prevail, request of them to grant him at least the government of Egypt. A speech to this purpose was afterwards found in his writing-case. But it is conjectured that he durst not venture upon this project, for fear of being torn to pieces, before he could get to the Forum. Deferring, therefore, his resolution until the next (376) day, he awoke about midnight, and finding the guards withdrawn, he leaped out of bed, and sent round for his friends. But none of them vouchsafing any message in reply, he went with a few attendants to their houses. The doors being every where shut, and no one giving him any answer, he returned to his bed-chamber; whence those who had the charge of it had all now eloped; some having gone one way, and some another, carrying off with them his bedding and box of poison. He then endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or some one to kill him; but not being able to procure any one, "What!" said he, "have I then neither friend nor foe?" and immediately ran out, as if he would throw himself into the Tiber.

XLVIII. But this furious impulse subsiding, he wished for some place of privacy, where he might collect his thoughts; and his freedman Phaon offering him his country-house, between the Salarian and Nomentan roads, about four miles from the city, he mounted a horse, barefoot as he was, and in his tunic, only slipping over it an old soiled cloak; with his head muffled up, and an handkerchief before his face, and four persons only to attend him, of whom Sporus was one. He was suddenly struck with horror by an earthquake, and by a flash of lightning which darted full in his face, and heard from the neighbouring camp the shouts of the soldiers, wishing his destruction, and prosperity to Galba. He also heard a traveller they met on the road, say, "They are (377) in pursuit of Nero:" and another ask, "Is there any news in the city about Nero?" Uncovering his face when his horse was started by the scent of a carcase which lay in the road, he was recognized and saluted by an old soldier who had been discharged from the guards. When they came to the lane which turned up to the house, they quitted their horses, and with much difficulty he wound among bushes, and briars, and along a track through a bed of rushes, over which they spread their cloaks for him to walk on. Having reached a wall at the back of the villa, Phaon advised him to hide himself awhile in a sand-pit; when he replied, "I will not go

under-ground alive.” Staying there some little time, while preparations were made for bringing him privately into the villa, he took up some water out of a neighbouring tank in his hand, to drink, saying, “This is Nero’s distilled water.” Then his cloak having been torn by the brambles, he pulled out the thorns which stuck in it. At last, being admitted, creeping upon his hands and knees, through a hole made for him in the wall, he lay down in the first closet he came to, upon a miserable pallet, with an old coverlet thrown over it; and being both hungry and thirsty, though he refused some coarse bread that was brought him, he drank a little warm water.

XLIX. All who surrounded him now pressing him to save himself from the indignities which were ready to befall him, he ordered a pit to be sunk before his eyes, of the size of his body, and the bottom to be covered with pieces of marble put together, if any could be found about the house; and water and wood, to be got ready for immediate use about his corpse; weeping at every thing that was done, and frequently saying, “What an artist is now about to perish!” Meanwhile, letters being brought in by a servant belonging to Phaon, he snatched them out of his hand, and there read, “That he had been declared an enemy by the senate, and that search was making for him, that he might be punished according to the ancient custom of the Romans.” He then inquired what kind of punishment that was; and being told, that the (378) practice was to strip the criminal naked, and scourge him to death, while his neck was fastened within a forked stake, he was so terrified that he took up two daggers which he had brought with him, and after feeling the points of both, put them up again, saying, “The fatal hour is not yet come.” One while, he begged of Sporus to begin to wail and lament; another while, he entreated that one of them would set him an example by killing himself; and then again, he condemned his own want of resolution in these words: “I yet live to my shame and disgrace: this is not becoming for Nero: it is not becoming. Thou oughtest in such circumstances to have a good heart: Come, then: courage, man!” The horsemen who had received orders to bring him away alive, were now approaching the house. As soon as he heard them coming, he uttered with a trembling voice the following verse,

Hippon m’ okupodon amphi ktupos ouata ballei;

The noise of swift-heel’d steeds assails my ears;

he drove a dagger into his throat, being assisted in the act by Epaphroditus, his secretary. A centurion bursting in just as he was half-dead, and applying his cloak to the wound, pretending that he was come to his assistance, he made no other reply but this, “’Tis too late;” and “Is this your loyalty?” Immediately after pronouncing these words, he expired, with his eyes fixed and starting out of his head, to the terror of all who beheld him. He had requested of his attendants, as

the most essential favour, that they would let no one have his head, but that by all means his body might be burnt entire. And this, Icelus, Galba's freedman, granted. He had but a little before been discharged from the prison into which he had been thrown, when the disturbances first broke out.

L. The expenses of his funeral amounted to two hundred thousand sesterces; the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt, being covered with the white robes, interwoven with gold, which he had worn upon the calends of January preceding. His nurses, Ecloge and Alexandra, with his concubine Acte, deposited his remains in the tomb belonging (379) to the family of the Domitii, which stands upon the top of the Hill of the Gardens, and is to be seen from the Campus Martius. In that monument, a coffin of porphyry, with an altar of marble of Luna over it, is enclosed by a wall built of stone brought from Thasos.

LI. In stature he was a little below the common height; his skin was foul and spotted; his hair inclined to yellow; his features were agreeable, rather than handsome; his eyes grey and dull, his neck was thick, his belly prominent, his legs very slender, his constitution sound. For, though excessively luxurious in his mode of living, he had, in the course of fourteen years, only three fits of sickness; which were so slight, that he neither forbore the use of wine, nor made any alteration in his usual diet. In his dress, and the care of his person, he was so careless, that he had his hair cut in rings, one above another; and when in Achaia, he let it grow long behind; and he generally appeared in public in the loose dress which he used at table, with a handkerchief about his neck, and without either a girdle or shoes.

LII. He was instructed, when a boy, in the rudiments of almost all the liberal sciences; but his mother diverted him from the study of philosophy, as unsuited to one destined to be an emperor; and his preceptor, Seneca, discouraged him from reading the ancient orators, that he might longer secure his devotion to himself. Therefore, having a turn for poetry, (380) he composed verses both with pleasure and ease; nor did he, as some think, publish those of other writers as his own. Several little pocket-books and loose sheets have come into my possession, which contain some well-known verses in his own hand, and written in such a manner, that it was very evident, from the blotting and interlining, that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but were written by the composer of them.

LIII. He had likewise great taste for drawing and painting, as well as for moulding statues in plaster. But, above all things, he most eagerly coveted popularity, being the rival of every man who obtained the applause of the people for any thing he did. It was the general belief, that, after the crowns he won by

his performances on the stage, he would the next lustrum have taken his place among the wrestlers at the Olympic games. For he was continually practising that art; nor did he witness the gymnastic games in any part of Greece otherwise than sitting upon the ground in the stadium, as the umpires do. And if a pair of wrestlers happened to break the bounds, he would with his own hands drag them back into the centre of the circle. Because he was thought to equal Apollo in music, and the sun in chariot-driving, he resolved also to imitate the achievements of Hercules. And they say that a lion was got ready for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in view of the people in the amphitheatre; which he was to perform naked.

LIV. Towards the end of his life, he publicly vowed, that if his power in the state was securely re-established, he would, in the spectacles which he intended to exhibit in honour of his success, include a performance upon organs, as well as upon flutes and bagpipes, and, on the last day of the games, would act in the play, and take the part of Turnus, as we find it in Virgil. And there are some who say, that he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival.

LV. He had an insatiable desire to immortalize his name, and acquire a reputation which should last through all succeeding ages; but it was capriciously directed. He therefore (381) took from several things and places their former appellations, and gave them new names derived from his own. He called the month of April, Neroneus, and designed changing the name of Rome into that of Neropolis.

LVI. He held all religious rites in contempt, except those of the Syrian Goddess; but at last he paid her so little reverence, that he made water upon her; being now engaged in another superstition, in which only he obstinately persisted. For having received from some obscure plebeian a little image of a girl, as a preservative against plots, and discovering a conspiracy immediately after, he constantly worshipped his imaginary protectress as the greatest amongst the gods, offering to her three sacrifices daily. He was also desirous to have it supposed that he had, by revelations from this deity, a knowledge of future events. A few months before he died, he attended a sacrifice, according to the Etruscan rites, but the omens were not favourable.

LVII. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, upon the same day on which he had formerly put Octavia to death; and the public joy was so great upon the occasion, that the common people ran about the city with caps upon their heads. Some, however, were not wanting, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. Sometimes they placed his image upon the rostra, dressed in robes of state; at another, they published proclamations in his name, as if he were still alive, and would shortly return to Rome, and take

vengeance on all his enemies. Vologesus, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the senate to renew his alliance with the Roman people, earnestly requested that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero; and, to conclude, when, twenty years afterwards, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, that name secured him so favourable a reception (382) from the Parthians, that he was very zealously supported, and it was with much difficulty that they were prevailed upon to give him up.

* * * * *

Though no law had ever passed for regulating the transmission of the imperial power, yet the design of conveying it by lineal descent was implied in the practice of adoption. By the rule of hereditary succession, Britannicus, the son of Claudius, was the natural heir to the throne; but he was supplanted by the artifices of his stepmother, who had the address to procure it for her own son, Nero. From the time of Augustus it had been the custom of each of the new sovereigns to commence his reign in such a manner as tended to acquire popularity, however much they all afterwards degenerated from those specious beginnings. Whether this proceeded entirely from policy, or that nature was not yet vitiated by the intoxication of uncontrolled power, is uncertain; but such were the excesses into which they afterwards plunged, that we can scarcely exempt any of them, except, perhaps, Claudius, from the imputation of great original depravity. The vicious temper of Tiberius was known to his own mother, Livia; that of Caligula had been obvious to those about him from his infancy; Claudius seems to have had naturally a stronger tendency to weakness than to vice; but the inherent wickedness of Nero was discovered at an early period by his preceptor, Seneca. Yet even this emperor commenced his reign in a manner which procured him approbation. Of all the Roman emperors who had hitherto reigned, he seems to have been most corrupted by profligate favourites, who flattered his follies and vices, to promote their own aggrandisement. In the number of these was Tigellinus, who met at last with the fate which he had so amply merited.

The several reigns from the death of Augustus present us with uncommon scenes of cruelty and horror; but it was reserved for that of Nero to exhibit to the world the atrocious act of an emperor deliberately procuring the death of his mother.

Julia Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, and married Domitius Aenobarbus, by whom she had Nero. At the death of Messalina she was a

widow; and Claudius, her uncle, entertaining a design of entering again into the married state, she aspired to an incestuous alliance with him, in competition with Lollia Paulina, a woman of beauty and intrigue, who had been married to C. Caesar. The two rivals were strongly supported by their (383) respective parties; but Agrippina, by her superior interest with the emperor's favourites, and the familiarity to which her near relation gave her a claim, obtained the preference; and the portentous nuptials of the emperor and his niece were publicly solemnized in the palace. Whether she was prompted to this flagrant indecency by personal ambition alone, or by the desire of procuring the succession to the empire for her son, is uncertain; but there remains no doubt of her having removed Claudius by poison, with a view to the object now mentioned. Besides Claudius, she projected the death of L. Silanus, and she accomplished that of his brother, Junius Silanus, by means likewise of poison. She appears to have been richly endowed with the gifts of nature, but in her disposition intriguing, violent, imperious, and ready to sacrifice every principle of virtue, in the pursuit of supreme power or sensual gratification. As she resembled Livia in the ambition of a mother, and the means by which she indulged it, so she more than equalled her in the ingratitude of an unnatural son and a parricide. She is said to have left behind her some memoirs, of which Tacitus availed himself in the composition of his *Annals*.

In this reign, the conquest of the Britons still continued to be the principal object of military enterprise, and Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command of the Roman army employed in the reduction of that people. The island of Mona, now Anglesey, being the chief seat of the Druids, he resolved to commence his operations with attacking a place which was the centre of superstition, and to which the vanquished Britons retreated as the last asylum of liberty. The inhabitants endeavoured, both by force of arms and the terrors of religion, to obstruct his landing on this sacred island. The women and Druids assembled promiscuously with the soldiers upon the shore, where running about in wild disorder, with flaming torches in their hands, and pouring forth the most hideous exclamations, they struck the Romans with consternation. But Suetonius animating his troops, they boldly attacked the inhabitants, routed them in the field, and burned the Druids in the same fires which had been prepared by those priests for the catastrophe of the invaders, destroying at the same time all the consecrated groves and altars in the island. Suetonius having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, flattered himself with the hopes of soon effecting the reduction of the people. But they, encouraged by his absence, had taken arms, and under the conduct of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, had

already driven the hateful invaders from their several settlements. Suetonius hastened to (384) the protection of London, which was by this time a flourishing Roman colony; but he found upon his arrival, that any attempt to preserve it would be attended with the utmost danger to the army. London therefore was reduced to ashes; and the Romans, and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were put to the sword without distinction, the Britons seeming determined to convince the enemy that they would acquiesce in no other terms than a total evacuation of the island. This massacre, however, was revenged by Suetonius in a decisive engagement, where eighty thousand of the Britons are said to have been killed; after which, Boadicea, to avoid falling into the hands of the insolent conquerors, put a period to her own life by means of poison. It being judged unadvisable that Suetonius should any longer conduct the war against a people whom he had exasperated by his severity, he was recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed in his room. The command was afterwards given successively to Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus; but the plan pursued by these generals was only to retain, by a conciliatory administration, the parts of the island which had already submitted to the Roman arms.

During these transactions in Britain, Nero himself was exhibiting, in Rome or some of the provinces, such scenes of extravagance as almost exceed credibility. In one place, entering the lists amongst the competitors in a chariot race; in another, contending for victory with the common musicians on the stage; revelling in open day in the company of the most abandoned prostitutes and the vilest of men; in the night, committing depredations on the peaceful inhabitants of the capital; polluting with detestable lust, or drenching with human blood, the streets, the palace, and the habitations of private families; and, to crown his enormities, setting fire to Rome, while he sung with delight in beholding the dreadful conflagration. In vain would history be ransacked for a parallel to this emperor, who united the most shameful vices to the most extravagant vanity, the most abject meanness to the strongest but most preposterous ambition; and the whole of whose life was one continued scene of lewdness, sensuality, rapine, cruelty, and folly. It is emphatically observed by Tacitus, “that Nero, after the murder of many illustrious personages, manifested a desire of extirpating virtue itself.”

Among the excesses of Nero’s reign, are to be mentioned the horrible cruelties exercised against the Christians in various parts of the empire, in which inhuman transactions the natural barbarity of the emperor was inflamed by the prejudices and interested policy of the pagan priesthood.

(385) The tyrant scrupled not to charge them with the act of burning Rome; and he satiated his fury against them by such outrages as are unexampled in

history. They were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn by dogs; were crucified, and set on fire, that they might serve for lights in the night-time. Nero offered his gardens for this spectacle, and exhibited the games of the Circus by this dreadful illumination. Sometimes they were covered with wax and other combustible materials, after which a sharp stake was put under their chin, to make them stand upright, and they were burnt alive, to give light to the spectators.

In the person of Nero, it is observed by Suetonius, the race of the Caesars became extinct; a race rendered illustrious by the first and second emperors, but which their successors no less disgraced. The despotism of Julius Caesar, though haughty and imperious, was liberal and humane: that of Augustus, if we exclude a few instances of vindictive severity towards individuals, was mild and conciliating; but the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero (for we except Claudius from part of the censure), while discriminated from each other by some peculiar circumstances, exhibited the most flagrant acts of licentiousness and perverted authority. The most abominable lust, the most extravagant luxury, the most shameful rapaciousness, and the most inhuman cruelty, constitute the general characteristics of those capricious and detestable tyrants. Repeated experience now clearly refuted the opinion of Augustus, that he had introduced amongst the Romans the best form of government: but while we make this observation, it is proper to remark, that, had he even restored the republic, there is reason to believe that the nation would again have been soon distracted with internal divisions, and a perpetual succession of civil wars. The manners of the people were become too dissolute to be restrained by the authority of elective and temporary magistrates; and the Romans were hastening to that fatal period when general and great corruption, with its attendant debility, would render them an easy prey to any foreign invaders.

But the odious government of the emperors was not the only grievance under which the people laboured in those disastrous times: patrician avarice concurred with imperial rapacity to increase the sufferings of the nation. The senators, even during the commonwealth, had become openly corrupt in the dispensation of public justice; and under the government of the emperors pernicious abuse was practised to a yet greater extent. That class being now, equally with other Roman citizens, dependent on the sovereign power, their sentiments of duty and (386) honour were degraded by the loss of their former dignity; and being likewise deprived of the lucrative governments of provinces, to which they had annually succeeded by an elective rotation in the times of the republic, they endeavoured to compensate the reduction of their emoluments by an unbounded venality in the judicial decisions of the forum. Every source of national happiness and

prosperity was by this means destroyed. The possession of property became precarious; industry, in all its branches, was effectually discouraged, and the amor patriae, which had formerly been the animating principle of the nation, was almost universally extinguished.

It is a circumstance corresponding to the general singularity of the present reign, that, of the few writers who flourished in it, and whose works have been transmitted to posterity, two ended their days by the order of the emperor, and the third, from indignation at his conduct. These unfortunate victims were Seneca, Petronius Arbiter, and Lucan.

SENECA was born about six years before the Christian aera, and gave early indication of uncommon talents. His father, who had come from Corduba to Rome, was a man of letters, particularly fond of declamation, in which he instructed his son, and placed him, for the acquisition of philosophy, under the most celebrated stoics of that age. Young Seneca, imbibing the precepts of the Pythagorean doctrine, religiously abstained from eating the flesh of animals, until Tiberius having threatened to punish some Jews and Egyptians, who abstained from certain meats, he was persuaded by his father to renounce the Pythagorean practice. Seneca displayed the talents of an eloquent speaker; but dreading the jealousy of Caligula, who aspired to the same excellence, he thought proper to abandon that pursuit, and apply himself towards suing for the honours and offices of the state. He accordingly obtained the place of quaestor, in which office incurring the imputation of a scandalous amour with Julia Livia, he removed from Rome, and was banished by the emperor Claudius to Corsica.

Upon the marriage of Claudius with Agrippina, Seneca was recalled from his exile, in which he had remained near eight years, and was appointed to superintend the education of Nero, now destined to become the successor to the throne. In the character of preceptor he appears to have acquitted himself with ability and credit; though he has been charged by his enemies with having initiated his pupil in those detestable vices which disgraced the reign of Nero. Could he have indeed been guilty of such immoral conduct, it is probable that he would not so easily have (387) forfeited the favour of that emperor; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that his disapprobation of Nero's conduct was the real cause of that odium which soon after proved fatal to him. By the enemies whom distinguished merit and virtue never fail to excite at a profligate court, Seneca was accused of having maintained a criminal correspondence with Agrippina in the life-time of Claudius; but the chief author of this calumny was Suilius, who had been banished from Rome at the instance of Seneca. He was likewise charged with having amassed exorbitant riches, with having built magnificent houses, and formed beautiful gardens, during the four years in

which he had acted as preceptor to Nero. This charge he considered as a prelude to his destruction; which to avoid, if possible, he requested of the emperor to accept of the riches and possessions which he had acquired in his situation at court, and to permit him to withdraw himself into a life of studious retirement. Nero, dissembling his secret intentions, refused this request; and Seneca, that he might obviate all cause of suspicion or offence, kept himself at home for some time, under the pretext of indisposition.

Upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of Piso, in which some of the principal senators were concerned, Natalis, the discoverer of the plot, mentioned Seneca's name, as an accessory. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that Seneca had any knowledge of the plot. Piso, according to the declaration of Natalis, had complained that he never saw Seneca; and the latter had observed, in answer, that it was not conducive to their common interest to see each other often. Seneca likewise pleaded indisposition, and said that his own life depended upon the safety of Piso's person. Nero, however, glad of such an occasion of sacrificing the philosopher to his secret jealousy, sent him an order to destroy himself. When the messenger arrived with this mandate, Seneca was sitting at table, with his wife Paulina and two of his friends. He heard the message not only with philosophical firmness, but even with symptoms of joy, and observed, that such an honour might long have been expected from a man who had assassinated all his friends, and even murdered his own mother. The only request which he made, was, that he might be permitted to dispose of his possessions as he pleased; but this was refused him. Immediately turning himself to his friends, who were weeping at his melancholy fate, he said to them, that, since he could not leave them what he considered as his own property, he should leave at least his own life for an example; an innocence of conduct which they might imitate, and by which they might acquire immortal fame. He remonstrated with composure against their unavailing tears and (388) lamentations, and asked them, whether they had not learnt better to sustain the shocks of fortune, and the violence of tyranny?

The emotions of his wife he endeavoured to allay with philosophical consolation; and when she expressed a resolution to die with him, he said, that he was glad to find his example imitated with so much fortitude. The veins of both were opened at the same time; but Nero's command extending only to Seneca, the life of Paulina was preserved; and, according to some authors, she was not displeased at being prevented from carrying her precipitate resolution into effect. Seneca's veins bleeding but slowly, an opportunity was offered him of displaying in his last moments a philosophical magnanimity similar to that of Socrates; and it appears that his conversation during this solemn period was

maintained with dignified composure. To accelerate his lingering fate, he drank a dose of poison; but this producing no effect, he ordered his attendants to carry him into a warm bath, for the purpose of rendering the haemorrhage from his veins more copious. This expedient proving likewise ineffectual, and the soldiers who witnessed the execution of the emperor's order being clamorous for its accomplishment, he was removed into a stove, and suffocated by the steam. He underwent his fate on the 12th of April, in the sixty-fifth year of the Christian aera, and the fifty-third year of his age. His body was burnt, and his ashes deposited in a private manner, according to his will, which had been made during the period when he was in the highest degree of favour with Nero.

The writings of Seneca are numerous, and on various subjects. His first composition, addressed to Novacus, is on Anger, and continued through three books. After giving a lively description of this passion, the author discusses a variety of questions concerning it: he argues strongly against its utility, in contradiction to the peripatetics, and recommends its restraint, by many just and excellent considerations. This treatise may be regarded, in its general outlines, as a philosophical amplification of the passage in Horace::

Ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui, nisi paret,
Imperat: hunc fraenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Epist. I. ii.

Anger's a fitful madness: rein thy mind,
Subdue the tyrant, and in fetters bind,
Or be thyself the slave.

The next treatise is on Consolation, addressed to his mother, Helvia, and was written during his exile. He there informs his mother that he bears his banishment with fortitude, and advises her to do the same. He observes, that, in respect to himself, (389) change of place, poverty, ignominy, and contempt, are not real evils; that there may be two reasons for her anxiety on his account; first, that, by his absence, she is deprived of his protection; and in the next place, of the satisfaction arising from his company; on both which heads he suggests a variety of pertinent observations. Prefixed to this treatise, are some epigrams written on the banishment of Seneca, but whether or not by himself, is uncertain.

Immediately subsequent to the preceding, is another treatise on Consolation, addressed to one of Claudius's freedmen, named Polybius, perhaps after the learned historian. In this tract, which is in several parts mutilated, the author endeavours to console Polybius for the loss of a brother who had lately died. The sentiments and admonitions are well suggested for the purpose; but they are

intermixed with such fulsome encomiums on the imperial domestic, as degrade the dignity of the author, and can be ascribed to no other motive than that of endeavouring to procure a recall from his exile, through the interest of Polybius.

A fourth treatise on Consolation is addressed to Marcia, a respectable and opulent lady, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, by whose death she was deeply affected. The author, besides many consolatory arguments, proposes for her imitation a number of examples, by attending to which she may be enabled to overcome a passion that is founded only in too great sensibility of mind. The subject is ingeniously prosecuted, not without the occasional mixture of some delicate flattery, suitable to the character of the correspondent.

These consolatory addresses are followed by a treatise on Providence, which evinces the author to have entertained the most just and philosophical sentiments on that subject. He infers the necessary existence of a Providence from the regularity and constancy observed in the government of the universe but his chief object is to show, why, upon the principle that a Providence exists, good men should be liable to evils. The enquiry is conducted with a variety of just observations, and great force of argument; by which the author vindicates the goodness and wisdom of the Almighty, in a strain of sentiment corresponding to the most approved suggestions of natural religion.

The next treatise, which is on Tranquillity of Mind, appears to have been written soon after his return from exile. There is a confusion in the arrangement of this tract; but it contains a variety of just observations, and may be regarded as a valuable production.

(390) Then follows a discourse on the Constancy of a Wise Man. This has by some been considered as a part of the preceding treatise; but they are evidently distinct. It is one of the author's best productions, in regard both of sentiment and composition, and contains a fund of moral observations, suited to fortify the mind under the oppression of accidental calamities.

We next meet with a tract on Clemency, in two books, addressed to Nero. This appears to have been written in the beginning of the reign of Nero, on whom the author bestows some high encomiums, which, at that time, seem not to have been destitute of foundation. The discourse abounds with just observation, applicable to all ranks of men; and, if properly attended to by that infatuated emperor, might have prevented the perpetration of those acts of cruelty, which, with his other extravagancies, have rendered his name odious to posterity.

The discourse which succeeds is on the Shortness of Life, addressed to Paulinus. In this excellent treatise the author endeavours to show, that the complaint of the shortness of life is not founded in truth: that it is men who make life short, either by passing it in indolence, or otherwise improperly. He inveighs

against indolence, luxury, and every unprofitable avocation; observing, that the best use of time is to apply it to the study of wisdom, by which life may be rendered sufficiently long.

Next follows a discourse on a Happy Life, addressed to Gallio. Seneca seems to have intended this as a vindication of himself, against those who calumniated him on account of his riches and manner of living. He maintained that a life can only be rendered happy by its conformity to the dictates of virtue, but that such a life is perfectly compatible with the possession of riches, where they happen to accrue. The author pleads his own cause with great ability, as well as justness of argument. His vindication is in many parts highly beautiful, and accompanied with admirable sentiments respecting the moral obligations to a virtuous life. The conclusion of this discourse bears no similarity, in point of composition, to the preceding parts, and is evidently spurious.

The preceding discourse is followed by one upon the Retirement of a Wise Man. The beginning of this tract is wanting; but in the sequel the author discusses a question which was much agitated amongst the Stoics and Epicureans, viz., whether a wise man ought to concern himself with the affairs of the public. Both these sects of philosophers maintained that a life of retirement was most suitable to a wise man, but they differed with respect to the circumstances in which it might be proper to deviate from this conduct; one party considering the deviation (391) as prudent, when there existed a just motive for such conduct, and the other, when there was no forcible reason against it. Seneca regards both these opinions as founded upon principles inadequate to the advancement both of public and private happiness, which ought ever to be the ultimate object of moral speculation.

The last of the author's discourses, addressed to Aebucius, is on Benefits, and continued through seven books. He begins with lamenting the frequency of ingratitude amongst mankind, a vice which he severely censures. After some preliminary considerations respecting the nature of benefits, he proceeds to show in what manner, and on whom, they ought to be conferred. The greater part of these books is employed on the solution of abstract questions relative to benefits, in the manner of Chrysippus; where the author states explicitly the arguments on both sides, and from the full consideration of them, deduces rational conclusions.

The Epistles of Seneca consist of one hundred and twenty-four, all on moral subjects. His Natural Questions extend through seven books, in which he has collected the hypotheses of Aristotle and other ancient writers. These are followed by a whimsical effusion on the death of Caligula. The remainder of his works comprises seven Persuasive Discourses, five books of Controversies, and ten books containing Extracts of Declamations.

From the multiplicity of Seneca's productions, it is evident, that, notwithstanding the luxurious life he is said to have led, he was greatly devoted to literature, a propensity which, it is probable, was confirmed by his banishment during almost eight years in the island of Corsica, where he was in a great degree secluded from every other resource of amusement to a cultivated mind. But with whatever splendour Seneca's domestic economy may have been supported, it seems highly improbable that he indulged himself in luxurious enjoyment to any vicious excess. His situation at the Roman court, being honourable and important, could not fail of being likewise advantageous, not only from the imperial profusion common at that time, but from many contingent emoluments which his extensive interest and patronage would naturally afford him. He was born of a respectable rank, lived in habits of familiar intercourse with persons of the first distinction, and if, in the course of his attendance upon Nero, he had acquired a large fortune, no blame could justly attach to his conduct in maintaining an elegant hospitality. The imputation of luxury was thrown upon him from two quarters, viz, by the dissolute companions of Nero, to whom the mention of such an example served as an apology for their own extreme dissipation; (392) and by those who envied him for the affluence and dignity which he had acquired. The charge, however, is supported only by vague assertion, and is discredited by every consideration which ought to have weight in determining the reality of human characters. It seems totally inconsistent with his habits of literary industry, with the virtuous sentiments which he every where strenuously maintains, and the esteem with which he was regarded by a numerous acquaintance, as a philosopher and a moralist.

The writings of Seneca have been traduced almost equally with his manner of living, though in both he has a claim to indulgence, from the fashion of the times. He is more studious of minute embellishments in style than the writers of the Augustan age; and the didactic strain, in which he mostly prosecutes his subjects, has a tendency to render him sententious; but the expression of his thoughts is neither enfeebled by decoration, nor involved in obscurity by conciseness. He is not more rich in artificial ornament than in moral admonition. Seneca has been charged with depreciating former writers, to render himself more conspicuous; a charge which, so far as appears from his writings, is founded rather in negative than positive testimony. He has not endeavoured to establish his fame by any affectation of singularity in doctrine; and while he passes over in silence the names of illustrious authors, he avails himself with judgment of the most valuable stores with which they had enriched philosophy. On the whole, he is an author whose principles may be adopted not only with safety, but great advantage; and his writings merit a degree of consideration,

superior to what they have hitherto ever enjoyed in the literary world.

Seneca, besides his prose works, was the author of some tragedies. The *Medea*, the *Troas*, and the *Hippolytus*, are ascribed to him. His father is said to have written the *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*. The three remaining tragedies, the *Thebais*, *Oedipus*, and *Octavia*, usually published in the same collection with the seven preceding, are supposed to be the productions of other authors, but of whom, is uncertain. These several pieces are written in a neat style; the plots and characters are conducted with an attention to probability and nature: but none of them is so forcible, in point of tragical distress, as to excite in the reader any great degree of emotion. —

PETRONIUS was a Roman knight, and apparently of considerable fortune. In his youth he seems to have given great application to polite literature, in which he acquired a justness of taste, as well as an elegance of composition. Early initiated in the gaities (393) of fashionable life, he contracted a habit of voluptuousness which rendered him an accommodating companion to the dissipated and the luxurious. The court of Claudius, entirely governed for some time by Messalina, was then the residence of pleasure; and here Petronius failed not of making a conspicuous appearance. More delicate, however, than sensual, he rather joined in the dissipation, than indulged in the vices of the palace. To interrupt a course of life too uniform to afford him perpetual satisfaction, he accepted of the proconsulship of Bithynia, and went to that province, where he discharged the duties of his office with great credit. Upon his return to Rome, Nero, who had succeeded Claudius, made him consul, in recompense of his services. This new dignity, by giving him frequent and easy access to the emperor, created an intimacy between them, which was increased to friendship and esteem on the side of Nero, by the elegant entertainments often given him by Petronius. In a short time, this gay voluptuary became so much a favourite at court, that nothing was agreeable but what was approved by Petronius and the authority which he acquired, by being umpire in whatever related to the economy of gay dissipation, procured him the title of *Arbiter elegantiarum*. Things continued in this state whilst the emperor kept within the bounds of moderation; and Petronius acted as intendant of his pleasures, ordering him shows, games, comedies, music, feats, and all that could contribute to make the hours of relaxation pass agreeably; seasoning, at the same time, the innocent delights which he procured for the emperor with every possible charm, to prevent him from seeking after such as might prove pernicious both to morals and the republic. Nero, however, giving way to his own disposition, which was naturally vicious, at length changed his conduct, not only in regard to the government of the empire, but of himself and listening to other counsels than

those of Petronius, gave the entire reins to his passions, which afterwards plunged him in ruin. The emperor's new favourite was Tigellinus, a man of the most profligate morals, who omitted nothing that could gratify the inordinate appetites of his prince, at the expense of all decency and virtue. During this period, Petronius gave vent to his indignation, in the satire transmitted under his name by the title of *Satyricon*. But his total retirement from court did not secure him from the artifices of Tigellinus, who laboured with all his power to destroy the man whom he had industriously supplanted in the emperor's favour. With this view he insinuated to Nero, that Petronius was too intimately connected with Scevius not to be engaged in Piso's conspiracy; and, to support his calumny, caused the emperor to be present at the examination (394) of one of Petronius's slaves, whom he had secretly suborned to swear against his master. After this transaction, to deprive Petronius of all means of justifying himself, they threw into prison the greatest part of his domestics. Nero embraced with joy the opportunity of removing a man, to whom he knew the present manners of the court were utterly obnoxious, and he soon after issued orders for arresting Petronius. As it required, however, some time to deliberate whether they should put a person of his consideration to death, without more evident proofs of the charges preferred against him, such was his disgust at living in the power of so detestable and capricious a tyrant, that he resolved to die. For this purpose, making choice of the same expedient which had been adopted by Seneca, he caused his veins to be opened, but he closed them again, for a little time, that he might enjoy the conversation of his friends, who came to see him in his last moments. He desired them, it is said, to entertain him, not with discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the consolation of philosophy, but with agreeable tales and poetic gallantries. Disdaining to imitate the servility of those who, dying by the orders of Nero, yet made him their heir, and filled their wills with encomiums on the tyrant and his favourites, he broke to pieces a goblet of precious stones, out of which he had commonly drank, that Nero, who he knew would seize upon it after his death, might not have the pleasure of using it. As the only present suitable to such a prince, he sent him, under a sealed cover, his *Satyricon*, written purposely against him; and then broke his signet, that it might not, after his death, become the means of accusation against the person in whose custody it should be found.

The *Satyricon* of Petronius is one of the most curious productions in the Latin language. Novel in its nature, and without any parallel in the works of antiquity, some have imagined it to be a spurious composition, fabricated about the time of the revival of learning in Europe. This conjecture, however, is not more destitute of support, than repugnant to the most circumstantial evidence in favour of its

authenticity. Others, admitting the work to be a production of the age of Nero, have questioned the design with which it was written, and have consequently imputed to the author a most immoral intention. Some of the scenes, incidents, and characters, are of so extraordinary a nature, that the description of them, without a particular application, must have been regarded as extremely whimsical, and the work, notwithstanding its ingenuity, has been doomed to perpetual oblivion: but history justifies the belief, that in the court of Nero, the extravagancies mentioned by Petronius were realized (395) to a degree which authenticates the representation given of them. The inimitable character of Trimalchio, which exhibits a person sunk in the most debauched effeminacy, was drawn for Nero; and we are assured, that there were formerly medals of that emperor, with these words, C. Nero August. Imp., and on the reverse, Trimalchio. The various characters are well discriminated, and supported with admirable propriety. Never was such licentiousness of description united to such delicacy of colouring. The force of the satire consists not in poignancy of sentiment, but in the ridicule which arises from the whimsical, but characteristic and faithful exhibition of the objects introduced. That Nero was struck with the justness of the representation, is evident from the displeasure which he showed, at finding Petronius so well acquainted with his infamous excesses. After levelling his suspicion on all who could possibly have betrayed him, he at last fixed on a senator's wife, named Silia, who bore a part in his revels, and was an intimate friend of Petronius upon which she was immediately sent into banishment. Amongst the miscellaneous materials in this work, are some pieces of poetry, written in an elegant taste. A poem on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, is beautiful and animated.

Though the Muses appear to have been mostly in a quiescent state from the time of Augustus, we find from Petronius Arbiter, who exhibits the manners of the capital during the reign of Nero, that poetry still continued to be a favourite pursuit amongst the Romans, and one to which, indeed, they seem to have had a national propensity.

—— ——— Ecce inter pocula quaerunt

Romulidae saturi, quid dia poemata narrent. — Persius, Sat. i. 30.

—— Nay, more! Our nobles, gorged, and swilled with wine,

Call o'er the banquet for a lay divine! — Gifford.

It was cultivated as a kind of fashionable exercise, in short and desultory attempts, in which the chief ambition was to produce verses extempore. They were publicly recited by their authors with great ostentation; and a favourable

verdict from an audience, however partial, and frequently obtained either by intrigue or bribery, was construed by those frivolous pretenders into a real adjudication of poetical fame.

The custom of publicly reciting poetical compositions, with the view of obtaining the opinion of the hearers concerning them, and for which purpose Augustus had built the Temple of Apollo, was well calculated for the improvement of taste and judgment, as well as the excitement of emulation; but, conducted as it now was, it led to a general degradation of poetry. Barbarism in (396) language, and a corruption of taste, were the natural consequences of this practice, while the judgment of the multitude was either blind or venal, and while public approbation sanctioned the crudities of hasty composition. There arose, however, in this period, some candidates for the bays, who carried their efforts beyond the narrow limits which custom and inadequate genius prescribed to the poetical exertions of their contemporaries. Amongst these were Lucan and Persius. —

LUCAN was the son of Annaeus Mela, the brother of Seneca, the philosopher. He was born at Corduba, the original residence of the family, but came early to Rome, where his promising talents, and the patronage of his uncle, recommended him to the favour of Nero; by whom he was raised to the dignity of an augur and quaestor before he had attained the usual age. Prompted by the desire of displaying his political abilities, he had the imprudence to engage in a competition with his imperial patron. The subject chosen by Nero was the tragical fate of Niobe; and that of Lucan was Orpheus. The ease with which the latter obtained the victory in the contest, excited the jealousy of the emperor, who resolved upon depressing his rising genius. With this view, he exposed him daily to the mortification of fresh insults, until at last the poet's resentment was so much provoked, that he entered into the conspiracy of Piso for cutting off the tyrant. The plot being discovered, there remained for the unfortunate Lucan no hope of pardon: and choosing the same mode of death which was employed by his uncle, he had his veins opened, while he sat in a warm bath, and expired in pronouncing with great emphasis the following lines in his *Pharsalia*::

Scinditur avulsus; nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emicuit lentus: ruptis cadit undique venis;
Discursusque animae diversa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis, nullius, vita perempti
Est tanta dimissa via. — Lib. iii. 638.

—— Asunder flies the man.

No single wound the gaping rupture seems,
Where trickling crimson flows in tender streams;
But from an opening horrible and wide
A thousand vessels pour the bursting tide;
At once the winding channel's course was broke,
Where wandering life her mazy journey took. — Rowe.

Some authors have said that he betrayed pusillanimity at the hour of death; and that, to save himself from punishment, he (397) accused his mother of being involved in the conspiracy. This circumstance, however, is not mentioned by other writers, who relate, on the contrary, that he died with philosophical fortitude. He was then only in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

Lucan had scarcely reached the age of puberty when he wrote a poem on the contest between Hector and Achilles. He also composed in his youth a poem on the burning of Rome; but his only surviving work is the *Pharsalia*, written on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. This poem, consisting of ten books, is unfinished, and its character has been more depreciated than that of any other production of antiquity. In the plan of the poem, the author prosecutes the different events in the civil war, beginning his narrative at the passage of the Rubicon by Caesar. He invokes not the muses, nor engages any gods in the dispute; but endeavours to support an epic dignity by vigour of sentiment, and splendour of description. The horrors of civil war, and the importance of a contest which was to determine the fate of Rome and the empire of the world, are displayed with variety of colouring, and great energy of expression. In the description of scenes, and the recital of heroic actions, the author discovers a strong and lively imagination; while, in those parts of the work which are addressed either to the understanding or the passions, he is bold, figurative, and animated. Indulging too much in amplification, he is apt to tire with prolixity; but in all his excursions he is ardent, elevated, impressive, and often brilliant. His versification has not the smoothness which we admire in the compositions of Virgil, and his language is often involved in the intricacies of technical construction: but with all his defects, his beauties are numerous; and he discovers a greater degree of merit than is commonly found in the productions of a poet of twenty-six years of age, at which time he died. —

PERSIUS was born at Volaterrae, of an equestrian family, about the beginning of the Christian aera. His father dying when he was six years old, he was left to the care of his mother, for whom and for his sisters he expresses the warmest affection. At the age of twelve he came to Rome, where, after attending a course of grammar and rhetoric under the respective masters of those branches of education, he placed himself under the tuition of Annaeus Cornutus, a celebrated

stoic philosopher of that time. There subsisted between him and this preceptor so great a friendship, that at his death, which happened in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he bequeathed to Cornutus a handsome sum of money, and his library. The latter, however, accepting only the books, left the money to Persius's sisters.

Priscian, Quintilian, and other ancient writers, speak of Persius's satires as consisting of a book without any division. They have since, however, been generally divided into six different satires, but by some only into five. The subjects of these compositions are, the vanity of the poets in his time; the backwardness of youth to the cultivation of moral science; ignorance and temerity in political administration, chiefly in allusion to the government of Nero: the fifth satire is employed in evincing that the wise man also is free; in discussing which point, the author adopts the observations used by Horace on the same subject. The last satire of Persius is directed against avarice. In the fifth, we meet with a beautiful address to Cornutus, whom the author celebrates for his amiable virtues, and peculiar talents for teaching. The following lines, at the same time that they show how diligently the preceptor and his pupil were employed through the whole day in the cultivation of moral science, afford a more agreeable picture of domestic comfort and philosophical conviviality, than might be expected in the family of a rigid stoic:

Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles,
Et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.
Unum opus, et requiem pariter disponimus ambo:

Atque verecunda laxamus feriam mensa. — Sat. v.

Can I forget how many a summer's day,
Spent in your converse, stole, unmarked, away?
Or how, while listening with increased delight,
I snatched from feasts the earlier hours of night? — Gifford.

The satires of Persius are written in a free, expostulatory, and argumentative manner; possessing the same justness of sentiment as those of Horace, but exerted in the way of derision, and not with the admirable raillery of that facetious author. They are regarded by many as obscure; but this imputation arises more from unacquaintance with the characters and manners to which the author alludes, than from any peculiarity either in his language or composition. His versification is harmonious; and we have only to remark, in addition to similar examples in other Latin writers, that, though Persius is acknowledged to have been both virtuous and modest, there are in the fourth satire a few passages

which cannot decently admit of being translated. Such was the freedom of the Romans, in the use of some expressions, which just refinement has now exploded. —

Another poet, in this period, was FABRICIUS VEIENTO, who wrote a severe satire against the priests of his time; as also one (399) against the senators, for corruption in their judicial capacity. Nothing remains of either of those productions; but, for the latter, the author was banished by Nero.

There now likewise flourished a lyric poet, CAESIUS BASSUS, to whom Persius has addressed his sixth satire. He is said to have been, next to Horace, the best lyric poet among the Romans; but of his various compositions, only a few inconsiderable fragments are preserved.

To the two poets now mentioned must be added POMPONIUS SECUNDUS, a man of distinguished rank in the army, and who obtained the honour of a triumph for a victory over a tribe of barbarians in Germany. He wrote several tragedies, which in the judgment of Quintilian, were beautiful compositions.

SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

I. The race of the Caesars became extinct in Nero; an event prognosticated by various signs, two of which were particularly significant. Formerly, when Livia, after her marriage with Augustus, was making a visit to her villa at Veii, an eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as she had seized it. Livia gave orders to have the hen taken care of, and the sprig of laurel set; and the hen reared such a numerous brood of chickens, that the villa, to this day, is called the Villa of the Hens . The laurel groves flourished so much, that the Caesars procured thence the boughs and crowns they bore at their triumphs. It was also their constant custom to plant others on the same spot, immediately after a triumph; and it was observed that, a little before the death of each prince, the tree which had been set by him died away. But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of laurels perished to the very roots, and the hens all died. About the same time, the temple of the Caesars being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues in it fell off at once; and Augustus's sceptre was dashed from his hands.

II. Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the remotest degree allied to the family of the Caesars, but, without doubt, of very noble extraction, being descended from a great and ancient family; for he always used to put amongst his other titles, upon the bases of his statues, his being great-grandson to Q. Catulus Capitolinus. And when he came to (401) be emperor, he set up the images of his ancestors in the hall of the palace; according to the inscriptions on which, he carried up his pedigree on the father's side to Jupiter; and by the mother's to Pasiphae, the wife of Minos.

III. To give even a short account of the whole family, would be tedious. I shall, therefore, only slightly notice that branch of it from which he was descended. Why, or whence, the first of the Sulpicii who had the cognomen of Galba, was so called, is uncertain. Some are of opinion, that it was because he set fire to a city in Spain, after he had a long time attacked it to no purpose, with torches dipped in the gum called Galbanum: others said he was so named, because, in a lingering disease, he made use of it as a remedy, wrapped up in wool: others, on account of his being prodigiously corpulent, such a one being called, in the language of the Gauls, Galba; or, on the contrary, because he was of a slender habit of body, like those insects which breed in a sort of oak, and are called Galbae. Sergius Galba, a person of consular rank, and the most eloquent man of his time, gave a lustre to the family. History relates, that, when he was pro-praetor of Spain, he perfidiously put to the sword thirty thousand

Lusitanians, and by that means gave occasion to the war of Viriatus . His grandson being incensed against Julius Caesar, whose lieutenant he had been in Gaul, because he was through him disappointed of the consulship, joined with Cassius and Brutus in the conspiracy against him, for which he was condemned by the Pedian law. From him were descended the grandfather and father of the emperor Galba. The grandfather was more celebrated for his application to study, than (402) for any figure he made in the government. For he rose no higher than the praetorship, but published a large and not uninteresting history. His father attained to the consulship : he was a short man and hump-backed, but a tolerable orator, and an industrious pleader. He was twice married: the first of his wives was Mummia Achaica, daughter of Catulus, and great-grand-daughter of Lucius Mummius, who sacked Corinth; and the other, Livia Ocellina, a very rich and beautiful woman, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent. They say, that she was farther encouraged to persevere in her advances, by an incident which evinced the great ingenuousness of his disposition. Upon her pressing her suit, he took an opportunity, when they were alone, of stripping off his toga, and showing her the deformity of his person, that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder of these, Caius, having very much reduced his estate, retired from town, and being prohibited by Tiberius from standing for a pro-consulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

IV. The emperor Sergius Galba was born in the consulship of M. Valerius Messala, and Cn. Lentulus, upon the ninth of the calends of January [24th December], in a villa standing upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left-hand side of the road to Fundi . Being adopted by his step-mother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and changed his praenomen; for he afterwards used that of Lucius, instead of Sergius, until he arrived at the imperial dignity. It is well known, that when he came once, amongst other boys of his own age, to pay his respects to Augustus, the latter, pinching his cheek, said to him, “And thou, child, too, wilt taste our imperial dignity.” Tiberius, likewise, being told that he would come to be emperor, but at an advanced age, exclaimed, “Let him live, then, since that does not concern me!” When his grandfather was offering sacrifice to (403) avert some ill omen from lightning, the entrails of the victim were snatched out of his hand by an eagle, and carried off into an oak-tree loaded with acorns. Upon this, the soothsayers said, that the family would come to be masters of the empire, but not until many years had elapsed: at which he, smiling, said, “Ay, when a mule comes to bear a foal.” When Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much confidence of success, as a mule’s happening at that time to have a foal. And whilst all others were shocked at the

occurrence, as a most inauspicious prodigy, he alone regarded it as a most fortunate omen, calling to mind the sacrifice and saying of his grandfather. When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamt that the goddess Fortune said to him, "I stand before your door weary; and unless I am speedily admitted, I shall fall into the hands of the first who comes to seize me." On his awaking, when the door of the house was opened, he found a brazen statue of the goddess, above a cubit long, close to the threshold, which he carried with him to Tusculum, where he used to pass the summer season; and having consecrated it in an apartment of his house, he ever after worshipped it with a monthly sacrifice, and an anniversary vigil. Though but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now nowhere observed, except in his own family, which was, to have his freedmen and slaves appear in a body before him twice a day, morning and evening, to offer him their salutations.

V. Amongst other liberal studies, he applied himself to the law. He married Lepida, by whom he had two sons; but the mother and children all dying, he continued a widower; nor could he be prevailed upon to marry again, not even Agrippina herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius, who had employed all her blandishments to allure him to her embraces, while he was a married man; insomuch that Lepida's mother, when in company with several married women, rebuked her for it, and even went so far as to cuff her. Most of all, he courted the empress Livia, by whose favour, while she was living, he made a considerable figure, and narrowly missed being enriched by the will which she left at her death; in which she distinguished him from the rest of the (404) legatees, by a legacy of fifty millions of sesterces. But because the sum was expressed in figures, and not in words at length, it was reduced by her heir, Tiberius, to five hundred thousand: and even this he never received.

VI. Filling the great offices before the age required for it by law, during his praetorship, at the celebration of games in honour of the goddess Flora, he presented the new spectacle of elephants walking upon ropes. He was then governor of the province of Aquitania for near a year, and soon afterwards took the consulship in the usual course, and held it for six months. It so happened that he succeeded L. Domitius, the father of Nero, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, father to the emperor of that name; so that his holding it between the sons of these two men, looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire. Being appointed by Caius Caesar to supersede Gaetulicus in his command, the day after his joining the legions, he put a stop to their plaudits in a public spectacle, by issuing an order, "That they should keep their hands under their cloaks." Immediately upon which, the following verse became very common in the camp:

Disce, miles, militare: Galba est, non Gaetulicus.

Learn, soldier, now in arms to use your hands,
'Tis Galba, not Gaetulicus, commands.

With equal strictness, he would allow of no petitions for leave of absence from the camp. He hardened the soldiers, both old and young, by constant exercise; and having quickly reduced within their own limits the barbarians who had made inroads into Gaul, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that, amongst the innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with higher commendation, or greater rewards from him. He likewise distinguished himself by heading an escort, with a shield in his hand, and running at the side of the emperor's chariot twenty miles together.

VII. Upon the news of Caius's death, though many earnestly pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity of seizing the empire, he chose rather to be quiet. On this account, he was in great favour with Claudius, and being received into the number of his friends, stood so high in his good opinion, that the expedition to Britain was for some time suspended, because he was suddenly seized with a slight indisposition. He governed Africa, as pro-consul, for two years; being chosen out of the regular course to restore order in the province, which was in great disorder from civil dissensions, and the alarms of the barbarians. His administration was distinguished by great strictness and equity, even in matters of small importance. A soldier upon some expedition being charged with selling, in a great scarcity of corn, a bushel of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denarii, he forbade him to be relieved by any body, when he came to be in want himself; and accordingly he died of famine. When sitting in judgment, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, the ownership of which was claimed by two persons; the evidence being slight on both sides, and it being difficult to come at the truth, he ordered the beast to be led to a pond at which he had used to be watered, with his head muffled up, and the covering being there removed, that he should be the property of the person whom he followed of his own accord, after drinking.

VIII. For his achievements, both at this time in Africa, and formerly in Germany, he received the triumphal ornaments, and three sacerdotal appointments, one among The Fifteen, another in the college of Titius, and a third amongst the Augustals; and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part in retirement. He never went abroad (405) so much as to take the air, without a carriage attending him, in which there was a million of

sesterces in gold, ready at hand; until at last, at the time he was living in the town of Fundi, the province of Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him. After his arrival in the province, whilst he was sacrificing in a temple, a boy who attended with a censer, became all on a sudden grey-headed. This incident was regarded by some as a token of an approaching revolution in the government, and that an old man would succeed a young one: that is, that he would succeed Nero. And not long after, a thunderbolt falling into a lake in Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it; a manifest sign of the supreme power.

IX. He governed the province during eight years, his administration being of an uncertain and capricious character. At first he was active, vigorous, and indeed excessively severe, in the punishment of offenders. For, a money-dealer having committed some fraud in the way of his business, he cut off his hands, and nailed them to his counter. Another, who had poisoned an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and next heir to the estate, he crucified. On this delinquent imploring the protection of the law, and crying out that he was a Roman citizen, he affected to afford him some alleviation, and to mitigate his punishment, by a mark of honour, ordered a cross, higher than usual, and painted white, to be erected for him. But by degrees he gave himself up to a life of indolence and inactivity, from the fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, "Nobody was obliged to render an account of their leisure hours." He was holding a court of justice on the circuit at New Carthage, when he received intelligence of the insurrection in Gaul; and while the lieutenant of Aquitania was soliciting his assistance, letters were brought from Vindex, requesting him "to assert the rights of mankind, and put himself at their head to relieve them from the tyranny of Nero." Without any long demur, he accepted the invitation, from a mixture of fear and hope. For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the province to get (407) him dispatched; and he was encouraged to the enterprise, as well by several auspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young woman of good family. The more so, because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, admonished by a dream, had discovered in the recesses of the temple some verses similar to those in which she had delivered her prophecy. These had also been uttered by a girl under divine inspiration, about two hundred years before. The import of the verses was, "That in time, Spain should give the world a lord and master."

X. Taking his seat on the tribunal, therefore, as if there was no other business than the manumitting of slaves, he had the effigies of a number of persons who had been condemned and put to death by Nero, set up before him, whilst a noble youth stood by, who had been banished, and whom he had purposely sent for from one of the neighbouring Balearic isles; and lamenting the condition of the

times, and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he publicly declared himself “only the lieutenant of the senate and people of Rome.” Then shutting the courts, he levied legions and auxiliary troops among the provincials, besides his veteran army consisting of one legion, two wings of horse, and three cohorts. Out of the military leaders most distinguished for age and prudence, he formed a kind of senate, with whom to advise upon all matters of importance, as often as occasion should require. He likewise chose several young men of the equestrian order, who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and, being called “The Reserve,” should mount guard before his bed-chamber, instead of the legionary soldiers. He likewise issued proclamations throughout the provinces of the empire, exhorting all to rise in arms unanimously, and aid the common cause, by all the ways and means in their power. About the same time, in fortifying a town, which he had pitched upon for a military post, a ring was found, of antique workmanship, in the stone of which was engraved the goddess Victory with a trophy. Presently after, a ship of Alexandria arrived at Dertosa, loaded with arms, without any person to steer it, or so much as a single sailor or passenger (408) on board. From this incident, nobody entertained the least doubt but the war upon which they were entering was just and honourable, and favoured likewise by the gods; when all on a sudden the whole design was exposed to failure. One of the two wings of horse, repenting of the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to desert him upon his approach to the camp, and were with some difficulty kept in their duty. And some slaves who had been presented to him by a freedman of Nero’s, on purpose to murder him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow passage to the bath. Being overheard to encourage one another not to lose the opportunity, they were called to an account concerning it; and recourse being had to the torture, a confession was extorted from them.

XI. These dangers were followed by the death of Vindex, at which being extremely discouraged, as if fortune had quite forsaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life; but receiving advice by his messengers from Rome that Nero was slain, and that all had taken an oath to him as emperor, he laid aside the title of lieutenant, and took upon him that of Caesar. Putting himself upon his march in his general’s cloak, and a dagger hanging from his neck before his breast, he did not resume the use of the toga, until Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the pretorian guards at Rome, with the two lieutenants, Fonteius Capito in Germany, and Claudius Macer in Africa, who opposed his advancement, were all put down.

XII. Rumours of his cruelty and avarice had reached the city before his arrival; such as that he had punished some cities of Spain and Gaul, for not

joining him readily, by the imposition of heavy taxes, and some by levelling their walls; and had put to death the governors and procurators with their wives and children: likewise that a golden crown, of fifteen pounds weight, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, with which he was presented by the people of Tarracona, he had melted down, and had exacted from them three ounces which were wanting in the weight. This report of him was confirmed and increased, as soon as he entered the town. For some seamen who had been taken from the fleet, and enlisted (409) among the troops by Nero, he obliged to return to their former condition; but they refusing to comply, and obstinately clinging to the more honourable service under their eagles and standards, he not only dispersed them by a body of horse, but likewise decimated them. He also disbanded a cohort of Germans, which had been formed by the preceding emperors, for their body-guard, and upon many occasions found very faithful; and sent them back into their own country, without giving them any gratuity, pretending that they were more inclined to favour the advancement of Cneius Dolabella, near whose gardens they encamped, than his own. The following ridiculous stories were also related of him; but whether with or without foundation, I know not; such as, that when a more sumptuous entertainment than usual was served up, he fetched a deep groan: that when one of the stewards presented him with an account of his expenses, he reached him a dish of legumes from his table as a reward for his care and diligence; and when Canus, the piper, had played much to his satisfaction, he presented him, with his own hand, five denarii taken out of his pocket.

XIII. His arrival, therefore, in town was not very agreeable to the people; and this appeared at the next public spectacle. For when the actors in a farce began a well-known song,

Venit, io, Simus a villa:

Lo! Clodpate from his village comes;

all the spectators, with one voice, went on with the rest, repeating and acting the first verse several times over.

XIV. He possessed himself of the imperial power with more favour and authority than he administered it, although he gave many proofs of his being an excellent prince: but these were not so grateful to the people, as his misconduct was offensive. He was governed by three favourites, who, because they lived in the palace, and were constantly about him, obtained the name of his pedagogues. These were Titus Vinus, who had been his lieutenant in Spain, a man of insatiable (410) avarice; Cornelius Laco, who, from an assessor to the prince, was advanced to be prefect of the pretorian guards, a person of intolerable

arrogance, as well as indolence; and his freedman Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the use of the cognomen Martianus, who became a candidate for the highest honour within the reach of any person of the equestrian order . He resigned himself so implicitly into the power of those three favourites, who governed in every thing according to the capricious impulse of their vices and tempers, and his authority was so much abused by them, that the tenor of his conduct was not very consistent with itself. At one time, he was more rigorous and frugal, at another, more lavish and negligent, than became a prince who had been chosen by the people, and was so far advanced in years. He condemned some men of the first rank in the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one; and the privilege belonging to such as had three children, only to one or two; and that with great difficulty, and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied them, but abolished the vacation which had been granted them by Claudius for the winter, and the beginning of the year.

XV. It was thought that he likewise intended to reduce the offices held by senators and men of the equestrian order, to a term of two years' continuance; and to bestow them only on those who were unwilling to accept them, and had refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only the tenth part of them. For this purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights; with orders, that if players or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since the others, having, no doubt, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay. But on the other hand, he suffered his attendants and freedmen to sell or give away the revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, and to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay, when the Roman people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the (411) most mischievous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, he protected them, and even bestowed on Halotus one of the best procurations in his disposal. And as to Tigellinus, he even reprimanded the people for their cruelty by a proclamation.

XVI. By this conduct, he incurred the hatred of all orders of the people, but especially of the soldiery. For their commanders having promised them in his name a donative larger than usual, upon their taking the oath to him before his arrival at Rome; he refused to make it good, frequently bragging, "that it was his custom to choose his soldiers, not buy them." Thus the troops became exasperated against him in all quarters. The pretorian guards he alarmed with apprehensions of danger and unworthy treatment; disbanding many of them

occasionally as disaffected to his government, and favourers of Nymphidius. But most of all, the army in Upper Germany was incensed against him, as being defrauded of the rewards due to them for the service they had rendered in the insurrection of the Gauls under Vindex. They were, therefore, the first who ventured to break into open mutiny, refusing upon the calends [the 1st] of January, to take any oath of allegiance, except to the senate; and they immediately dispatched deputies to the pretorian troops, to let them know, "they did not like the emperor who had been set up in Spain," and to desire that "they would make choice of another, who might meet with the approbation of all the armies."

XVII. Upon receiving intelligence of this, imagining that he was slighted not so much on account of his age, as for having no children, he immediately singled out of a company of young persons of rank, who came to pay their compliments to him, Piso Frugi Licinianus, a youth of noble descent and great talents, for whom he had before contracted such a regard, that he had appointed him in his will the heir both of his estate and name. Him he now styled his son, and taking him to the camp, adopted him in the presence of the assembled troops, but without making any mention of a donative. This circumstance afforded the better opportunity to Marcus Salvius Otho of accomplishing his object, six days after the adoption.

XVIII. Many remarkable prodigies had happened from the (412) very beginning of his reign, which forewarned him of his approaching fate. In every town through which he passed in his way from Spain to Rome, victims were slain on the right and left of the roads; and one of these, which was a bull, being maddened with the stroke of the axe, broke the rope with which it was tied, and running straight against his chariot, with his fore-feet elevated, bespattered him with blood. Likewise, as he was alighting, one of the guard, being pushed forward by the crowd, had very nearly wounded him with his lance. And upon his entering the city and, afterwards, the palace, he was welcomed with an earthquake, and a noise like the bellowing of cattle. These signs of ill-fortune were followed by some that were still more apparently such. Out of all his treasures he had selected a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn his statue of Fortune at Tusculum. But it suddenly occurring to him that it deserved a more august place, he consecrated it to the Capitoline Venus; and next night, he dreamt that Fortune appeared to him, complaining that she had been defrauded of the present intended her, and threatening to resume what she had given him. Terrified at this denunciation, at break of day he sent forward some persons to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice which might avert the displeasure of the goddess; and when he himself arrived at the place, he found nothing but

some hot embers upon the altar, and an old man in black standing by, holding a little incense in a glass, and some wine in an earthen pot. It was remarked, too, that whilst he was sacrificing upon the calends of January, the chaplet fell from his head, and upon his consulting the pullets for omens, they flew away. Farther, upon the day of his adopting Piso, when he was to harangue the soldiers, the seat which he used upon those occasions, through the neglect of his attendants, was not placed, according to custom, upon his tribunal; and in the senate-house, his curule chair was set with the back forward.

XIX. The day before he was slain, as he was sacrificing in the morning, the augur warned him from time to time to be upon his guard, for that he was in danger from assassins, and that they were near at hand. Soon after, he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the pretorian camp. And though most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately, (413) in hopes that he might quell the tumult by his authority and presence, he resolved to do nothing more than keep close within the palace, and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers, who were quartered in different parts about the city. He put on a linen coat of mail, however, remarking at the same time, that it would avail him little against the points of so many swords. But being tempted out by false reports, which the conspirators had purposely spread to induce him to venture abroad — some few of those about him too hastily assuring him that the tumult had ceased, the mutineers were apprehended, and the rest coming to congratulate him, resolved to continue firm in their obedience — he went forward to meet them with so much confidence, that upon a soldier's boasting that he had killed Otho, he asked him, "By what authority?" and proceeded as far as the Forum. There the knights, appointed to dispatch him, making their way through the crowd of citizens, upon seeing him at a distance, halted a while; after which, galloping up to him, now abandoned by all his attendants, they put him to death.

XX. Some authors relate, that upon their first approach he cried out, "What do you mean, fellow-soldiers? I am yours, and you are mine," and promised them a donative: but the generality of writers relate, that he offered his throat to them, saying, "Do your work, and strike, since you are resolved upon it." It is remarkable, that not one of those who were at hand, ever made any attempt to assist the emperor; and all who were sent for, disregarded the summons, except a troop of Germans. They, in consideration of his late kindness in showing them particular attention during a sickness which prevailed in the camp, flew to his aid, but came too late; for, being not well acquainted with the town, they had taken a circuitous route. He was slain near the Curtian Lake, and there left, until a common soldier returning from the receipt of his allowance of corn, throwing down the load which he carried, cut off his head. There being upon it no hair, by

which he might hold it, he hid it in the bosom of his dress; but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth, he carried it in that manner to Otho, who gave it to the drudges and slaves who attended the soldiers; and they, fixing it upon the (414) point of a spear, carried it in derision round the camp, crying out as they went along, "You take your fill of joy in your old age." They were irritated to this pitch of rude banter, by a report spread a few days before, that, upon some one's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,

Eti moi menos empedoi estin.

My strength, as yet, has suffered no decay.

A freedman of Petrobius's, who himself had belonged to Nero's family, purchased the head from them at the price of a hundred gold pieces, and threw it into the place where, by Galba's order, his patron had been put to death. At last, after some time, his steward Argius buried it, with the rest of his body, in his own gardens near the Aurelian Way.

XXI. In person he was of a good size, bald before, with blue eyes, and an aquiline nose; and his hands and feet were so distorted with the gout, that he could neither wear a shoe, nor turn over the leaves of a book, or so much as hold it. He had likewise an excrescence in his right side, which hung down to that degree, that it was with difficulty kept up by a bandage.

XXII. He is reported to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter-time before day. At supper, he fed very heartily, giving the fragments which were left, by handfuls, to be distributed amongst the attendants. In his lust, he was more inclined to the male sex, and such of them too as were old. It is said of him, that in Spain, when Icelus, an old catamite of his, brought him the news of Nero's death, he not only kissed him lovingly before company, but begged of him to remove all impediments, and then took him aside into a private apartment.

XXIII. He perished in the seventy-third year of his age, and the seventh month of his reign. The senate, as soon as they could with safety, ordered a statue to be erected for him upon the naval column, in that part of the Forum where he (415) was slain. But Vespasian cancelled the decree, upon a suspicion that he had sent assassins from Spain into Judaea to murder him.

* * * * *

GALBA was, for a private man, the most wealthy of any who had ever aspired to the imperial dignity. He valued himself upon his being descended from the family of the Servii, but still more upon his relation to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, celebrated for integrity and virtue. He was likewise distantly related

to Livia, the wife of Augustus; by whose interest he was preferred from the station which he held in the palace, to the dignity of consul; and who left him a great legacy at her death. His parsimonious way of living, and his aversion to all superfluity or excess, were construed into avarice as soon as he became emperor; whence Plutarch observes, that the pride which he took in his temperance and economy was unseasonable. While he endeavoured to reform the profusion in the public expenditure, which prevailed in the reign of Nero, he ran into the opposite extreme; and it is objected to him by some historians, that he maintained not the imperial dignity in a degree consistent even with decency. He was not sufficiently attentive either to his own security or the tranquillity of the state, when he refused to pay the soldiers the donative which he had promised them. This breach of faith seems to be the only act in his life that affects his integrity; and it contributed more to his ruin than even the odium which he incurred by the open venality and rapaciousness of his favourites, particularly Vinius.

A. SALVIUS OTHO.

I. The ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentum, of an ancient and honourable family, and, indeed, one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfather, M. Salvius Otho (whose father was a Roman knight, but his mother of mean extraction, for it is not certain whether she was free-born), by the favour of Livia Augusta, in whose house he had his education, was made a senator, but never rose higher than the praetorship. His father, Lucius Otho, was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, and so dearly beloved by Tiberius, and so much resembled him in his features, that most people believed Tiberius was his father. He behaved with great strictness and severity, not only in the city offices, but in the pro-consulship of Africa, and some extraordinary commands in the army. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illyricum, who, in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put their generals to the sword, as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. He ordered the execution to take place in the front of the camp, and under his own eyes; though he knew they had been advanced to higher ranks in the army by Claudius, on that very account. By this action he acquired fame, but lessened his favour at court; which, however, he soon recovered, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight, and which he had learnt from some of his slaves. For the senate ordered a statue of him to be erected in the palace; an honour which had been conferred but upon very few before him. And Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a patrician, commending him, at the same time, in the highest terms, and concluding with these words: "A man, than whom I don't so (417) much as wish to have children that should be better." He had two sons by a very noble woman, Albia Terentia, namely; Lucius Titianus, and a younger called Marcus, who had the same cognomen as himself. He had also a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, Germanicus's son, before she was of marriageable age.

II. The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the calends of May [28th April], in the consulship of Camillus Aruntius and Domitius Aenobarbus . He was from his earliest youth so riotous and wild, that he was often severely scourged by his father. He was said to run about in the night-time, and seize upon any one he met, who was either drunk or too feeble to make resistance, and toss him in a blanket . After his father's death, to make his court the more effectually to a freedwoman about the palace, who was in great favour, he pretended to be in love with her, though she was old, and almost decrepit. Having by her means got into Nero's good graces, he soon became one of the

principal favourites, by the congeniality of his disposition to that of the emperor or, as some say, by the reciprocal practice of mutual pollution. He had so great a sway at court, that when a man of consular rank was condemned for bribery, having tampered with him for a large sum of money, to procure his pardon; before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the senate, to return his thanks.

III. Having, by means of this woman, insinuated himself into all the emperor's secrets, he, upon the day designed for the murder of his mother, entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to prevent suspicion. Poppaea Sabina, for whom Nero entertained such a violent passion that he had taken her from her husband and entrusted her to him, he received, and went through the form of marrying her. And not satisfied with obtaining her favours, he loved her so extravagantly, that he could not with patience bear Nero for his rival. It is certainly believed that he not only refused admittance to those who were sent by Nero to fetch her, but that, on one (418) occasion, he shut him out, and kept him standing before the door, mixing prayers and menaces in vain, and demanding back again what was entrusted to his keeping. His pretended marriage, therefore, being dissolved, he was sent lieutenant into Lusitania. This treatment of him was thought sufficiently severe, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which, notwithstanding, at last came out, and was published to the world in the following distich::

Cur Otho mentitus sit, quaeritis, exul honore?
Uxoris moechus caeperat esse suae.

You ask why Otho's banish'd? Know, the cause
Comes not within the verge of vulgar laws.
Against all rules of fashionable life,
The rogue had dared to sleep with his own wife.

He governed the province in quality of quaestor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice.

IV. As soon as an opportunity of revenge offered, he readily joined in Galba's enterprises, and at the same time conceived hopes of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. To this he was much encouraged by the state of the times, but still more by the assurances given him by Seleucus, the astrologer, who, having formerly told him that he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising him again that he should succeed to the empire, and that in a very short time. He, therefore, let slip no opportunity of making his court to every one about him by all manner of civilities. As often as

he entertained Galba at supper, he distributed to every man of the cohort which attended the emperor on guard, a gold piece; endeavouring likewise to oblige the rest of the soldiers in one way or another. Being chosen an arbitrator by one who had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bought it, and gave it him; so that now almost every body thought and said, that he was the only man worthy of succeeding to the empire.

V. He entertained hopes of being adopted by Galba, and expected it every day. But finding himself disappointed, by Piso's being preferred before him, he turned his thoughts to obtaining his purpose by the use of violence; and to this he was instigated, as well by the greatness of his debts, as by resentment (419) at Galba's conduct towards him. For he did not conceal his conviction, "that he could not stand his ground unless he became emperor, and that it signified nothing whether he fell by the hands of his enemies in the field, or of his creditors in the Forum." He had a few days before squeezed out of one of the emperor's slaves a million of sesterces for procuring him a stewardship; and this was the whole fund he had for carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was entrusted to only five of the guard, but afterwards to ten others, each of the five naming two. They had every one ten thousand sesterces paid down, and were promised fifty thousand more. By these, others were drawn in, but not many; from a confident assurance, that when the matter came to the crisis, they should have enough to join them.

VI. His first intention was, immediately after the departure of Piso, to seize the camp, and fall upon Galba, whilst he was at supper in the palace; but he was restrained by a regard for the cohort at that time on duty, lest he should bring too great an odium upon it; because it happened that the same cohort was on guard before, both when Caius was slain, and Nero deserted. For some time afterwards, he was restrained also by scruples about the omens, and by the advice of Seleucus. Upon the day fixed at last for the enterprise, having given his accomplices notice to wait for him in the Forum near the temple of Saturn, at the gilded mile-stone, he went in the morning to pay his respects to Galba; and being received with a kiss as usual, he attended him at sacrifice, and heard the predictions of the augur. A freedman of his, then bringing (420) him word that the architects were come, which was the signal agreed upon, he withdrew, as if it were with a design to view a house upon sale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some say he pretended to be seized with an ague fit, and ordered those about him to make that excuse for him, if he was inquired after. Being then quickly concealed in a woman's litter, he made the best of his way for the camp. But the bearers growing tired, he got out, and began to run. His shoe becoming loose, he stopped again, but being immediately

raised by his attendants upon their shoulders, and unanimously saluted by the title of EMPEROR, he came amidst auspicious acclamations and drawn swords into the Principia in the camp; all who met him joining in the cavalcade, as if they had been privy to the design. Upon this, sending some soldiers to dispatch Galba and Piso, he said nothing else in his address to the soldiery, to secure their affections, than these few words: "I shall be content with whatever ye think fit to leave me."

VII. Towards the close of the day, he entered the senate, and after he had made a short speech to them, pretending that he had been seized in the streets, and compelled by violence to assume the imperial authority, which he designed to exercise in conjunction with them, he retired to the palace. Besides other compliments which he received from those who flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and manifested no intention of declining that cognomen. Nay, some authors relate, that he used it in his official acts, and the first letters he sent to the (421) governors of provinces. He suffered all his images and statues to be replaced, and restored his procurators and freedmen to their former posts. And the first writing which he signed as emperor, was a promise of fifty millions of sesterces to finish the Golden-house . He is said to have been greatly frightened that night in his sleep, and to have groaned heavily; and being found, by those who came running in to see what the matter was, lying upon the floor before his bed, he endeavoured by every kind of atonement to appease the ghost of Galba, by which he had found himself violently tumbled out of bed. The next day, as he was taking the omens, a great storm arising, and sustaining a grievous fall, he muttered to himself from time to time:

Ti gar moi kai makrois aulois;

What business have I the loud trumpets to sound!

VIII. About the same time, the armies in Germany took an oath to Vitellius as emperor. Upon receiving this intelligence, he advised the senate to send thither deputies, to inform them, that a prince had been already chosen; and to persuade them to peace and a good understanding. By letters and messages, however, he offered Vitellius to make him his colleague in the empire, and his son-in-law. But a war being now unavoidable, and the generals and troops sent forward by Vitellius, advancing, he had a proof of the attachment and fidelity of the pretorian guards, which had nearly proved fatal to the senatorian order. It had been judged proper that some arms should be given out of the stores, and conveyed to the fleet by the marine troops. While they were employed in

fetching these from the camp in the night, some of the guards suspecting treachery, excited a tumult; and suddenly the whole body, without any of their officers at their head, ran to the palace, demanding that the entire senate should be put to the sword; and having repulsed some of the (422) tribunes who endeavoured to stop them, and slain others, they broke, all bloody as they were, into the banquetting room, inquiring for the emperor; nor would they quit the place until they had seen him. He now entered upon his expedition against Vitellius with great alacrity, but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous circumstances which attended it. For the Ancilia had been taken out of the temple of Mars, for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced; during which interval it had of old been looked upon as very unfortunate to engage in any enterprise. He likewise set forward upon the day when the worshippers of the Mother of the gods begin their lamentations and wailing. Besides these, other unlucky omens attended him. For, in a victim offered to Father Dis, he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are regarded as favourable; whereas, in that sacrifice, the contrary intimations are judged the most propitious. At his first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber; and at twenty miles' distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses.

IX. Though it was the general opinion that it would be proper to protract the war, as the enemy were distressed by (423) famine and the straitness of their quarters, yet he resolved with equal rashness to force them to an engagement as soon as possible; whether from impatience of prolonged anxiety, and in the hope of bringing matters to an issue before the arrival of Vitellius, or because he could not resist the ardour of the troops, who were all clamorous for battle. He was not, however, present at any of those which ensued, but stayed behind at Brixellum . He had the advantage in three slight engagements, near the Alps, about Placentia, and a place called Castor's; but was, by a fraudulent stratagem of the enemy, defeated in the last and greatest battle, at Bedriacum . For, some hopes of a conference being given, and the soldiers being drawn up to hear the conditions of peace declared, very unexpectedly, and amidst their mutual salutations, they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this he determined to put an end to his life, more, as many think, and not without reason, out of shame, at persisting in a struggle for the empire to the hazard of the public interest and so many lives, than from despair, or distrust of his troops. For he had still in reserve, and in full force, those whom he had kept about him for a second trial of his fortune, and others were coming up from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia; nor were the troops lately defeated so far discouraged as not to be ready, even of themselves, to run all risks in order to wipe off their recent disgrace.

X. My father, Suetonius Lenis, was in this battle, being at (424) that time an angusticlavian tribune in the thirteenth legion. He used frequently to say, that Otho, before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that once, upon hearing an account given at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he never would have interfered with Galba, but that he was confident of succeeding in his enterprise without a war. Moreover, that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defeat of the army, and finding that he met with no credit, but was railed at for a liar and a coward, as if he had run away from the field of battle, fell upon his sword at the emperor's feet; upon the sight of which, my father said that Otho cried out, "that he would expose to no farther danger such brave men, who had deserved so well at his hands." Advising therefore his brother, his brother's son, and the rest of his friends, to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, he sent them away; and then withdrawing into a private room by himself, he wrote a letter of consolation to his sister, containing two sheets. He likewise sent another to Messalina, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, committing to her the care of his relics and memory. He then burnt all the letters which he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror. What ready money he had, he distributed among his domestics.

XI. And now being prepared, and just upon the point of dispatching himself, he was induced to suspend the execution of his purpose by a great tumult which had broken out in the camp. Finding that some of the soldiers who were making off had been seized and detained as deserters, "Let us add," said he, "this night to our life." These were his very words.

He then gave orders that no violence should be offered to any one; and keeping his chamber-door open until late at night, he allowed all who pleased the liberty to come and see him. At last, after quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took up two poniards, and having examined the points of both, put one of them under his pillow, and shutting his chamber-door, slept very soundly, until, awaking about break of day, he stabbed himself under the left pap. Some persons bursting into the room upon his first groan, he at one time covered, and at another exposed his wound to the view of the bystanders, and thus life soon ebbed away. His funeral was hastily performed, according to his own order, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and ninety-fifth day of his reign.

XII. The person and appearance of Otho no way corresponded to the great spirit he displayed on this occasion; for he is said to have been of low stature, splay-footed, and bandy-legged. He was, however, effeminately nice in the care

of his person: the hair on his body he plucked out by the roots; and because he was somewhat bald, he wore a kind of peruke, so exactly fitted to his head, that nobody could have known it for such. He used to shave every day, and rub his face with soaked bread; the use of which he began when the down first appeared upon his chin, to prevent his having any beard. It is said likewise that he celebrated publicly the sacred rites of Isis, clad in a linen garment, such as is used by the worshippers of that goddess. These circumstances, I imagine, caused the world to wonder the more that his death was so little in character with his life. Many of the soldiers who were present, kissing and bedewing with their tears his hands and feet as he lay dead, and celebrating him as “a most gallant man, and an incomparable emperor,” immediately put an end to their own lives upon the spot, not far from his funeral pile.

(426) Many of those likewise who were at a distance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguish of their hearts, began fighting amongst themselves, until they dispatched one another. To conclude: the generality of mankind, though they hated him whilst living, yet highly extolled him after his death; insomuch that it was the common talk and opinion, “that Galba had been driven to destruction by his rival, not so much for the sake of reigning himself, as of restoring Rome to its ancient liberty.”

* * * * *

It is remarkable, in the fortune of this emperor, that he owed both his elevation and catastrophe to the inextricable embarrassments in which he was involved; first, in respect of pecuniary circumstances, and next, of political. He was not, so far as we can learn, a follower of any of the sects of philosophers which justified, and even recommended suicide, in particular cases: yet he perpetrated that act with extraordinary coolness and resolution; and, what is no less remarkable, from the motive, as he avowed, of public expediency only. It was observed of him, for many years after his death, that “none ever died like Otho.”

AULUS VITELLIUS.

I. Very different accounts are given of the origin of the Vitellian family. Some describe it as ancient and noble, others as recent and obscure, nay, extremely mean. I am inclined to think, that these several representations have been made by the flatterers and detractors of Vitellius, after he became emperor, unless the fortunes of the family varied before. There is extant a memoir addressed by Quintus Eulogius to Quintus Vitellius, quaestor to the Divine Augustus, in which it is said, that the Vitellii were descended from Faunus, king of the aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped in many places as a goddess, and that they reigned formerly over the whole of Latium: that all who were left of the family removed out of the country of the Sabines to Rome, and were enrolled among the patricians: that some monuments of the family continued a long time; as the Vitellian Way, reaching from the Janiculum to the sea, and likewise a colony of that name, which, at a very remote period of time, they desired leave from the government to defend against the Aequicolae, with a force raised by their own family only: also that, in the time of the war with the Samnites, some of the Vitellii who went with the troops levied for the security of Apulia, settled at Nuceria, and their descendants, a long time afterwards, returned again to Rome, and were admitted (428) into the patrician order. On the other hand, the generality of writers say that the founder of the family was a freedman. Cassius Severus and some others relate that he was likewise a cobbler, whose son having made a considerable fortune by agencies and dealings in confiscated property, begot, by a common strumpet, daughter of one Antiochus, a baker, a child, who afterwards became a Roman knight. Of these different accounts the reader is left to take his choice.

II. It is certain, however, that Publius Vitellius, of Nuceria, whether of an ancient family, or of low extraction, was a Roman knight, and a procurator to Augustus. He left behind him four sons, all men of very high station, who had the same cognomen, but the different praenomina of Aulus, Quintus, Publius, and Lucius. Aulus died in the enjoyment of the consulship, which office he bore jointly with Domitius, the father of Nero Caesar. He was elegant to excess in his manner of living, and notorious for the vast expense of his entertainments. Quintus was deprived of his rank of senator, when, upon a motion made by Tiberius, a resolution passed to purge the senate of those who were in any respect not duly qualified for that honour. Publius, an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, prosecuted his enemy and murderer, Cneius Piso, and procured sentence against him. After he had been made proctor, being

arrested among the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother to be confined in his house, he opened a vein with a penknife, intending to bleed himself to death. He suffered, however, the wound to be bound up and cured, not so much from repenting the resolution he had formed, as to comply with the importunity of his relations. He died afterwards a natural death during his confinement. Lucius, after his consulship, was made governor of Syria, and by his politic management not only brought Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions. He afterwards filled two ordinary consulships, and also the censorship jointly with the emperor Claudius. Whilst that (429) prince was absent upon his expedition into Britain, the care of the empire was committed to him, being a man of great integrity and industry. But he lessened his character not a little, by his passionate fondness for an abandoned freedwoman, with whose spittle, mixed with honey, he used to anoint his throat and jaws, by way of remedy for some complaint, not privately nor seldom, but daily and publicly. Being extravagantly prone to flattery, it was he who gave rise to the worship of Caius Caesar as a god, when, upon his return from Syria, he would not presume to accost him any otherwise than with his head covered, turning himself round, and then prostrating himself upon the earth. And to leave no artifice untried to secure the favour of Claudius, who was entirely governed by his wives and freedmen, he requested as the greatest favour from Messalina, that she would be pleased to let him take off her shoes; which, when he had done, he took her right shoe, and wore it constantly betwixt his toga and his tunic, and from time to time covered it with kisses. He likewise worshipped golden images of Narcissus and Pallas among his household gods. It was he, too, who, when Claudius exhibited the secular games, in his compliments to him upon that occasion, used this expression, "May you often do the same."

III. He died of palsy, the day after his seizure with it, leaving behind him two sons, whom he had by a most excellent and respectable wife, Sextilia. He had lived to see them both consuls, the same year and during the whole year also; the younger succeeding the elder for the last six months. The senate honoured him after his decease with a funeral at the public expense, and with a statue in the Rostra, which had this inscription upon the base: "One who was steadfast in his loyalty to his prince." The emperor Aulus Vitellius, the son of this Lucius, was born upon the eighth of the calends of October [24th September], or, as some say, upon the seventh of the ides of September [7th September], in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Norbanus Flaccus. His parents were so (430) terrified with the predictions of astrologers upon the calculation of his nativity, that his father used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being sent governor into

any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother, upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, immediately lamented him as utterly ruined. He spent his youth amongst the catamites of Tiberius at Capri, was himself constantly stigmatized with the name of Spintria, and was supposed to have been the occasion of his father's advancement, by consenting to gratify the emperor's unnatural lust.

IV. In the subsequent part of his life, being still most scandalously vicious, he rose to great favour at court; being upon a very intimate footing with Caius [Caligula], because of his fondness for chariot-driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming. But he was in a still higher degree acceptable to Nero, as well on the same accounts, as for a particular service which he rendered him. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, though he was extremely desirous to perform amongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not permit him, notwithstanding the people entreated much for it. Upon his quitting the theatre, Vitellius fetched him back again, pretending to represent the determined wishes of the people, and so afforded him the opportunity of yielding to their intreaties.

V. By the favour of these three princes, he was not only advanced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred order; after which he held the proconsulship of Africa, and had the superintendence of the public works, in which appointment his conduct, and, consequently, his reputation, were very different. For he governed the province with singular integrity during two years, in the latter of which he acted as deputy to his brother, who succeeded him. But in his office in the city, he was said to pillage the temples of their gifts and ornaments, and to have exchanged brass and tin for gold and silver.

VI. He took to wife Petronia, the daughter of a man of consular rank, and had by her a son named Petronius, who was blind of an eye. The mother being willing to appoint this youth her heir, upon condition that he should be released from his father's authority, the latter discharged him accordingly; but shortly after, as was believed, murdered him, charging him with a design upon his life, and pretending that he had, from consciousness of his guilt, drank the poison he had prepared for his father. Soon afterwards, he married Galeria Fundana, the daughter of a man of pretorian rank, and had by her both sons and daughters. Among the former was one who had such a stammering in his speech, that he was little better than if he had been dumb.

VII. He was sent by Galba into Lower Germany, contrary to his expectation. It is supposed that he was assisted in procuring this appointment by the interest of Titus Junius, a man of great influence at that time; whose friendship he had long before gained by favouring the same set of charioteers with him in the Circensian games. But Galba openly declared that none were less to be feared

than those who only cared for their bellies, and that even his enormous appetite must be satisfied with the plenty of that province; so that it is evident he was selected for that government more out of contempt than kindness. It is certain, that when he was to set out, he had not money for the expenses of his journey; he being at that time so much straitened in his circumstances, that he was obliged to put his wife and children, whom he left at Rome, into a poor lodging which he hired for them, in order that he might let his own house for the remainder of the year; and he pawned a pearl taken from his mother's ear-ring, to defray his expenses on the road. A crowd of creditors who were waiting to stop him, and amongst them the people of Sineussa and Formia, whose taxes he had converted to his own use, he eluded, by alarming them with the apprehension of false accusation. He had, however, sued a certain freedman, who was clamorous in demanding a debt of him, under pretence that he had kicked him; which action he would not withdraw, until he had wrung from the freedman fifty thousand sesterces. Upon his arrival in the province, the army, (432) which was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for insurrection, received him with open arms, as if he had been sent them from heaven. It was no small recommendation to their favour, that he was the son of a man who had been thrice consul, was in the prime of life, and of an easy, prodigal disposition. This opinion, which had been long entertained of him, Vitellius confirmed by some late practices; having kissed all the common soldiers whom he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the muleteers and travellers; asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see, by belching, that he had eaten his.

VIII. After he had reached the camp, he denied no man any thing he asked for, and pardoned all who lay under sentence for disgraceful conduct or disorderly habits. Before a month, therefore, had passed, without regard to the day or season, he was hurried by the soldiers out of his bed-chamber, although it was evening, and he in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of EMPEROR . He was then carried round the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of the Divine Julius in his hand; which had been taken by some person out of the temple of Mars, and presented to him when he was first saluted. Nor did he return to the pretorium, until his dining-room was in flames from the chimney's taking fire. Upon this accident, all being in consternation, and considering it as an unlucky omen, he cried out, "Courage, boys! it shines brightly upon us." And this was all he said to the soldiers. The army of the Upper Province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the senate, joining in the proceedings, he very eagerly accepted the cognomen of Germanicus, offered him by the unanimous consent of both armies,

but deferred assuming that of Augustus, and refused for ever that of Caesar.

IX. Intelligence of Galba's death arriving soon after, when he had settled his affairs in Germany he divided his troops into two bodies, intending to send one of them before him against Otho, and to follow with the other himself. The army he sent forward had a lucky omen; for, suddenly, an eagle came flying up to them on the right, and having hovered (433) round the standards, flew gently before them on their road. But, on the other hand, when he began his own march, all the equestrian statues, which were erected for him in several places, fell suddenly down with their legs broken; and the laurel crown, which he had put on as emblematical of auspicious fortune, fell off his head into a river. Soon afterwards, at Vienne, as he was upon the tribunal administering justice, a cock perched upon his shoulder, and afterwards upon his head. The issue corresponded to these omens; for he was not able to keep the empire which had been secured for him by his lieutenants.

X. He heard of the victory at Bedriacum, and the death of Otho, whilst he was yet in Gaul, and without the least hesitation, by a single proclamation, disbanded all the pretorian cohorts, as having, by their repeated treasons, set a dangerous example to the rest of the army; commanding them to deliver up their arms to his tribunes. A hundred and twenty of them, under whose hands he had found petitions presented to Otho, for rewards of their service in the murder of Galba, he besides ordered to be sought out and punished. So far his conduct deserved approbation, and was such as to afford hope of his becoming an excellent prince, had he not managed his other affairs in a way more corresponding with his own disposition, and his former manner of life, than to the imperial dignity. For, having begun his march, he rode through every city in his route in a triumphal procession; and sailed down the rivers in ships, fitted out with the greatest elegance, and decorated with various kinds of crowns, amidst the most extravagant entertainments. Such was the want of discipline, and the licentiousness both in his family and army, that, not satisfied with the provision every where made for them at the public expense, they committed every kind of robbery and insult upon the inhabitants, setting slaves at liberty as they pleased; and if any dared to make resistance, they dealt blows and abuse, frequently wounds, and sometimes slaughter amongst them. When he reached the plains on which the battles (434) were fought, some of those around him being offended at the smell of the carcases which lay rotting upon the ground, he had the audacity to encourage them by a most detestable remark, "That a dead enemy smelt not amiss, especially if he were a fellow-citizen." To qualify, however, the offensiveness of the stench, he quaffed in public a goblet of wine, and with equal vanity and insolence distributed a large quantity of it among his troops. On his

observing a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said, "It was a mausoleum good enough for such a prince." He also sent the poniard, with which Otho killed himself, to the colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. Upon the Appenine hills he celebrated a Bacchanalian feast.

XI. At last he entered the City with trumpets sounding, in his general's cloak, and girded with his sword, amidst a display of standards and banners; his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arms of the soldiers unsheathed. Acting more and more in open violation of all laws, both divine and human, he assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, upon the day of the defeat at the Allia; ordered the magistrates to be elected for ten years of office; and made himself consul for life. To put it out of all doubt what model he intended to follow in his government of the empire, he made his offerings to the shade of Nero in the midst of the Campus Martius, and with a full assembly of the public priests attending him. And at a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper who pleased the company much, to sing something in praise of Domitius; and upon his beginning some songs of Nero's, he started up in presence of the whole assembly, and could not refrain from applauding him, by clapping his hands.

XII. After such a commencement of his career, he conducted (435) his affairs, during the greater part of his reign, entirely by the advice and direction of the vilest amongst the players and charioteers, and especially his freedman Asiaticus. This fellow had, when young, been engaged with him in a course of mutual and unnatural pollution, but, being at last quite tired of the occupation, ran away. His master, some time after, caught him at Puteoli, selling a liquor called Posca, and put him in chains, but soon released him, and retained him in his former capacity. Growing weary, however, of his rough and stubborn temper, he sold him to a strolling fencing-master; after which, when the fellow was to have been brought up to play his part at the conclusion of an entertainment of gladiators, he suddenly carried him off, and at length, upon his being advanced to the government of a province, gave him his freedom. The first day of his reign, he presented him with the gold rings at supper, though in the morning, when all about him requested that favour in his behalf, he expressed the utmost abhorrence of putting so great a stain upon the equestrian order.

XIII. He was chiefly addicted to the vices of luxury and cruelty. He always made three meals a day, sometimes four: breakfast, dinner, and supper, and a drunken revel after all. This load of victuals he could well enough bear, from a custom to which he had enured himself, of frequently vomiting. For these several meals he would make different appointments at the houses of his friends on the same day. None ever entertained him at less expense than four hundred thousand sesterces. The most famous was a set entertainment given him by his

brother, at which, it is said, there were served up no less than two thousand choice fishes, and seven thousand birds. Yet even this supper he himself outdid, at a feast which he gave upon the first use of a dish which had been made for him, and which, for its extraordinary size, he called "The Shield of Minerva." In this dish there were tossed up together the livers of char-fish, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingos, and the entrails of lampreys, which had been brought in ships of war as far as (436) from the Carpathian Sea, and the Spanish Straits. He was not only a man of an insatiable appetite, but would gratify it likewise at unseasonable times, and with any garbage that came in his way; so that, at a sacrifice, he would snatch from the fire flesh and cakes, and eat them upon the spot. When he travelled, he did the same at the inns upon the road, whether the meat was fresh dressed and hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half-eaten.

XIV. He delighted in the infliction of punishments, and even those which were capital, without any distinction of persons or occasions. Several noblemen, his school-fellows and companions, invited by him to court, he treated with such flattering caresses, as seemed to indicate an affection short only of admitting them to share the honours of the imperial dignity; yet he put them all to death by some base means or other. To one he gave poison with his own hand, in a cup of cold water which he called for in a fever. He scarcely spared one of all the usurers, notaries, and publicans, who had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or custom upon the road. One of these, while in the very act of saluting him, he ordered for execution, but immediately sent for him back; upon which all about him applauding his clemency, he commanded him to be slain in his own presence, saying, "I have a mind to feed my eyes." Two sons who interceded for their father, he ordered to be executed with him. A Roman knight, upon his being dragged away for execution, and crying out to him, "You are my heir," he desired to produce his will: and finding that he had made his freedman joint heir with him, he commanded that both he and the freedman should have their throats cut. He put to death some of the common people for cursing aloud the blue party in the Circensian games; supposing it to be done in contempt of himself, and the expectation of a revolution in the government. There were no persons he was more severe against than jugglers and astrologers; and as soon as any one of them was informed against, he put him to death without the formality of a trial. He was enraged against them, because, after his proclamation by which he commanded all astrologers to quit home, and Italy also, before the calends [the first] of October, a bill was immediately posted about the city, with the following words:— "TAKE NOTICE: The Chaldaeans also decree that Vitellius Germanicus shall be no more, by the day of the said calends." He was even

suspected of being accessory to his mother's death, by forbidding sustenance to be given her when she was unwell; a German witch, whom he held to be oracular, having told him, "That he would long reign in security if he survived his mother." But others say, that being quite weary of the state of affairs, and apprehensive of the future, she obtained without difficulty a dose of poison from her son.

XV. In the eighth month of his reign, the troops both in Moesia and Pannonia revolted from him; as did likewise, of the armies beyond sea, those in Judaea and Syria, some of which swore allegiance to Vespasian as emperor in his own presence, and others in his absence. In order, therefore, to secure the favour and affection of the people, Vitellius lavished on all around whatever he had it in his power to bestow, both publicly and privately, in the most extravagant manner. He also levied soldiers in the city, and promised all who enlisted as volunteers, not only their discharge after the victory was gained, but all the rewards due to veterans who had served their full time in the wars. The enemy now pressing forward both by sea and land, on one hand he opposed against them his brother with a fleet, the new levies, and a body of gladiators, and in another quarter the troops and generals who were engaged at Bedriacum. But being beaten or betrayed in every direction, he agreed with Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, to abdicate, on condition of having his life spared, and a hundred millions of sesterces granted him; and he immediately, upon the palace-steps, publicly declared to a large body of soldiers there assembled, "that he resigned the government, which he had accepted reluctantly;" but they all remonstrating against it, he deferred the conclusion of the treaty. Next day, early in the morning, he came down to the Forum in a very mean habit, and with many tears repeated the (438) declaration from a writing which he held in his hand; but the soldiers and people again interposing, and encouraging him not to give way, but to rely on their zealous support, he recovered his courage, and forced Sabinus, with the rest of the Flavian party, who now thought themselves secure, to retreat into the Capitol, where he destroyed them all by setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the contest and the fire from Tiberius's house, where he was feasting. Not long after, repenting of what he had done, and throwing the blame of it upon others, he called a meeting, and swore "that nothing was dearer to him than the public peace;" which oath he also obliged the rest to take. Then drawing a dagger from his side, he presented it first to the consul, and, upon his refusing it, to the magistrates, and then to every one of the senators; but none of them being willing to accept it, he went away, as if he meant to lay it up in the temple of Concord; but some crying out to him, "You are Concord," he came back again, and said that he would not only keep his weapon, but for the future

use the cognomen of Concord.

XVI. He advised the senate to send deputies, accompanied by the Vestal Virgins, to desire peace, or, at least, time for consultation. The day after, while he was waiting for an answer, he received intelligence by a scout, that the enemy was advancing. Immediately, therefore, throwing himself into a small litter, borne by hand, with only two attendants, a baker and a cook, he privately withdrew to his father's house, on the Aventine hill, intending to escape thence into Campania. But a groundless report being circulated, that the enemy was willing to come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. Finding, however, nobody there, and those who were with him stealing away, he girded round his waist a belt full of gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and piling up against it the bed and bedding.

XVII. By this time the forerunners of the enemy's army had broken into the palace, and meeting with nobody, searched, as was natural, every corner. Being dragged by them out of his cell, and asked "who he was?" (for they did not recognize him), "and if he knew where Vitellius was?" he deceived them by a falsehood. But at last being discovered, he begged hard to be detained in custody, even were it in a prison; pretending to have something to say which concerned Vespasian's security. Nevertheless, he was dragged half-naked into the Forum, with his hands tied behind him, a rope about his neck, and his clothes torn, amidst the most contemptuous abuse, both by word and deed, along the Via Sacra; his head being held back by the hair, in the manner of condemned criminals, and the point of a sword put under his chin, that he might hold up his face to public view; some of the mob, meanwhile, pelting him with dung and mud, whilst others called him "an incendiary and glutton." They also upbraided him with the defects of his person, for he was monstrously tall, and had a face usually very red with hard-drinking, a large belly, and one thigh weak, occasioned by a chariot running against him, as he was attending upon Caius, while he was driving. At length, upon the Scalae Gemoniae, he was tormented and put to death in lingering tortures, and then dragged by a hook into the Tiber.

XVIII. He perished with his brother and son, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and verified the prediction of those who, from the omen which happened to him at Vienne, as before related, foretold that he would be made prisoner by some man of Gaul. For he was seized by Antoninus Primus, a general of the adverse party, who was born at Toulouse, and, when a boy, had the cognomen of Becco, which signifies a cock's beak.

* * * * *

(440) After the extinction of the race of the Caesars, the possession of the imperial power became extremely precarious; and great influence in the army was the means which now invariably led to the throne. The soldiers having arrogated to themselves the right of nomination, they either unanimously elected one and the same person, or different parties supporting the interests of their respective favourites, there arose between them a contention, which was usually determined by an appeal to arms, and followed by the assassination of the unsuccessful competitor. Vitellius, by being a parasite of all the emperors from Tiberius to Nero inclusively, had risen to a high military rank, by which, with a spirit of enterprise, and large promises to the soldiery, it was not difficult to snatch the reins of government, while they were yet fluctuating in the hands of Otho. His ambition prompted to the attempt, and his boldness was crowned with success. In the service of the four preceding emperors, Vitellius had imbibed the principal vices of them all: but what chiefly distinguished him was extreme voraciousness, which, though he usually pampered it with enormous luxury, could yet be gratified by the vilest and most offensive garbage. The pusillanimity discovered by this emperor at his death, forms a striking contrast to the heroic behaviour of Otho.

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

I. The empire, which had been long thrown into a disturbed and unsettle state, by the rebellion and violent death of its three last rulers, was at length restored to peace and security by the Flavian family, whose descent was indeed obscure, and which boasted no ancestral honours; but the public had no cause to regret its elevation; though it is acknowledged that Domitian met with the just reward of his avarice and cruelty. Titus Flavius Petro, a townsman of Reate, whether a centurion or an evocatus of Pompey's party in the civil war, is uncertain, fled out of the battle of Pharsalia and went home; where, having at last obtained his pardon and discharge, he became a collector of the money raised by public sales in the way of auction. His son, surnamed Sabinus, was never engaged in the military service, though some say he was a centurion of the first order, and others, that whilst he held that rank, he was discharged on account of his bad state of health: this Sabinus, I say, was a publican, and received the tax of the fortieth penny in Asia. And there were remaining, at the time of the advancement of the family, several statues, which had been erected to him by the cities of that province, with this inscription: "To the honest Tax-farmer." He afterwards turned usurer amongst the Helvetii, and there died, leaving behind him his wife, Vespasia Pella, and two sons by her; the elder of whom, Sabinus, came to be prefect of the city, and the younger, Vespasian, to be emperor. Polla, descended of a good family, at Nursia, had for her father Vespasius Pollio, thrice appointed (442) military tribune, and at last prefect of the camp; and her brother was a senator of praetorian dignity. There is to this day, about six miles from Nursia, on the road to Spoleto, a place on the summit of a hill, called Vespasiae, where are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendour and antiquity of the family. I will not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petro's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire workpeople who used to emigrate every year from the country of the Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry; but who settled at last in the town of Reate, and there married. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest inquiry.

II. Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country-seat called Phalacrine, upon the fifth of the calends of December [27th November], in the evening, in the consulship of Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus and Caius Poppaeus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus; and was educated under the care of Tertulla, his grandmother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging to the family, at Cosa. After his advancement to the empire, he

used frequently to visit the place where he had spent his infancy; and the villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used to do. And he had so great a regard for the memory of his grandmother, that, upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly drank out of a silver cup which she had been accustomed to use. After assuming the manly habit, he had a long time a distaste for the senatorian toga, though his brother had obtained it; nor could he be persuaded by any one but his mother to sue for that badge of honour. She at length drove him to it, more by taunts and reproaches, than by her entreaties (443) and authority, calling him now and then, by way of reproach, his brother's footman. He served as military tribune in Thrace. When made quaestor, the province of Crete and Cyrene fell to him by lot. He was candidate for the aedileship, and soon after for the praetorship, but met with a repulse in the former case; though at last, with much difficulty, he came in sixth on the poll-books. But the office of praetor he carried upon his first canvass, standing amongst the highest at the poll. Being incensed against the senate, and desirous to gain, by all possible means, the good graces of Caius, he obtained leave to exhibit extraordinary games for the emperor's victory in Germany, and advised them to increase the punishment of the conspirators against his life, by exposing their corpses unburied. He likewise gave him thanks in that august assembly for the honour of being admitted to his table.

III. Meanwhile, he married Flavia Domitilla, who had formerly been the mistress of Statilius Capella, a Roman knight of Sabrata in Africa, who [Domitilla] enjoyed Latin rights; and was soon after declared fully and freely a citizen of Rome, on a trial before the court of Recovery, brought by her father Flavius Liberalis, a native of Ferentum, but no more than secretary to a quaestor. By her he had the following children: Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla. He outlived his wife and daughter, and lost them both before he became emperor. After the death of his wife, he renewed his union with his former concubine Caenis, the freedwoman of Antonia, and also her amanuensis, and treated her, even after he was emperor, almost as if she had been his lawful wife.

(444) IV. In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent to Germany, in command of a legion; whence being removed into Britain, he engaged the enemy in thirty several battles. He reduced under subjection to the Romans two very powerful tribes, and above twenty great towns, with the Isle of Wight, which lies close to the coast of Britain; partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, the consular lieutenant, and partly under Claudius himself. For this success he received the triumphal ornaments, and in a short time after two priesthoods, besides the consulship, which he held during the two last months of the year. The interval between that and his proconsulship he spent in leisure and

retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who still held great sway over her son, and hated all the friends of Narcissus, who was then dead. Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great reputation, excepting that once, in an insurrection at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips. It is certain that he returned thence nothing richer; for his credit was so low, that he was obliged to mortgage his whole property to his brother, and was reduced to the necessity of dealing in mules, for the support of his rank; for which reason he was commonly called “the Muleteer.” He is said likewise to have been convicted of extorting from a young man of fashion two hundred thousand sesterces for procuring him the broad-stripe, contrary to the wishes of his father, and was severely reprimanded for it. While in attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he frequently withdrew from the theatre while Nero was singing, and went to sleep if he remained, which gave so much (445) offence, that he was not only excluded from his society, but debarred the liberty of saluting him in public. Upon this, he retired to a small out-of-the-way town, where he lay skulking in constant fear of his life, until a province, with an army, was offered him.

A firm persuasion had long prevailed through all the East, that it was fated for the empire of the world, at that time, to devolve on some who should go forth from Judaea. This prediction referred to a Roman emperor, as the event shewed; but the Jews, applying it to themselves, broke out into rebellion, and having defeated and slain their governor, routed the lieutenant of Syria, a man of consular rank, who was advancing to his assistance, and took an eagle, the standard, of one of his legions. As the suppression of this revolt appeared to require a stronger force and an active general, who might be safely trusted in an affair of so much importance, Vespasian was chosen in preference to all others, both for his known activity, and on account of the obscurity of his origin and name, being a person of whom (446) there could be not the least jealousy. Two legions, therefore, eight squadrons of horse, and ten cohorts, being added to the former troops in Judaea, and, taking with him his eldest son as lieutenant, as soon as he arrived in his province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with such resolution, that, in the attack of a castle, he had his knee hurt by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield.

V. After the deaths of Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he entertained hopes of obtaining the empire, with the prospect of which he had long before flattered himself, from the following omens. Upon an estate belonging to the Flavian family, in the neighbourhood of Rome, there was an old oak, sacred to Mars, which, at the

three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch; evident intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, which quickly withered away; and accordingly, the girl that was born did not live long. The second became vigorous, which portended great good fortune; but the third grew like a tree. His father, Sabinus, encouraged by these omens, which were confirmed by the augurs, told his mother, "that her grandson would be emperor of Rome;" at which she laughed heartily, wondering, she said, "that her son should be in his dotage whilst she continued still in full possession of her faculties."

Afterwards in his aedileship, when Caius Caesar, being enraged at his not taking care to have the streets kept clean, ordered the soldiers to fill the bosom of his gown with dirt, some persons at that time construed it into a sign that the government, being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion, would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap. Once, while he was at dinner, a strange dog, that wandered about the streets, brought a man's hand, and laid it under the table. And another time, while he was at supper, a plough-ox throwing the yoke off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frightened away all the attendants, (447) on a sudden, as if he was tired, fell down at his feet, as he lay still upon his couch, and hung down his neck. A cypress-tree likewise, in a field belonging to the family, was torn up by the roots, and laid flat upon the ground, when there was no violent wind; but next day it rose again fresher and stronger than before.

He dreamt in Achaia that the good fortune of himself and his family would begin when Nero had a tooth drawn; and it happened that the day after, a surgeon coming into the hall, showed him a tooth which he had just extracted from Nero. In Judaea, upon his consulting the oracle of the divinity at Carmel, the answer was so encouraging as to assure him of success in anything he projected, however great or important it might be. And when Josephus, one of the noble prisoners, was put in chains, he confidently affirmed that he should be released in a very short time by the same Vespasian, but he would be emperor first. Some omens were likewise mentioned in the news from Rome, and among others, that Nero, towards the close of his days, was commanded in a dream to carry Jupiter's sacred chariot out of the sanctuary where it stood, to Vespasian's house, and conduct it thence into the circus. Also not long afterwards, as Galba was going to the election, in which he was created consul for the second time, a statue of the Divine Julius turned towards the east. And in the field of Bedriacum, before the battle began, two eagles engaged in the sight of the army; and one of them being beaten, a third came from the east, and drove away the conqueror.

(448) VI. He made, however, no attempt upon the sovereignty, though his friends were very ready to support him, and even pressed him to the enterprise, until he was encouraged to it by the fortuitous aid of persons unknown to him and at a distance. Two thousand men, drawn out of three legions in the Moesian army, had been sent to the assistance of Otho. While they were upon their march, news came that he had been defeated, and had put an end to his life; notwithstanding which they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending that they gave no credit to the report. There, tempted by the opportunity which the disorder of the times afforded them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion; until at length, fearing to be called to an account on their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon choosing and creating an emperor. "For they were no ways inferior," they said, "to the army which made Galba emperor, nor to the pretorian troops which had set up Otho, nor the army in Germany, to whom Vitellius owed his elevation." The names of all the consular lieutenants, therefore, being taken into consideration, and one objecting to one, and another to another, for various reasons; at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Moesia, extolled Vespasian in high terms; and all the rest assenting, his name was immediately inscribed on their standards. The design was nevertheless quashed for a time, the troops being brought to submit to Vitellius a little longer.

However, the fact becoming known, Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, on the calends [the 1st] of July, which was observed ever after as the day of his accession to the empire; and upon the fifth of the ides of the same month [the 28th July], the army in Judaea, where he then was, also swore allegiance to him. What contributed greatly to forward the affair, was a copy of a letter, whether real or counterfeit, which was circulated, and said to have been written by Otho before his decease to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most urgent terms to avenge his death, and entreating him to come to the aid of the commonwealth; as well as a report which was circulated, that Vitellius, after his success against Otho, proposed to change the winter quarters of the legions, and remove those in Germany to a less (449) hazardous station and a warmer climate. Moreover, amongst the governors of provinces, Licinius Mucianus dropping the grudge arising from a jealousy of which he had hitherto made no secret, promised to join him with the Syrian army, and, among the allied kings, Volugesus, king of the Parthians, offered him a reinforcement of forty thousand archers.

VII. Having, therefore, entered on a civil war, and sent forward his generals and forces into Italy, he himself, in the meantime, passed over to Alexandria, to

obtain possession of the key of Egypt . Here having entered alone, without attendants, the temple of Serapis, to take the auspices respecting the establishment of his power, and having done his utmost to propitiate the deity, upon turning round, [his freedman] Basilides appeared before him, and seemed to offer him the sacred leaves, chaplets, and cakes, according to the usage of the place, although no one had admitted him, and he had long laboured under a muscular debility, which would hardly have allowed him to walk into the temple; besides which, it was certain that at the very time he was far away. Immediately after this, arrived letters with intelligence that Vitellius's troops had been defeated at Cremona, and he himself slain at Rome. Vespasian, the new emperor, having been raised unexpectedly from a low estate, wanted something which might clothe him with divine majesty and authority. This, likewise, was now added. A poor man who was blind, and another who was lame, came both together before him, when he was seated on the tribunal, imploring him to heal them, and saying that they were admonished (450) in a dream by the god Serapis to seek his aid, who assured them that he would restore sight to the one by anointing his eyes with his spittle, and give strength to the leg of the other, if he vouchsafed but to touch it with his heel. At first he could scarcely believe that the thing would any how succeed, and therefore hesitated to venture on making the experiment. At length, however, by the advice of his friends, he made the attempt publicly, in the presence of the assembled multitudes, and it was crowned with success in both cases . About the same time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the direction (451) of some soothsayers, several vessels of ancient workmanship were dug out of a consecrated place, on which there was an effigy resembling Vespasian.

VIII. Returning now to Rome, under these auspices, and with a great reputation, after enjoying a triumph for victories over the Jews, he added eight consulships to his former one. He likewise assumed the censorship, and made it his principal concern, during the whole of his government, first to restore order in the state, which had been almost ruined, and was in a tottering condition, and then to improve it. The soldiers, one part of them emboldened by victory, and the other smarting with the disgrace of their defeat, had abandoned themselves to every species of licentiousness and insolence. Nay, the provinces, too, and free cities, and some kingdoms in alliance with Rome, were all in a disturbed state. He, therefore, disbanded many of Vitellius's soldiers, and punished others; and so far was he from granting any extraordinary favours to the sharers of his success, that it was late before he paid the gratuities due to them by law. That he might let slip no opportunity of reforming the discipline of the army, upon a young man's coming much perfumed to return him thanks (452) for having

appointed him to command a squadron of horse, he turned away his head in disgust, and, giving him this sharp reprimand, "I had rather you had smelt of garlic," revoked his commission. When the men belonging to the fleet, who travelled by turns from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome, petitioned for an addition to their pay, under the name of shoe-money, thinking that it would answer little purpose to send them away without a reply, he ordered them for the future to run barefooted; and so they have done ever since. He deprived of their liberties, Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samos; and reduced them into the form of provinces; Thrace, also, and Cilicia, as well as Comagene, which until that time had been under the government of kings. He stationed some legions in Cappadocia on account of the frequent inroads of the barbarians, and, instead of a Roman knight, appointed as governor of it a man of consular rank. The ruins of houses which had been burnt down long before, being a great desight to the city, he gave leave to any one who would, to take possession of the void ground and build upon it, if the proprietors should hesitate to perform the work themselves. He resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his hand to clearing the ground of the rubbish, and removed some of it upon his own shoulder. And he undertook, likewise, to restore the three thousand tables of brass which had been destroyed in the fire which consumed the Capitol; searching in all quarters for copies of those curious and ancient records, in which were contained the decrees of the senate, almost from the building of the city, as well as the acts of the people, relative to alliances, treaties, and privileges granted to any person.

IX. He likewise erected several new public buildings, namely, the temple of Peace near the Forum, that of Claudius on the (453) Coelian mount, which had been begun by Agrippina, but almost entirely demolished by Nero; and an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, upon finding that Augustus had projected such a work. He purified the senatorian and equestrian orders, which had been much reduced by the havoc made amongst them at several times, and was fallen into disrepute by neglect. Having expelled the most unworthy, he chose in their room the most honourable persons in Italy and the provinces. And to let it be known that those two orders differed not so much in privileges as in dignity, he declared publicly, when some altercation passed between a senator and a Roman knight, "that senators ought not to be treated with scurrilous language, unless they were the aggressors, and then it was fair and lawful to return it."

X. The business of the courts had prodigiously accumulated, partly from old law-suits which, on account of the interruption that had been given to the course of justice, still remained undecided, and partly from the accession of new suits arising out of the disorder of the times. He, therefore, chose commissioners by

lot to provide for the restitution of what had been seized by violence during the war, and others with extraordinary jurisdiction to decide causes belonging to the centumviri, and reduce them to as small a number as possible, for the dispatch of which, otherwise, the lives of the litigants could scarcely allow sufficient time.

XI. Lust and luxury, from the licence which had long prevailed, had also grown to an enormous height. He, therefore, obtained a decree of the senate, that a woman who formed an union with the slave of another person, should be considered (454) a bondwoman herself; and that usurers should not be allowed to take proceedings at law for the recovery of money lent to young men whilst they lived in their father's family, not even after their fathers were dead.

XII. In other affairs, from the beginning to the end of his government, he conducted himself with great moderation and clemency. He was so far from dissembling the obscurity of his extraction, that he frequently made mention of it himself. When some affected to trace his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and a companion of Hercules, whose monument is still to be seen on the Salarian road, he laughed at them for it. And he was so little fond of external and adventitious ornaments, that, on the day of his triumph, being quite tired of the length and tediousness of the procession, he could not forbear saying, "he was rightly served, for having in his old age been so silly as to desire a triumph; as if it was either due to his ancestors, or had ever been expected by himself." Nor would he for a long time accept of the tribunitian authority, or the title of Father of his Country. And in regard to the custom of searching those who came to salute him, he dropped it even in the time of the civil war.

XIII. He bore with great mildness the freedom used by his friends, the satirical allusions of advocates, and the petulance of philosophers. Licinius Mucianus, who had been guilty of notorious acts of lewdness, but, presuming upon his great services, treated him very rudely, he reprov'd only in private; and when complaining of his conduct to a common friend of theirs, he concluded with these words, "However, I am a man." Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cause of a rich man under prosecution, presuming to say, "What is it to Caesar, if Hipparchus possesses a hundred millions of sesterces?" he commended him for it. Demetrius, the Cynic philosopher, (455) who had been sentenced to banishment, meeting him on the road, and refusing to rise up or salute him, nay, snarling at him in scurrilous language, he only called him a cur.

XIV. He was little disposed to keep up the memory of affronts or quarrels, nor did he harbour any resentment on account of them. He made a very splendid marriage for the daughter of his enemy Vitellius, and gave her, besides, a suitable fortune and equipage. Being in a great consternation after he was forbidden the court in the time of Nero, and asking those about him, what he

should do? or, whither he should go? one of those whose office it was to introduce people to the emperor, thrusting him out, bid him go to Morbonia . But when this same person came afterwards to beg his pardon, he only vented his resentment in nearly the same words. He was so far from being influenced by suspicion or fear to seek the destruction of any one, that, when his friends advised him to beware of Metius Pomposianus, because it was commonly believed, on his nativity being cast, that he was destined by fate to the empire, he made him consul, promising for him, that he would not forget the benefit conferred.

XV. It will scarcely be found, that so much as one innocent person suffered in his reign, unless in his absence, and without his knowledge, or, at least, contrary to his inclination, and when he was imposed upon. Although Helvidius Priscus was the only man who presumed to salute him on his return from Syria by his private name of Vespasian, and, when he came to be praetor, omitted any mark of honour to him, or even any mention of him in his edicts, yet he was not angry, until Helvidius proceeded to inveigh against him with the most scurrilous language. (456) Though he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and accordingly dispatched messengers to fetch back the executioners; and he would have saved him, had he not been deceived by a false account brought, that he had already perished. He never rejoiced at the death of any man; nay he would shed tears, and sigh, at the just punishment of the guilty.

XVI. The only thing deservedly blameable in his character was his love of money. For not satisfied with reviving the imposts which had been repealed in the time of Galba, he imposed new and onerous taxes, augmented the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some of them. He likewise openly engaged in a traffic, which is discreditable even to a private individual, buying great quantities of goods, for the purpose of retailing them again to advantage. Nay, he made no scruple of selling the great offices of the state to candidates, and pardons to persons under prosecution, whether they were innocent or guilty. It is believed, that he advanced all the most rapacious amongst the procurators to higher offices, with the view of squeezing them after they had acquired great wealth. He was commonly said, “to have used them as sponges,” because it was his practice, as we may say, to wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet. It is said that he was naturally extremely covetous, and was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperor’s refusing to enfranchise him gratis, which on his advancement he humbly petitioned for, cried out, “That the fox changed his hair, but not his nature.” On the other hand, some are of opinion, that he was urged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme

poverty of the treasury and exchequer, of which he took public notice in the beginning of his reign; declaring that “no less than four hundred thousand millions of sesterces were wanting to carry on the government.” This is the more likely to be true, because he applied to the best purposes what he procured by bad means.

XVII. His liberality, however, to all ranks of people, was excessive. He made up to several senators the estate required (457) by law to qualify them for that dignity; relieving likewise such men of consular rank as were poor, with a yearly allowance of five hundred thousand sesterces; and rebuilt, in a better manner than before, several cities in different parts of the empire, which had been damaged by earthquakes or fires.

XVIII. He was a great encourager of learning and the liberal arts. He first granted to the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric the yearly stipend of a hundred thousand sesterces each out of the exchequer. He also bought the freedom of superior poets and artists, and gave a noble gratuity to the restorer of the Coan of Venus, and to another artist who repaired the Colossus . Some one offering to convey some immense columns into the Capitol at a small expense by a mechanical contrivance, he rewarded him very handsomely for his invention, but would not accept his service, saying, “Suffer me to find maintenance for the poor people.”

XIX. In the games celebrated when the stage-scenery of (458) the theatre of Marcellus was repaired, he restored the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris, the tragedian, four hundred thousand sesterces, and to Terpinus and Diodorus, the harpers, two hundred thousand; to some a hundred thousand; and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides many golden crowns. He entertained company constantly at his table, and often in great state and very sumptuously, in order to promote trade. As in the Saturnalia he made presents to the men which they were to carry away with them, so did he to the women upon the calends of March; notwithstanding which, he could not wipe off the disrepute of his former stinginess. The Alexandrians called him constantly Cybiosactes; a name which had been given to one of their kings who was sordidly avaricious. Nay, at his funeral, Favo, the principal mimic, personating him, and imitating, as actors do, both his manner of speaking and his gestures, asked aloud of the procurators, “how much his funeral and the procession would cost?” And being answered “ten millions of sesterces,” he cried out, “give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber, if they would.”

XX. He was broad-set, strong-limbed, and his features gave the idea of a man in the act of straining himself. In consequence, one of the city wits, upon the

emperor's desiring him "to say something droll respecting himself," facetiously answered, "I will, when you have done relieving your bowels." He enjoyed a good state of health, though he used no other means to preserve it, than repeated friction, as much (459) as he could bear, on his neck and other parts of his body, in the tennis-court attached to the baths, besides fasting one day in every month.

XXI. His method of life was commonly this. After he became emperor, he used to rise very early, often before daybreak. Having read over his letters, and the briefs of all the departments of the government offices; he admitted his friends; and while they were paying him their compliments, he would put on his own shoes, and dress himself with his own hands. Then, after the dispatch of such business as was brought before him, he rode out, and afterwards retired to repose, lying on his couch with one of his mistresses, of whom he kept several after the death of Caenis . Coming out of his private apartments, he passed to the bath, and then entered the supper-room. They say that he was never more good-humoured and indulgent than at that time: and therefore his attendants always seized that opportunity, when they had any favour to ask.

XXII. At supper, and, indeed, at other times, he was extremely free and jocose. For he had humour, but of a low kind, and he would sometimes use indecent language, such as is addressed to young girls about to be married. Yet there are some things related of him not void of ingenious pleasantry; amongst which are the following. Being once reminded by Mestrius Florus, that *plaustra* was a more proper expression than *plostra*, he the next day saluted him by the name of *Flaurus* . A certain lady pretending to be desperately enamoured of him, he was prevailed upon to admit her to his bed; and after he had gratified her desires, he gave her four hundred (460) thousand sesterces. When his steward desired to know how he would have the sum entered in his accounts, he replied, "For *Vespasian's* being seduced."

XXIII. He used Greek verses very wittily; speaking of a tall man, who had enormous parts:

Makxi bibas, kradon dolichoskion enchos;
Still shaking, as he strode, his vast long spear.

And of *Cerylus*, a freedman, who being very rich, had begun to pass himself off as free-born, to elude the exchequer at his decease, and assumed the name of *Laches*, he said:

—— O *Lachaes*, *Lachaes*,
Epan apothanaes, authis ex archaes esae *Kaerylos*.

Ah, Laches, Laches! when thou art no more,
Thou'lt Cerylus be called, just as before.

He chiefly affected wit upon his own shameful means of raising money, in order to wipe off the odium by some joke, and turn it into ridicule. One of his ministers, who was much in his favour, requesting of him a stewardship for some person, under pretence of his being his brother, he deferred granting him his petition, and in the meantime sent for the candidate, and having squeezed out of him as much money as he had agreed to give to his friend at court, he appointed him immediately to the office. The minister soon after renewing his application, "You must," said he, "find another brother; for the one you adopted is in truth mine."

Suspecting once, during a journey, that his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mules, only in order to have an opportunity for allowing a person they met, who was engaged in a law-suit, to speak to him, he asked him, "how much he got for shoeing his mules?" and insisted on having a share of the profit. When his son Titus blamed him for even laying a tax upon urine, he applied to his nose a piece of the money he received in the first instalment, and asked him, "if it stunk?" And he replying no, "And yet," said he, "it is derived from urine."

Some deputies having come to acquaint him that a large statue, which would cost a vast sum, was ordered to be erected for him at the public expense, he told them to pay it down immediately, (461) holding out the hollow of his hand, and saying, "there was a base ready for the statue." Not even when he was under the immediate apprehension and peril of death, could he forbear jesting. For when, among other prodigies, the mausoleum of the Caesars suddenly flew open, and a blazing star appeared in the heavens; one of the prodigies, he said, concerned Julia Calvina, who was of the family of Augustus; and the other, the king of the Parthians, who wore his hair long. And when his distemper first seized him, "I suppose," said he, "I shall soon be a god."

XXIV. In his ninth consulship, being seized, while in Campania, with a slight indisposition, and immediately returning to the city, he soon afterwards went thence to Cutiliae, and his estates in the country about Reate, where he used constantly to spend the summer. Here, though his disorder much increased, and he injured his bowels by too free use of the cold waters, he nevertheless attended to the dispatch of business, and even gave audience to ambassadors in bed. At last, being taken ill of a diarrhoea, to such a degree that he was ready to faint, he cried out, "An emperor ought to die standing upright." In endeavouring to rise, he died in the hands of those who were helping him up, upon the eighth of the calends of July [24th June], being sixty-nine years, one month, and seven days old.

XXV. All are agreed that he had such confidence in the calculations on his own nativity and that of his sons, that, after several conspiracies against him, he told the senate, that either his sons would succeed him, or nobody. It is said likewise, that he once saw in a dream a balance in the middle of the porch of the Palatine house exactly poised; in one (462) scale of which stood Claudius and Nero, in the other, himself and his sons. The event corresponded to the symbol; for the reigns of the two parties were precisely of the same duration.

* * * * *

Neither consanguinity nor adoption, as formerly, but great influence in the army having now become the road to the imperial throne, no person could claim a better title to that elevation than Titus Flavius Vespasian. He had not only served with great reputation in the wars both in Britain and Judaea, but seemed as yet untainted with any vice which could pervert his conduct in the civil administration of the empire. It appears, however, that he was prompted more by the persuasion of friends, than by his own ambition, to prosecute the attainment of the imperial dignity. To render this enterprise more successful, recourse was had to a new and peculiar artifice, which, while well accommodated to the superstitious credulity of the Romans, impressed them with an idea, that Vespasian's destiny to the throne was confirmed by supernatural indications. But, after his elevation, we hear no more of his miraculous achievements.

The prosecution of the war in Britain, which had been suspended for some years, was resumed by Vespasian; and he sent thither Petilius Cerealis, who by his bravery extended the limits of the Roman province. Under Julius Frontinus, successor to that general, the invaders continued to make farther progress in the reduction of the island: but the commander who finally established the dominion of the Romans in Britain, was Julius Agricola, not less distinguished for his military achievements, than for his prudent regard to the civil administration of the country. He began his operations with the conquest of North Wales, whence passing over into the island of Anglesey, which had revolted since the time of Suetonius Paulinus, he again reduced it to subjection. Then proceeding northwards with his victorious army, he defeated the Britons in every engagement, took possession of all the territories in the southern parts of the island, and driving before him all who refused to submit to the Roman arms, penetrated even into the forests and mountains of Caledonia. He defeated the natives under Galgacus, their leader, in a decisive battle; and fixing a line of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he secured the Roman province from the incursions of the people who occupied the parts of the island (463)

beyond that boundary. Wherever he established the Roman power, he introduced laws and civilization amongst the inhabitants, and employed every means of conciliating their affection, as well as of securing their obedience.

The war in Judaea, which had been commenced under the former reign, was continued in that of Vespasian; but he left the siege of Jerusalem to be conducted by his son Titus, who displayed great valour and military talents in the prosecution of the enterprise. After an obstinate defence by the Jews, that city, so much celebrated in the sacred writings, was finally demolished, and the glorious temple itself, the admiration of the world, reduced to ashes; contrary, however, to the will of Titus, who exerted his utmost efforts to extinguish the flames.

The manners of the Romans had now attained to an enormous pitch of depravity, through the unbounded licentiousness of the times; and, to the honour of Vespasian, he discovered great zeal in his endeavours to effect a national reformation. Vigilant, active, and persevering, he was indefatigable in the management of public affairs, and rose in the winter before day-break, to give audience to his officers of state. But if we give credit to the whimsical imposition of a tax upon urine, we cannot entertain any high opinion, either of his talents as a financier, or of the resources of the Roman empire. By his encouragement of science, he displayed a liberality, of which there occurs no example under all the preceding emperors, since the time of Augustus. Pliny the elder was now in the height of reputation, as well as in great favour with Vespasian; and it was probably owing not a little to the advice of that minister, that the emperor showed himself so much the patron of literary men. A writer mentioned frequently by Pliny, and who lived in this reign, was Licinius Mucianus, a Roman knight: he treated of the history and geography of the eastern countries. Juvenal, who had begun his Satires several years before, continued to inveigh against the flagrant vices of the times; but the only author whose writings we have to notice in the present reign, is a poet of a different class.

C. VALERIUS FLACCUS wrote a poem in eight books, on the Expedition of the Argonauts; a subject which, next to the wars of Thebes and Troy, was in ancient times the most celebrated. Of the life of this author, biographers have transmitted no particulars; but we may place his birth in the reign of Tiberius, before all the writers who flourished in the Augustan age were extinct. He enjoyed the rays of the setting sun which had illumined that glorious period, and he discovers the efforts of an ambition to recall its meridian splendour. As the poem was left (464) incomplete by the death of the author, we can only judge imperfectly of the conduct and general consistency of the fable: but the most difficult part having been executed, without any room for the censure of candid

criticism, we may presume that the sequel would have been finished with an equal claim to indulgence, if not to applause. The traditional anecdotes relative to the Argonautic expedition are introduced with propriety, and embellished with the graces of poetical fiction. In describing scenes of tenderness, this author is happily pathetic, and in the heat of combat, proportionably animated. His similes present the imagination with beautiful imagery, and not only illustrate, but give additional force to the subject. We find in Flaccus a few expressions not countenanced by the authority of the most celebrated Latin writers. His language, however, in general, is pure; but his words are perhaps not always the best that might have been chosen. The versification is elevated, though not uniformly harmonious; and there pervades the whole poem an epic dignity, which renders it superior to the production ascribed to Orpheus, or to that of Apollonius, on the same subject.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

I. Titus, who had the same cognomen with his father, was the darling and delight of mankind; so much did the natural genius, address, or good fortune he possessed tend to conciliate the favour of all. This was, indeed, extremely difficult, after he became emperor, as before that time, and even during the reign of his father, he lay under public odium and censure. He was born upon the third of the calends of January, [30th Dec.] in the year remarkable for the death of Caius, near the Septizonium, in a mean house, and a very small and dark room, which still exists, and is shown to the curious.

II. He was educated in the palace with Britannicus, and instructed in the same branches of learning, and under the same masters. During this time, they say, that a physiognomist being introduced by Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, to examine the features of Britannicus, positively affirmed that he would never become emperor, but that Titus, who stood by, would. They were so familiar, that Titus being next him at table, is thought to have tasted of the fatal potion which put an end to Britannicus's life, and to have contracted from it a distemper which hung about him a long time. In remembrance of all these circumstances, he afterwards erected a golden statue of him in the Palatium, and dedicated to him an equestrian statue of ivory; attending it in the Circensian procession, in which it is still carried to this day.

(466) III. While yet a boy, he was remarkable for his noble endowments both of body and mind; and as he advanced in years, they became still more conspicuous. He had a fine person, combining an equal mixture of majesty and grace; was very strong, though not tall, and somewhat corpulent. Gifted with an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war; he was a perfect master of the use of arms and riding; very ready in the Latin and Greek tongues, both in verse and prose; and such was the facility he possessed in both, that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor was he unacquainted with music, but could both sing and play upon the harp sweetly and scientifically. I have likewise been informed by many persons, that he was remarkably quick in writing short-hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hand-writing he saw, and often say, "that he was admirably qualified for forgery."

IV. He filled with distinction the rank of a military tribune both in Germany and Britain, in which he conducted himself with the utmost activity, and no less modesty and reputation; as appears evident from the great number of statues, with honourable inscriptions, erected to him in various parts of both those

provinces. After serving in the wars, he frequented the courts of law, but with less assiduity than applause. About the same time, he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only a knight, but had formerly been prefect of the pretorian guards. After her decease, he married Marcia Furnilla, of a very noble family, but afterwards divorced her, taking from her the daughter he had by her. Upon the expiration of his quaestorship, he was raised to the rank of commander of a legion, and took the two strong cities of Tarichaea and Gamala, in Judaea; and having his horse killed under him in a battle, he mounted another, whose rider he had encountered and slain.

V. Soon afterwards, when Galba came to be emperor, he was sent to congratulate him, and turned the eyes of all people upon himself, wherever he came; it being the general opinion amongst them, that the emperor had sent for him with a design to adopt him for his son. But finding all things again in confusion, he turned back upon the road; and going to consult (467) the oracle of Venus at Paphos about his voyage, he received assurances of obtaining the empire for himself. These hopes were speedily strengthened, and being left to finish the reduction of Judaea, in the final assault of Jerusalem, he slew seven of its defenders, with the like number of arrows, and took it upon his daughter's birth-day. So great was the joy and attachment of the soldiers, that, in their congratulations, they unanimously saluted him by the title of Emperor; and, upon his quitting the province soon afterwards, would needs have detained him, earnestly begging him, and that not without threats, "either to stay, or take them all with him." This occurrence gave rise to the suspicion of his being engaged in a design to rebel against his father, and claim for himself the government of the East; and the suspicion increased, when, on his way to Alexandria, he wore a diadem at the consecration of the ox Apis at Memphis; and, though he did it only in compliance with an ancient religious usage of the country, yet there was some who put a bad construction upon it. Making, therefore, what haste he could into Italy, he arrived first at Rhegium, and sailing thence in a merchant ship to Puteoli, went to Rome with all possible expedition. Presenting himself unexpectedly to his father, he said, by way of contradicting the strange reports raised concerning him, "I am come, father, I am come."

VI. From that time he constantly acted as colleague with his father, and, indeed, as regent of the empire. He triumphed (468) with his father, bore jointly with him the office of censor, and was, besides, his colleague not only in the tribunitian authority, but in seven consulships. Taking upon himself the care and inspection of all offices, he dictated letters, wrote proclamations in his father's name, and pronounced his speeches in the senate in place of the quaestor. He likewise assumed the command of the pretorian guards, although no one but a

Roman knight had ever before been their prefect. In this he conducted himself with great haughtiness and violence, taking off without scruple or delay all those he had most reason to suspect, after he had secretly sent his emissaries into the theatres and camp, to demand, as if by general consent, that the suspected persons should be delivered up to punishment. Among these, he invited to supper A. Caecina, a man of consular rank, whom he ordered to be stabbed at his departure, immediately after he had gone out of the room. To this act, indeed, he was provoked by an imminent danger; for he had discovered a writing under the hand of Caecina, containing an account of a plot hatched among the soldiers. By these acts, though he provided for his future security, yet for the present he so much incurred the hatred of the people, that scarcely ever any one came to the empire with a more odious character, or more universally disliked.

VII. Besides his cruelty, he lay under the suspicion of giving (469) way to habits of luxury, as he often prolonged his revels till midnight with the most riotous of his acquaintance. Nor was he unsuspected of lewdness, on account of the swarms of catamites and eunuchs about him, and his well-known attachment to queen Berenice, who received from him, as it is reported, a promise of marriage. He was supposed, besides, to be of a rapacious disposition; for it is certain, that, in causes which came before his father, he used to offer his interest for sale, and take bribes. In short, people publicly expressed an unfavourable opinion of him, and said he would prove another Nero. This prejudice, however, turned out in the end to his advantage, and enhanced his praises to the highest pitch when he was found to possess no vicious propensities, but, on the contrary, the noblest virtues. His entertainments were agreeable rather than extravagant; and he surrounded himself with such excellent friends, that the succeeding princes adopted them as most serviceable to themselves and the state. He immediately sent away Berenice from the city, much against both their inclinations. Some of his old eunuchs, though such accomplished dancers, that they bore an uncontrollable sway upon the stage, he was so far from treating with any extraordinary kindness, that he would not so much as witness their performances in the crowded theatre. He violated no private right; (470) and if ever man refrained from injustice, he did; nay, he would not accept of the allowable and customary offerings. Yet, in munificence, he was inferior to none of the princes before him. Having dedicated his amphitheatre, and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with most magnificent spectacles. He likewise exhibited a naval fight in the old Naumachia, besides a combat of gladiators; and in one day brought into the theatre five thousand wild beasts of all kinds.

(471) VIII. He was by nature extremely benevolent; for whereas all the

emperors after Tiberius, according to the example he had set them, would not admit the grants made by former princes to be valid, unless they received their own sanction, he confirmed them all by one general edict, without waiting for any applications respecting them. Of all who petitioned for any favour, he sent none away without hopes. And when his ministers represented to him that he promised more than he could perform, he replied, "No one ought to go away downcast from an audience with his prince." Once at supper, reflecting that he had done nothing for any that day, he broke out into that memorable and justly-admired saying, "My friends, I have lost a day." More particularly, he treated the people on all occasions with so much courtesy, that, on his presenting them with a show of gladiators, he declared, "He should manage it, not according to his own fancy, but that of the spectators," and did accordingly. He denied them nothing, and very frankly encouraged them to ask what they pleased. Espousing the cause of the Thracian party among the gladiators, he frequently joined in the popular demonstrations in their favour, but without compromising his dignity or doing injustice. To omit no opportunity of acquiring popularity, he sometimes made use himself of the baths he had erected, without excluding the common people. There happened in his reign some dreadful accidents; an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in Campania, and a fire in Rome, which continued during three days and three nights; besides a plague, such as was scarcely ever known before. Amidst these many great disasters, he not only manifested the concern (472) which might be expected from a prince but even the affection of a father, for his people; one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while relieving them to the utmost of his power. He chose by lot, from amongst the men of consular rank, commissioners for repairing the losses in Campania. The estates of those who had perished by the eruption of Vesuvius, and who had left no heirs, he applied to the repair of the ruined cities. With regard to the public buildings destroyed by fire in the City, he declared that nobody should be a loser but himself. Accordingly, he applied all the ornaments of his palaces to the decoration of the temples, and purposes of public utility, and appointed several men of the equestrian order to superintend the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed, in the way of sacrifice and medicine, all means both human and divine. Amongst the calamities of the times, were informers and their agents; a tribe of miscreants who had grown up under the licence of former reigns. These he frequently ordered to be scourged or beaten with sticks in the Forum, and then, after he had obliged them to pass through the amphitheatre as a public spectacle, commanded them to be sold for slaves, or else banished them to some rocky islands. And to discourage such practices for the future, amongst other things, he prohibited actions to be successively brought under different

laws for the same cause, or the state of affairs of deceased persons to be inquired into after a certain number of years.

IX. Having declared that he accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus for the purpose of preserving his hands undefiled, he faithfully adhered to his promise. For after that time he was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the death of any person, though he sometimes was justly irritated. He swore “that he would perish himself, rather than prove the destruction of any man.” Two men of patrician rank being convicted of aspiring to the empire, he only advised them to desist, saying, “that the sovereign power was disposed of by fate,” and promised them, that if there was any thing else they desired of him, he would grant it. He also immediately sent messengers to the mother of one of them, who was at a great distance, and in deep anxiety about her son, to assure her of his safety. Nay, he not only invited them to sup with (473) him, but next day, at a show of gladiators, purposely placed them close by him; and handed to them the arms of the combatants for his inspection. It is said likewise, that having had their nativities cast, he assured them, “that a great calamity was impending on both of them, but from another hand, and not from his.” Though his brother was continually plotting against him, almost openly stirring up the armies to rebellion, and contriving to get away, yet he could not endure to put him to death, or to banish him from his presence; nor did he treat him with less respect than before. But from his first accession to the empire, he constantly declared him his partner in it, and that he should be his successor; begging of him sometimes in private, with tears in his eyes, “to return the affection he had for him.”

X. Amidst all these favourable circumstances, he was cut off by an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind than himself. At the close of the public spectacles, he wept bitterly in the presence of the people, and then retired into the Sabine country, rather melancholy, because a victim had made its escape while he was sacrificing, and loud thunder had been heard while the atmosphere was serene. At the first resting-place on the road, he was seized with a fever, and being carried forward in a litter, they say that he drew back the curtains, and looked up to heaven, complaining heavily, “that his life was taken from him, though he had done nothing to deserve it; for there was no action of his that he had occasion to repent of, but one.” What that was, he neither disclosed himself, nor is it easy for us to conjecture. Some imagine that he alluded to the connection which he had formerly had with his brother’s wife. But Domitia solemnly denied it on oath; which she would never have done, had there been any truth in the report; nay, she would certainly have gloried in it, as she was forward enough to boast of all her scandalous intrigues.

XI. He died in the same villa where his father had died (474) before him, upon the Ides of September [the 13th of September]; two years, two months, and twenty days after he had succeeded his father; and in the one-and-fortieth year of his age . As soon as the news of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relative. The senate assembled in haste, before they could be summoned by proclamation, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises, now he was dead, as they never had done whilst he was alive and present amongst them.

* * * * *

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIAN, the younger, was the first prince who succeeded to the empire by hereditary right; and having constantly acted, after his return from Judaea, as colleague with his father in the administration, he seemed to be as well qualified by experience as he was by abilities, for conducting the affairs of the empire. But with respect to his natural disposition, and moral behaviour, the expectations entertained by the public were not equally flattering. He was immoderately addicted to luxury; he had betrayed a strong inclination to cruelty; and he lived in the habitual practice of lewdness, no less unnatural than intemperate. But, with a degree of virtuous resolution unexampled in history, he had no sooner taken into his hands the entire reins of government, than he renounced every vicious attachment. Instead of wallowing in luxury, as before, he became a model of temperance; instead of cruelty, he displayed the strongest proofs of humanity and benevolence; and in the room of lewdness, he exhibited a transition to the most unblemished chastity and virtue. In a word, so sudden and great a change was never known in the character of mortal; and he had the peculiar glory to receive the appellation of “the darling and delight of mankind.”

Under a prince of such a disposition, the government of the empire could not but be conducted with the strictest regard to the public welfare. The reform, which was begun in the late reign, he prosecuted with the most ardent application; and, had he lived for a longer time, it is probable that his authority and example would have produced the most beneficial effects upon the manners of the Romans.

During the reign of this emperor, in the seventy-ninth year of (475) the Christian era, happened the first eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which has ever since been celebrated for its volcano. Before this time, Vesuvius is spoken of, by ancient writers, as being covered with orchards and vineyards, and of which the

middle was dry and barren. The eruption was accompanied by an earthquake, which destroyed several cities of Campania, particularly Pompeii and Herculaneum; while the lava, pouring down the mountain in torrents, overwhelmed, in various directions, the adjacent plains. The burning ashes were carried not only over the neighbouring country, but as far as the shores of Egypt, Libya, and even Syria. Amongst those to whom this dreadful eruption proved fatal, was Pliny, the celebrated naturalist, whose curiosity to examine the phenomenon led him so far within the verge of danger, that he could not afterwards escape.

PLINY, surnamed the Elder, was born at Verona, of a noble family. He distinguished himself early by his military achievements in the German war, received the dignity of an Augur, at Rome, and was afterwards appointed governor of Spain. In every public character, he acquitted himself with great reputation, and enjoyed the esteem of the several emperors under whom he lived. The assiduity with which he applied himself to the collection of information, either curious or useful, surpasses all example. From an early hour in the morning, until late at night, he was almost constantly employed in discharging the duties of his public station, in reading or hearing books read by his amanuensis, and in extracting from them whatever seemed worthy of notice. Even during his meals, and while travelling in his carriage upon business, he prosecuted with unremitting zeal and diligence his taste for enquiry and compilation. No man ever displayed so strong a persuasion of the value of time, or availed himself so industriously of it. He considered every moment as lost which was not employed in literary pursuits. The books which he wrote, in consequence of this indefatigable exertion, were, according to the account transmitted by his nephew, Pliny the younger, numerous, and on various subjects. The catalogue of them is as follows: a book on Equestrian Archery, which discovered much skill in the art; the Life of Q. Pomponius Secundus; twenty books of the Wars of Germany; a complete treatise on the Education of an Orator, in six volumes; eight books of Doubtful Discourses, written in the latter part of the reign of Nero, when every kind of moral discussion was attended with danger; with a hundred and sixty volumes of remarks on the writings of the various authors which he had perused. For the last-mentioned production only, and before it was brought near to its accomplishment, we are told, that he (476) was offered by Largius Licinius four hundred thousand sesterces, amounting to upwards of three thousand two hundred pounds sterling; an enormous sum for the copyright of a book before the invention of printing! But the only surviving work of this voluminous author is his Natural History, in thirty-seven books, compiled from the various writers who had treated of that

extensive and interesting subject.

If we estimate this great work either by the authenticity of the information which it contains, or its utility in promoting the advancement of arts and sciences, we should not consider it as an object of any extraordinary encomiums; but when we view it as a literary monument, which displays the whole knowledge of the ancients, relative to Natural History, collected during a period of about seven hundred years, from the time of Thales the Milesian, it has a just claim to the attention of every speculative enquirer. It is not surprising, that the progress of the human mind, which, in moral science, after the first dawn of enquiry, was rapid both amongst the Greeks and Romans, should be slow in the improvement of such branches of knowledge as depended entirely on observation and facts, which were peculiarly difficult of attainment. Natural knowledge can only be brought to perfection by the prosecution of enquiries in different climates, and by a communication of discoveries amongst those by whom it is cultivated. But neither could enquiries be prosecuted, nor discoveries communicated, with success, while the greater part of the world was involved in barbarism, while navigation was slow and limited, and the art of printing unknown. The consideration of these circumstances will afford sufficient apology for the imperfect state in which natural science existed amongst the ancients. But we proceed to give an abstract of their extent, as they appear in the compilation of Pliny.

This work is divided into thirty-seven books; the first of which contains the Preface, addressed to the emperor Vespasian, probably the father, to whom the author pays high compliments. The second book treats of the world, the elements, and the stars. In respect to the world, or rather the universe, the author's opinion is the same with that of several ancient philosophers, that it is a Deity, uncreated, infinite, and eternal. Their notions, however, as might be expected, on a subject so incomprehensible, are vague, confused, and imperfect. In a subsequent chapter of the same book, where the nature of the Deity is more particularly considered, the author's conceptions of infinite power are so inadequate, that, by way of consolation for the limited powers of man, he observes that there are many things even beyond the power of the Supreme Being; such, for instance, as the annihilation of his own existence; to which the author adds, the power (477) of rendering mortals eternal, and of raising the dead. It deserves to be remarked, that, though a future state of rewards and punishments was maintained by the most eminent among the ancient philosophers, the resurrection of the body was a doctrine with which they were wholly unacquainted.

The author next treats of the planets, and the periods of their respective

revolutions; of the stars, comets, winds, thunder, lightning, and other natural phenomena, concerning all which he delivers the hypothetical notions maintained by the ancients, and mentions a variety of extraordinary incidents which had occurred in different parts of the world. The third book contains a general system of geography, which is continued through the fourth, fifth, and sixth books. The seventh treats of conception, and the generation of the human species, with a number of miscellaneous observations, unconnected with the general subject. The eighth treats of quadrupeds; the ninth, of aquatic animals; the tenth, of birds; the eleventh, of insects and reptiles; the twelfth, of trees; the thirteenth, of ointments, and of trees which grow near the sea-coast; the fourteenth, of vines; the fifteenth, of fruit-trees; the sixteenth, of forest-trees; the seventeenth, of the cultivation of trees; the eighteenth, of agriculture; the nineteenth, of the nature of lint, hemp, and similar productions; the twentieth, of the medicinal qualities of vegetables cultivated in gardens; the twenty-first, of flowers; the twenty-second, of the properties of herbs; the twenty-third, of the medicines yielded by cultivated trees; the twenty-fourth, of medicines derived from forest-trees; the twenty-fifth, of the properties of wild herbs, and the origin of their use; the twenty-sixth, of other remedies for diseases, and of some new diseases; the twenty-seventh, of different kinds of herbs; the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth, of medicines procured from animals; the thirty-first and thirty-second, of medicines obtained from aquatic animals, with some extraordinary facts relative to the subject; the thirty-third, of the nature of metals; the thirty-fourth, of brass, iron, lead, and tin; the thirty-fifth, of pictures, and observations relative to painting; the thirty-sixth, of the nature of stones and marbles; the thirty-seventh, of the origin of gems. To the contents of each book, the author subjoins a list of the writers from whom his observations have been collected.

Of Pliny's talents as a writer, it might be deemed presumptuous to form a decided opinion from his *Natural History*, which is avowedly a compilation from various authors, and executed with greater regard to the matter of the work, than to the elegance of composition. Making allowance, however, for a degree of credulity, common to the human mind in the early stage of physical (478) researches, he is far from being deficient in the essential qualifications of a writer of *Natural History*. His descriptions appear to be accurate, his observations precise, his narrative is in general perspicuous, and he often illustrates his subject by a vivacity of thought, as well as by a happy turn of expression. It has been equally his endeavour to give novelty to stale disquisitions, and authority to new observations. He has both removed the rust, and dispelled the obscurity, which enveloped the doctrines of many ancient

naturalists; but, with all his care and industry, he has exploded fewer errors, and sanctioned a greater number of doubtful opinions, than was consistent with the exercise of unprejudiced and severe investigation.

Pliny was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death; the manner of which is accurately related by his nephew, the elegant Pliny the Younger, in a letter to Tacitus, who entertained a design of writing the life of the naturalist.

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

I. Domitian was born upon the ninth of the calends of November [24th October], when his father was consul elect, (being to enter upon his office the month following,) in the sixth region of the city, at the Pomegranate, in the house which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is said to have spent the time of his youth in so much want and infamy, that he had not one piece of plate belonging to him; and it is well known, that Clodius Pollio, a man of pretorian rank, against whom there is a poem of Nero's extant, entitled *Luscio*, kept a note in his hand-writing, which he sometimes produced, in which Domitian made an assignation with him for the foulest purposes. Some, likewise, have said, that he prostituted himself to Nerva, who succeeded him. In the war with Vitellius, he fled into the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus, and a part of the troops they had in the city. But the enemy breaking in, and the temple being set on fire, he hid himself all night with the sacristan; and next morning, assuming the disguise of a worshipper of Isis, and mixing with the priests of that idle superstition, he got over the Tiber, with only one attendant, to the house of a woman who was the mother of one of his school-fellows, and lurked there so close, that, though the enemy, who were at his heels, searched very strictly after him, they could not discover him. At last, after the success of his party, appearing in public, and being unanimously saluted by the title of Caesar, he assumed the office of praetor of the City, with consular authority, but in fact had nothing but the name; for the jurisdiction he transferred to his next colleague. He used, however, his absolute (480) power so licentiously, that even then he plainly discovered what sort of prince he was likely to prove. Not to go into details, after he had made free with the wives of many men of distinction, he took Domitia Longina from her husband, Aelius Lamia, and married her; and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in the city and the provinces; upon which Vespasian said several times, "he wondered he did not send him a successor too."

II. He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends; and this he did only with the view of equalling his brother in military achievements and glory. But for this he was severely reprimanded, and that he might the more effectually be reminded of his age and position, was made to live with his father, and his litter had to follow his father's and brother's carriage, as often as they went abroad; but he attended them in their triumph for the conquest of Judaea, mounted on a white horse. Of the six consulships which he held, only one was

ordinary; and that he obtained by the cession and interest of his brother. He greatly affected a modest behaviour, and, above all, a taste for poetry; insomuch, that he rehearsed his performances in public, though it was an art he had formerly little cultivated, and which he afterwards despised and abandoned. Devoted, however, as he was at this time to poetical pursuits, yet when Vologesus, king of the Parthians, desired succours against the Alani, with one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he laboured hard to procure for himself that appointment. But the scheme proving abortive, he endeavoured by presents and promises to engage other kings of the East to make a similar request. After his father's death, he was for some time in doubt, whether he should not offer the soldiers a donative double to that of his brother, and made no scruple of saying frequently, "that he had been left his partner in the empire, but that his father's will had been fraudulently set aside." From that time forward, he was constantly engaged in plots against his brother, both publicly and privately; until, falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendants to (481) leave him, under pretence of his being dead, before he really was so; and, at his decease, paid him no other honour than that of enrolling him amongst the gods; and he often, both in speeches and edicts, carped at his memory by sneers and insinuations.

III. In the beginning of his reign, he used to spend daily an hour by himself in private, during which time he did nothing else but catch flies, and stick them through the body with a sharp pin. When some one therefore inquired, "whether any one was with the emperor," it was significantly answered by Vibius Crispus, "Not so much as a fly." Soon after his advancement, his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son in his second consulship, and whom the year following he complimented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with Paris, the actor, he put her away; but within a short time afterwards, being unable to bear the separation, he took her again, under pretence of complying with the people's importunity. During some time, there was in his administration a strange mixture of virtue and vice, until at last his virtues themselves degenerated into vices; being, as we may reasonably conjecture concerning his character, inclined to avarice through want, and to cruelty through fear.

IV. He frequently entertained the people with most magnificent and costly shows, not only in the amphitheatre, but the circus; where, besides the usual races with chariots drawn by two or four horses a-breast, he exhibited the representation of an engagement between both horse and foot, and a sea-fight in the amphitheatre. The people were also entertained with the chase of wild beasts and the combat of gladiators, even in the night-time, by torch-light. Nor did men only fight in these spectacles, but women also. He constantly attended at the games given by the quaestors, which had been disused for some time, but were

revived by him; and upon those occasions, always gave the people the liberty of demanding two pair of gladiators out of his own school, who appeared last in court uniforms. Whenever he attended the shows of gladiators, there stood at his feet a little boy dressed in scarlet, with a prodigiously small head, with whom he used to talk very much, and sometimes seriously. We are assured, that he was (482) overheard asking him, “if he knew for what reason he had in the late appointment, made Metius Rufus governor of Egypt?” He presented the people with naval fights, performed by fleets almost as numerous as those usually employed in real engagements; making a vast lake near the Tiber, and building seats round it. And he witnessed them himself during a very heavy rain. He likewise celebrated the Secular games, reckoning not from the year in which they had been exhibited by Claudius, but from the time of Augustus’s celebration of them. In these, upon the day of the Circensian sports, in order to have a hundred races performed, he reduced each course from seven rounds to five. He likewise instituted, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music to be performed every five years; besides horse-racing and gymnastic exercises, with more prizes than are at present allowed. There was also a public performance in elocution, both Greek and Latin and besides the musicians who sung to the harp, there were others who played concerted pieces or solos, without vocal accompaniment. Young girls also ran races in the Stadium, at which he presided in his sandals, dressed in a purple robe, made after the Grecian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown bearing the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; with the flamen of Jupiter, and the college of priests sitting by his side in the same dress; excepting only that their crowns had also his own image on them. He celebrated also upon the Alban mount every year the festival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of priests, out of which were chosen by lot persons to preside as governors over the college; who were obliged to entertain the people with extraordinary chases of wild-beasts, and stage-plays, besides contests for prizes in oratory and poetry. He thrice bestowed upon the people a largess of three hundred sesterces each man; and, at a public show of gladiators, a very plentiful feast. At the festival of the Seven Hills, he distributed large hampers of provisions (483) to the senatorian and equestrian orders, and small baskets to the common people, and encouraged them to eat by setting them the example. The day after, he scattered among the people a variety of cakes and other delicacies to be scrambled for; and on the greater part of them falling amidst the seats of the crowd, he ordered five hundred tickets to be thrown into each range of benches belonging to the senatorian and equestrian orders.

V. He rebuilt many noble edifices which had been destroyed by fire, and

amongst them the Capitol, which had been burnt down a second time; but all the inscriptions were in his own name, without the least mention of the original founders. He likewise erected a new temple in the Capitol to Jupiter Custos, and a forum, which is now called Nerva's, as also the temple of the Flavian family, a stadium, an odeum, and a naumachia; out of the stone dug from which, the sides of the Circus Maximus, which had been burnt down, were rebuilt.

VI. He undertook several expeditions, some from choice, and some from necessity. That against the Catti was unprovoked, but that against the Sarmatians was necessary; an entire legion, with its commander, having been cut off by them. He sent two expeditions against the Dacians; the first upon the defeat of Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank; and (484) the other, upon that of Cornelius Fuscus, prefect of the pretorian cohorts, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of that war. After several battles with the Catti and Daci, he celebrated a double triumph. But for his successes against the Sarmatians, he only bore in procession the laurel crown to Jupiter Capitolinus. The civil war, begun by Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, he quelled, without being obliged to be personally present at it, with remarkable good fortune. For, at the very moment of joining battle, the Rhine suddenly thawing, the troops of the barbarians which were ready to join L. Antonius, were prevented from crossing the river. Of this victory he had notice by some presages, before the messengers who brought the news of it arrived. For upon the very day the battle was fought, a splendid eagle spread its wings round his statue at Rome, making most joyful cries. And shortly after, a rumour became common, that Antonius was slain; nay, many positively affirmed, that they saw his head brought to the city.

VII. He made many innovations in common practices. He abolished the Sportula, and revived the old practice of regular suppers. To the four former parties in the Circensian games, he added two new, who were gold and scarlet. He prohibited the players from acting in the theatre, but permitted them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbade the castration of males; and reduced the price of the eunuchs who were still left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. On the occasion of a great abundance of wine, accompanied by a scarcity of corn, supposing that the tillage of the ground was neglected for the sake of attending too much to the cultivation of vineyards, he published a proclamation forbidding the planting of any new vines in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, nowhere permitting more than one half of them to remain. But he did not persist in the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices he conferred upon his freedmen and soldiers. He forbade two legions to be quartered in the same camp, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier with the standards; because it was thought that

Lucius Antonius had been encouraged in his late project by the large sum deposited in the military chest by the two legions which he had in the same winter-quarters. He made an addition to the soldiers' pay, of three gold pieces a year.

VIII. In the administration of justice he was diligent and assiduous; and frequently sat in the Forum out of course, to cancel the judgments of the court of The One Hundred, which had been procured through favour, or interest. He occasionally cautioned the judges of the court of recovery to beware of being too ready to admit claims for freedom brought before them. He set a mark of infamy upon judges who were convicted of taking bribes, as well as upon their assessors. He likewise instigated the tribunes of the people to prosecute a corrupt aedile for extortion, and to desire the senate to appoint judges for his trial. He likewise took such effectual care in punishing magistrates of the city, and governors of provinces, guilty of malversation, that they never were at any time more moderate or more just. Most of these, since his reign, we have seen prosecuted for crimes of various kinds. Having taken upon himself the reformation of the public manners, he restrained the licence of the populace in sitting promiscuously with the knights in the theatre. Scandalous libels, published to defame persons of rank, of either sex, he suppressed, and inflicted upon their authors a mark of infamy. He expelled a man of quaestorian rank from the senate, for practising mimicry and dancing. He debarred infamous women the use of litters; as also the right of receiving legacies, or inheriting estates. He struck out of the list of judges a Roman knight for taking again his wife whom he had divorced and prosecuted for adultery. He condemned several men of the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon the Scantinian law. The lewdness of the Vestal Virgins, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished severely, but in different ways; viz. offences committed before his reign, with death, and those since its commencement, according to ancient custom. For to the two sisters called Ocellatae, he gave liberty to choose the mode of death which they preferred, and banished (486) their paramours. But Cornelia, the president of the Vestals, who had formerly been acquitted upon a charge of incontinence, being a long time after again prosecuted and condemned, he ordered to be buried alive; and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the Comitium; excepting only a man of praetorian rank, to whom, because he confessed the fact, while the case was dubious, and it was not established against him, though the witnesses had been put to the torture, he granted the favour of banishment. And to preserve pure and undefiled the reverence due to the gods, he ordered the soldiers to demolish a tomb, which one of his freedmen had erected for his son out of the stones designed for the temple of Jupiter

Capitolinus, and to sink in the sea the bones and relics buried in it.

IX. Upon his first succeeding to power, he felt such an abhorrence for the shedding of blood, that, before his father's arrival in Rome, calling to mind the verse of Virgil,

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata juvencis,

Ere impious man, restrain'd from blood in vain,

Began to feast on flesh of bullocks slain,

he designed to have published a proclamation, "to forbid the sacrifice of oxen." Before his accession to the imperial authority, and during some time afterwards, he scarcely ever gave the least grounds for being suspected of covetousness or avarice; but, on the contrary, he often afforded proofs, not only of his justice, but his liberality. To all about him he was generous even to profusion, and recommended nothing more earnestly to them than to avoid doing anything mean. He would not accept the property left him by those who had children. He also set aside a legacy bequeathed by the will of Ruscus Caepio, who had ordered "his heir to make a present yearly to each of the senators upon their first assembling." He exonerated all those who had been under prosecution from the treasury for above five years before; and would not suffer suits to be renewed, unless it was done within a year, and on condition, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries of the quaestors having engaged in trade, according to custom, but contrary to (487) the Clodian law, he pardoned them for what was past. Such portions of land as had been left when it was divided amongst the veteran soldiers, he granted to the ancient possessors, as belonging to them by prescription. He put a stop to false prosecutions in the exchequer, by severely punishing the prosecutors; and this saying of his was much taken notice of "that a prince who does not punish informers, encourages them."

X. But he did not long persevere in this course of clemency and justice, although he sooner fell into cruelty than into avarice. He put to death a scholar of Paris, the pantomimic, though a minor, and then sick, only because, both in person and the practice of his art, he resembled his master; as he did likewise Hermogenes of Tarsus for some oblique reflections in his History; crucifying, besides, the scribes who had copied the work. One who was master of a band of gladiators, happening to say, "that a Thrax was a match for a Marmillo, but not so for the exhibitor of the games", he ordered him to be dragged from the benches into the arena, and exposed to the dogs, with this label upon him, "A Parmularian guilty of talking impiously." He put to death many senators, and amongst them several men of consular rank. In this number were, Civica

Cerealis, when he was proconsul in Africa, Salvidienus Orfitus, and Acilius Glabrio in exile, under the pretence of their planning to revolt against him. The rest he punished upon very trivial occasions; as Aelius Lamia for some jocular expressions, which were of old date, and perfectly harmless; because, upon his commending his voice after he had taken his wife from him, he replied, "Alas! I hold my tongue." And when Titus advised him to take another wife, he answered him thus: "What! have you a mind to marry?" Salvius Cocceianus was condemned to death for keeping the birth-day of his uncle Otho, the emperor: Metius Pomposianus, because he was commonly reported to have an imperial nativity, and to carry about with (488) him a map of the world upon vellum, with the speeches of kings and generals extracted out of Titus Livius; and for giving his slaves the names of Mago and Hannibal; Sallustius Lucullus, lieutenant in Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called "Lucullean;" and Junius Rusticus, for publishing a treatise in praise of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them both "most upright men." Upon this occasion, he likewise banished all the philosophers from the city and Italy. He put to death the younger Helvidius, for writing a farce, in which, under the character of Paris and Oenone, he reflected upon his having divorced his wife; and also Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election to that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, proclaimed him to the people not consul, but emperor. Becoming still more savage after his success in the civil war, he employed the utmost industry to discover those of the adverse party who absconded: many of them he racked with a new-invented torture, inserting fire through their private parts; and from some he cut off their hands. It is certain, that only two of any note were pardoned, a tribune who wore the narrow stripe, and a centurion; who, to clear themselves from the charge of being concerned in any rebellious project, proved themselves to have been guilty of prostitution, and consequently incapable of exercising any influence either over the general or the soldiers.

XI. His cruelties were not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucified a collector of his rents, he sent for him into his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away well pleased, and, so far as could be inferred from his treatment, in a state of perfect security; having vouchsafed him the favour of a plate of meat from his own table. When he was on the point of condemning to death Aretinus Clemens, a man of consular rank, and one of his friends and emissaries, he retained him about his person in the same or greater favour than ever; until at last, as they were riding together in the same litter, upon seeing the man who had informed against him, he said, "Are you willing that we should hear this base slave tomorrow?"

Contemptuously abusing the patience of men, he never pronounced a severe sentence without prefacing it (489) with words which gave hopes of mercy; so that, at last, there was not a more certain token of a fatal conclusion, than a mild commencement. He brought before the senate some persona accused of treason, declaring, “that he should prove that day how dear he was to the senate;” and so influenced them, that they condemned the accused to be punished according to the ancient usage . Then, as if alarmed at the extreme severity of their punishment, to lessen the odiousness of the proceeding, he interposed in these words; for it is not foreign to the purpose to give them precisely as they were delivered: “Permit me, Conscript Fathers, so far to prevail upon your affection for me, however extraordinary the request may seem, as to grant the condemned criminals the favour of dying in the manner they choose. For by so doing, ye will spare your own eyes, and the world will understand that I interceded with the senate on their behalf.”

XII. Having exhausted the exchequer by the expense of his buildings and public spectacles, with the augmentation of pay lately granted to the troops, he made an attempt at the reduction of the army, in order to lessen the military charges. But reflecting, that he should, by this measure, expose himself to the insults of the barbarians, while it would not suffice to extricate him from his embarrassments, he had recourse to plundering his subjects by every mode of exaction. The estates of the living and the dead were sequestered upon any accusation, by whomsoever preferred. The unsupported allegation of any one person, relative to a word or action construed to affect the dignity of the emperor, was sufficient. Inheritances, to which he had not the slightest pretension, were confiscated, if there was found so much as one person to say, he had heard from the deceased when living, “that he had made the emperor his heir.” Besides the exactions from others, the poll-tax on the Jews was levied with extreme rigour, both on those who lived after the manner of Jews in the city, without publicly professing themselves to be such, and on those who, by (490) concealing their origin, avoided paying the tribute imposed upon that people. I remember, when I was a youth, to have been present, when an old man, ninety years of age, had his person exposed to view in a very crowded court, in order that, on inspection, the procurator might satisfy himself whether he was circumcised.

From his earliest years Domitian was any thing but courteous, of a forward, assuming disposition, and extravagant both in his words and actions. When Caenis, his father’s concubine, upon her return from Istria, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her his hand to kiss. Being indignant, that his brother’s son-in-law should be waited on by servants dressed in white, he

exclaimed,
ouk agathon polykoiraniae.
Too many princes are not good.

XIII. After he became emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the senate, “that he had bestowed the empire on his father and brother, and they had restored it to him.” And upon taking his wife again, after the divorce, he declared by proclamation, “that he had recalled her to his pulvinar.” He was not a little pleased too, at hearing the acclamations of the people in the amphitheatre on a day of festival, “All happiness to our lord and lady.” But when, during the celebration of the Capitoline trial of skill, the whole concourse of people entreated him with one voice to restore Palfurius Sura to his place in the senate, from which he had been long before expelled — he having then carried away the prize of eloquence from all the orators who had contended for it, — he did not vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded silence to be proclaimed by the voice of the crier. With equal arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus: “Our lord and god commands so and so;” whence it became a rule that no one should (491) style him otherwise either in writing or speaking. He suffered no statues to be erected for him in the Capitol, unless they were of gold and silver, and of a certain weight. He erected so many magnificent gates and arches, surmounted by representations of chariots drawn by four horses, and other triumphal ornaments, in different quarters of the city, that a wag inscribed on one of the arches the Greek word Axkei, “It is enough.” He filled the office of consul seventeen times, which no one had ever done before him, and for the seven middle occasions in successive years; but in scarcely any of them had he more than the title; for he never continued in office beyond the calends of May [the 1st May], and for the most part only till the ides of January [13th January]. After his two triumphs, when he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus, he called the months of September and October, Germanicus and Domitian, after his own names, because he commenced his reign in the one, and was born in the other.

XIV. Becoming by these means universally feared and odious, he was at last taken off by a conspiracy of his friends and favourite freedmen, in concert with his wife. He had long entertained a suspicion of the year and day when he should die, and even of the very hour and manner of his death; all which he had learned from the Chaldaeans, when he was a very young man. His father once at supper laughed at him for refusing to eat some mushrooms, saying, that if he knew his fate, he would rather be afraid of the sword. Being, therefore, in perpetual apprehension and anxiety, he was keenly alive to the slightest

suspensions, insomuch that he is thought to have withdrawn the edict ordering the destruction of the vines, chiefly because the copies of it which were dispersed had the following lines written upon them:

Kaen me phagaes epi rizanomos epi kartophoraeso,
Osson epispeisai Kaisari thuomeno.

Gnaw thou my root, yet shall my juice suffice
To pour on Caesar's head in sacrifice.

(492) It was from the same principle of fear, that he refused a new honour, devised and offered him by the senate, though he was greedy of all such compliments. It was this: "that as often as he held the consulship, Roman knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him, clad in the Trabea, with lances in their hands, amongst his lictors and apparitors." As the time of the danger which he apprehended drew near, he became daily more and more disturbed in mind; insomuch that he lined the walls of the porticos in which he used to walk, with the stone called Phengites, by the reflection of which he could see every object behind him. He seldom gave an audience to persons in custody, unless in private, being alone, and he himself holding their chains in his hand. To convince his domestics that the life of a master was not to be attempted upon any pretext, however plausible, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his secretary, because it was believed that he had assisted Nero, in his extremity, to kill himself.

XV. His last victim was Flavius Clemens, his cousin-german, a man below contempt for his want of energy, whose sons, then of very tender age, he had avowedly destined for his successors, and, discarding their former names, had ordered one to be called Vespasian, and the other Domitian. Nevertheless, he suddenly put him to death upon some very slight suspicion, almost before he was well out of his consulship. By this violent act he very much hastened his own destruction. During eight months together there was so much lightning at Rome, and such accounts of the phaenomenon were brought from other parts, that at last he cried out, "Let him now strike whom he will." The Capitol was struck by lightning, as well as the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine-house, and his own bed-chamber. The tablet also, inscribed upon the base of his triumphal statue was carried away by the violence of the storm, and fell upon a neighbouring (493) monument. The tree which just before the advancement of Vespasian had been prostrated, and rose again, suddenly fell to the ground. The goddess Fortune of Praeneste, to whom it was his custom on new year's day to commend the empire for the ensuing year, and who had always given him a favourable reply, at last returned him a melancholy answer, not without mention

of blood. He dreamt that Minerva, whom he worshipped even to a superstitious excess, was withdrawing from her sanctuary, declaring she could protect him no longer, because she was disarmed by Jupiter. Nothing, however, so much affected him as an answer given by Ascletrio, the astrologer, and his subsequent fate. This person had been informed against, and did not deny his having predicted some future events, of which, from the principles of his art, he confessed he had a foreknowledge. Domitian asked him, what end he thought he should come to himself? To which replying, "I shall in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs," he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, in order to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried. But during the preparations for executing this order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and the body, half-burnt, was torn to pieces by dogs; which being observed by Latinus, the comic actor, as he chanced to pass that way, he told it, amongst the other news of the day, to the emperor at supper.

XVI. The day before his death, he ordered some dates, served up at table, to be kept till the next day, adding, "If I have the luck to use them." And turning to those who were nearest him, he said, "To-morrow the moon in Aquarius will be bloody instead of watery, and an event will happen, which will be much talked of all the world over." About midnight, he was so terrified that he leaped out of bed. That morning he tried and passed sentence on a soothsayer sent from Germany, who being consulted about the lightning that had lately (494) happened, predicted from it a change of government. The blood running down his face as he scratched an ulcerous tumour on his forehead, he said, "Would this were all that is to befall me!" Then, upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five o'clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they purposely told him it was six. Overjoyed at this information; as if all danger were now passed, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius, his chamberlain, stopped him, by saying that there was a person come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, which would admit of no delay. Upon this, ordering all persons to withdraw, he retired into his chamber, and was there slain.

XVII. Concerning the contrivance and mode of his death, the common account is this. The conspirators being in some doubt when and where they should attack him, whether while he was in the bath, or at supper, Stephanus, a steward of Domitilla's, then under prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance; and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and bandages for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the hour appointed, he secreted a dagger in them. Pretending then to make a discovery of a conspiracy, and being for that reason admitted, he presented to the emperor a memorial, and while he was reading it in great astonishment, stabbed him in the

groin. But Domitian, though wounded, making resistance, Clodianus, one of his guards, Maximus, a freedman of Parthenius's, Saturius, his principal chamberlain, with some gladiators, fell upon him, and stabbed him in seven places. A boy who had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, and was then in attendance as usual, gave these further particulars: that he was ordered by Domitian, upon receiving his first wound, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and call in his domestics; but that he found nothing at the head of the bed, excepting the hilt of a (495) poniard, and that all the doors were fastened: that the emperor in the mean time got hold of Stephanus, and throwing him upon the ground, struggled a long time with him; one while endeavouring to wrench the dagger from him, another while, though his fingers were miserably mangled, to tear out his eyes. He was slain upon the fourteenth of the calends of October [18th Sept.], in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out upon a common bier by the public bearers, and buried by his nurse Phyllis, at his suburban villa on the Latin Way. But she afterwards privately conveyed his remains to the temple of the Flavian family, and mingled them with the ashes of Julia, the daughter of Titus, whom she had also nursed.

XVIII. He was tall in stature, his face modest, and very ruddy; he had large eyes, but was dim-sighted; naturally graceful in his person, particularly in his youth, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward, he was at last disfigured by baldness, corpulence, and the slenderness of his legs, which were reduced by a long illness. He was so sensible how much the modesty of his countenance recommended him, that he once made this boast to the senate, "Thus far you have approved both of my disposition and my countenance." His baldness so much annoyed him, that he considered it an affront to himself, if any other person was reproached with it, either in jest or in earnest; though in a small tract he published, addressed to a friend, "concerning the preservation of the hair," he uses for their mutual consolation the words following:

Ouch oraas oios kago kalos te megas te;

Seest thou my graceful mien, my stately form?

"and yet the fate of my hair awaits me; however, I bear with fortitude this loss of my hair while I am still young. Remember that nothing is more fascinating than beauty, but nothing of shorter duration."

XIX. He so shrunk from undergoing fatigue, that he scarcely ever walked through the city on foot. In his (496) expeditions and on a march, he seldom rode on horse-back; but was generally carried in a litter. He had no inclination for the exercise of arms, but was very expert in the use of the bow. Many persons have seen him often kill a hundred wild animals, of various kinds, at his Alban retreat,

and fix his arrows in their heads with such dexterity, that he could, in two shots, plant them, like a pair of horns, in each. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, and expanded as a mark, with such precision, that they all passed between the boy's fingers, without hurting him.

XX. In the beginning of his reign, he gave up the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore, at a vast expense, the libraries which had been burnt down; collecting manuscripts from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy or correct them. Yet he never gave himself the trouble of reading history or poetry, or of employing his pen even for his private purposes. He perused nothing but the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius Caesar. His letters, speeches, and edicts, were all drawn up for him by others; though he could converse with elegance, and sometimes expressed himself in memorable sentiments. "I could wish," said he once, "that I was but as handsome as Metius fancies himself to be." And of the head of some one whose hair was partly reddish, and partly grey, he said, "that it was snow sprinkled with mead."

XXI. "The lot of princes," he remarked, "was very miserable, for no one believed them when they discovered a conspiracy, until they were murdered." When he had leisure, he amused himself with dice, even on days that were not festivals, and in the morning. He went to the bath early, and made a plentiful dinner, insomuch that he seldom ate more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a (497) draught of wine, out of a small flask. He gave frequent and splendid entertainments, but they were soon over, for he never prolonged them after sun-set, and indulged in no revel after. For, till bed-time, he did nothing else but walk by himself in private.

XXII. He was insatiable in his lusts, calling frequent commerce with women, as if it was a sort of exercise, klinopalaen, bed-wrestling; and it was reported that he plucked the hair from his concubines, and swam about in company with the lowest prostitutes. His brother's daughter was offered him in marriage when she was a virgin; but being at that time enamoured of Domitia, he obstinately refused her. Yet not long afterwards, when she was given to another, he was ready enough to debauch her, and that even while Titus was living. But after she had lost both her father and her husband, he loved her most passionately, and without disguise; insomuch that he was the occasion of her death, by obliging her to procure a miscarriage when she was with child by him.

XXIII. The people shewed little concern at his death, but the soldiers were roused by it to great indignation, and immediately endeavoured to have him ranked among the gods. They were also ready to revenge his loss, if there had

been any to take the lead. However, they soon after effected it, by resolutely demanding the punishment of all those who had been concerned in his assassination. On the other hand, the senate was so overjoyed, that they met in all haste, and in a full assembly reviled his memory in the most bitter terms; ordering ladders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be pulled down before their eyes, and dashed in pieces upon the floor of the senate-house passing at the same time a decree to obliterate his titles every where, and abolish all memory of him. A few months before he was slain, a raven on the Capitol uttered these words: "All will be well." Some person gave the following interpretation of this prodigy:

(498) Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix.
"Est bene," non potuit dicere; dixit, "Erit."

Late croaked a raven from Tarpeia's height,
"All is not yet, but shall be, right."

They say likewise that Domitian dreamed that a golden hump grew out of the back of his neck, which he considered as a certain sign of happy days for the empire after him. Such an auspicious change indeed shortly afterwards took place, through the justice and moderation of the succeeding emperors.

* * * * *

If we view Domitian in the different lights in which he is represented, during his lifetime and after his decease, his character and conduct discover a greater diversity than is commonly observed in the objects of historical detail. But as posthumous character is always the most just, its decisive verdict affords the surest criterion by which this variegated emperor must be estimated by impartial posterity. According to this rule, it is beyond a doubt that his vices were more predominant than his virtues: and when we follow him into his closet, for some time after his accession, when he was thirty years of age, the frivolity of his daily employment, in the killing of flies, exhibits an instance of dissipation, which surpasses all that has been recorded of his imperial predecessors. The encouragement, however, which the first Vespasian had shown to literature, continued to operate during the present reign; and we behold the first fruits of its auspicious influence in the valuable treatise of QUINTILIAN.

Of the life of this celebrated writer, little is known upon any authority that has a title to much credit. We learn, however, that he was the son of a lawyer in the service of some of the preceding emperors, and was born in Rome, though in

what consulship, or under what emperor, it is impossible to determine. He married a woman of a noble family, by whom he had two sons. The mother died in the flower of her age, and the sons, at the distance of some time from each other, when their father was advanced in years. The precise time of Quintilian's own death is equally inauthentic with that of his birth; nor can we rely upon an author of suspicious veracity, who says that he passed the latter part of his life in a state of indigence which was alleviated by the liberality of his pupil, Pliny the Younger. Quintilian opened a school of rhetoric at Rome, where he not only discharged that labourious employment with great applause, (499) during more than twenty years, but pleaded at the bar, and was the first who obtained a salary from the state, for executing the office of a public teacher. He was also appointed by Domitian preceptor to the two young princes who were intended to succeed him on the throne.

After his retirement from the situation of a teacher, Quintilian devoted his attention to the study of literature, and composed a treatise on the Causes of the Corruption of Eloquence. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, he was afterwards induced to undertake his *Institutiones Oratoriae*, the most elaborate system of oratory extant in any language. This work is divided into twelve books, in which the author treats with great precision of the qualities of a perfect orator; explaining not only the fundamental principles of eloquence, as connected with the constitution of the human mind, but pointing out, both by argument and observation, the most successful method of exercising that admirable art, for the accomplishment of its purpose. So minutely, and upon so extensive a plan, has he prosecuted the subject, that he delineates the education suitable to a perfect orator, from the stage of infancy in the cradle, to the consummation of rhetorical fame, in the pursuits of the bar, or those, in general, of any public assembly. It is sufficient to say, that in the execution of this elaborate work, Quintilian has called to the assistance of his own acute and comprehensive understanding, the profound penetration of Aristotle, the exquisite graces of Cicero; all the stores of observation, experience, and practice; and in a word, the whole accumulated exertions of ancient genius on the subject of oratory.

It may justly be regarded as an extraordinary circumstance in the progress of scientific improvement, that the endowments of a perfect orator were never fully exhibited to the world, until it had become dangerous to exercise them for the important purposes for which they were originally cultivated. And it is no less remarkable, that, under all the violence and caprice of imperial despotism which the Romans had now experienced, their sensibility to the enjoyment of poetical compositions remained still unabated; as if it served to console the nation for the

irretrievable loss of public liberty. From this source of entertainment, they reaped more pleasure during the present reign, than they had done since the time of Augustus. The poets of this period were Juvenal, Statius, and Martial.

JUVENAL was born at Aquinum, but in what year is uncertain; though, from some circumstances, it seems to have been in the reign of Augustus. Some say that he was the son of a freedman, (500) while others, without specifying the condition of his father, relate only that he was brought up by a freedman. He came at an early age to Rome, where he declaimed for many years, and, pleaded causes in the forum with great applause; but at last he betook himself to the writing of satires, in which he acquired great fame. One of the first, and the most constant object of his satire, was the pantomime Paris, the great favourite of the emperor Nero, and afterwards of Domitian. During the reign of the former of these emperors, no resentment was shown towards the poet; but he experienced not the same impunity after the accession of the latter; when, to remove him from the capital, he was sent as governor to the frontiers of Egypt, but in reality, into an honourable exile. According to some authors, he died of chagrin in that province: but this is not authenticated, and seems to be a mistake: for in some of Martial's epigrams, which appear to have been written after the death of Domitian, Juvenal is spoken of as residing at Rome. It is said that he lived to upwards of eighty years of age.

The remaining compositions of this author are sixteen satires, all written against the dissipation and enormous vices which prevailed at Rome in his time. The various objects of animadversion are painted in the strongest colours, and placed in the most conspicuous points of view. Giving loose reins to just and moral indignation, Juvenal is every where animated, vehement, petulant, and incessantly acrimonious. Disdaining the more lenient modes of correction, or despairing of their success, he neither adopts the raillery of Horace, nor the derision of Persius, but prosecutes vice and folly with all the severity of sentiment, passion, and expression. He sometimes exhibits a mixture of humour with his invectives; but it is a humour which partakes more of virulent rage than of pleasantry; broad, hostile, but coarse, and rivalling in indelicacy the profligate manners which it assails. The satires of Juvenal abound in philosophical apophthegms; and, where they are not sullied by obscene description, are supported with a uniform air of virtuous elevation. Amidst all the intemperance of sarcasm, his numbers are harmonious. Had his zeal permitted him to direct the current of his impetuous genius into the channel of ridicule, and endeavour to put to shame the vices and follies of those licentious times, as much as he perhaps exasperated conviction rather than excited contrition, he would have carried satire to the highest possible pitch, both of literary excellence and moral

utility. With every abatement of attainable perfection, we hesitate not to place him at the head of this arduous department of poetry.

Of STATIUS no farther particulars are preserved than that he (501) was born at Naples; that his father's name was Statius of Epirus, and his mother's Agelina, and that he died about the end of the first century of the Christian era. Some have conjectured that he maintained himself by writing for the stage, but of this there is no sufficient evidence; and if ever he composed dramatic productions, they have perished. The works of Statius now extant, are two poems, viz. the *Thebais* and the *Achilleis*, besides a collection, named *Silvae*.

The *Thebais* consists of twelve books, and the subject of it is the Theban war, which happened 1236 years before the Christian era, in consequence of a dispute between Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus and Jocasta. These brothers had entered into an agreement with each other to reign alternately for a year at a time; and Eteocles being the elder, got first possession of the throne. This prince refusing to abdicate at the expiration of the year, Polynices fled to Argos, where marrying Argia, the daughter of Adrastus, king of that country, he procured the assistance of his father-in-law, to enforce the engagement stipulated with his brother Eteocles. The Argives marched under the command of seven able generals, who were to attack separately the seven gates of Thebes. After much blood had been spilt without any effect, it was at last agreed between the two parties, that the brothers should determine the dispute by single combat. In the desperate engagement which ensued, they both fell; and being burnt together upon the funeral pile, it is said that their ashes separated, as if actuated by the implacable resentment which they had borne to each other.

If we except the *Aeneid*, this is the only Latin production extant which is epic in its form; and it likewise approaches nearest in merit to that celebrated poem, which Statius appears to have been ambitious of emulating. In unity and greatness of action, the *Thebais* corresponds to the laws of the *Epopœa*; but the fable may be regarded as defective in some particulars, which, however, arise more from the nature of the subject, than from any fault of the poet. The distinction of the hero is not sufficiently prominent; and the poem possesses not those circumstances which are requisite towards interesting the reader's affections in the issue of the contest. To this it may be added, that the unnatural complexion of the incestuous progeny diffuses a kind of gloom which obscures the splendour of thought, and restrains the sympathetic indulgence of fancy to some of the boldest excursions of the poet. For grandeur, however, and animation of sentiment and description, as well as for harmony of numbers, the *Thebais* is eminently conspicuous, and deserves to be held in a much higher degree of estimation than it has (502) generally obtained. In the contrivance of

some of the episodes, and frequently in the modes of expression, Statius keeps an attentive eye to the style of Virgil. It is said that he was twelve years employed in the composition of this poem; and we have his own authority for affirming, that he polished it with all the care and assiduity practised by the poets in the Augustan age:

Quippe, te fido monitore, nostra
Thebais, multa cruciata lima,
Tentat audaci fide Mantuanae
Gaudia famae. — *Silvae*, lib. iv. 7.

For, taught by you, with steadfast care
I trim my “Song of Thebes,” and dare
With generous rivalry to share
The glories of the Mantuan bard.

The *Achilleis* relates to the same hero who is celebrated by Homer in the *Iliad*; but it is the previous history of Achilles, not his conduct in the Trojan war, which forms the subject of the poem of Statius. While the young hero is under the care of the Centaur Chiron, Thetis makes a visit to the preceptor’s sequestered habitation, where, to save her son from the fate which, it was predicted, would befall him at Troy, if he should go to the siege of that place, she orders him to be dressed in the disguise of a girl, and sent to live in the family of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. But as Troy could not be taken without the aid of Achilles, Ulysses, accompanied by Diomedes, is deputed by the Greeks to go to Scyros, and bring him thence to the Grecian camp. The artifice by which the sagacious ambassador detected Achilles amongst his female companions, was by placing before them various articles of merchandise, amongst which was some armour. Achilles no sooner perceived the latter, than he eagerly seized a sword and shield, and manifesting the strongest emotions of heroic enthusiasm, discovered his sex. After an affectionate parting with Lycomedes’ daughter, Deidamia, whom he left pregnant of a son, he set sail with the Grecian chiefs, and, during the voyage, gives them an account of the manner of his education with Chiron.

This poem consists of two books, in heroic measure, and is written with taste and fancy. Commentators are of opinion, that the *Achilleis* was left incomplete by the death of the author; but this is extremely improbable, from various circumstances, and appears to be founded only upon the word *Hactenus*, in the conclusion of the poem:

(503) *Hactenus annorum, comites, elementa meorum*

Et memini, et meminisse juvat: scit caetera mater.

Thus far, companions dear, with mindful joy I've told
My youthful deeds; the rest my mother can unfold.

That any consequential reference was intended by *hactenus*, seems to me plainly contradicted by the words which immediately follow, *scit caetera mater*. Statius could not propose the giving any further account of Achilles's life, because a general narrative of it had been given in the first book. The voyage from Scyros to the Trojan coast, conducted with the celerity which suited the purpose of the poet, admitted of no incidents which required description or recital: and after the voyagers had reached the Grecian camp, it is reasonable to suppose, that the action of the *Iliad* immediately commenced. But that Statius had no design of extending the plan of the *Achilleis* beyond this period, is expressly declared in the exordium of the poem:

Magnanimum Aeaciden, formidatamque Tonanti
Progeniem, et patrio vetitam succedere coelo,
Diva, refer; quanquam acta viri multum inclyta cantu
Maeonio; sed plura vacant. Nos ire per omnem
(Sic amor est) heroa velis, Scyroque latentem
Dulichia proferre tuba: nec in Hectore tracto
Sistere, sed tota juvenem deducere Troja.

Aid me, O goddess! while I sing of him,
Who shook the Thunderer's throne, and, for his crime,
Was doomed to lose his birthright in the skies;
The great Aeacides. Maeonian strains
Have made his mighty deeds their glorious theme;
Still much remains: be mine the pleasing task
To trace the future hero's young career,
Not dragging Hector at his chariot wheels,
But while disguised in Scyros yet he lurked,
Till trumpet-stirred, he sprung to manly arms,
And sage Ulysses led him to the Trojan coast.

The *Silvae* is a collection of poems almost entirely in heroic verse, divided into five books, and for the most part written extempore. Statius himself affirms, in his Dedication to Stella, that the production of none of them employed him more than two days; yet many of them consist of between one hundred and two hundred hexameter lines. We meet with one of two hundred and sixteen lines;

one, of two hundred and thirty-four; one, of two hundred and sixty-two; and one of two hundred and seventy-seven; a rapidity of composition approaching to what Horace mentions of the poet Lucilius. It is no small encomium to observe, that, considered as extemporaneous productions, (504) the meanest in the collection is far from meriting censure, either in point of sentiment or expression; and many of them contain passages which command our applause.

The poet MARTIAL, surnamed likewise Coquus, was born at Bilbilis, in Spain, of obscure parents. At the age of twenty-one, he came to Rome, where he lived during five-and-thirty years under the emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, the two Vespasians, Domitian, Nerva, and the beginning of the reign of Trajan. He was the panegyrist of several of those emperors, by whom he was liberally rewarded, raised to the Equestrian order, and promoted by Domitian to the tribuneship; but being treated with coldness and neglect by Trajan, he returned to his native country, and, a few years after, ended his days, at the age of seventy-five.

He had lived at Rome in great splendour and affluence, as well as in high esteem for his poetical talents; but upon his return to Bilbilis, it is said that he experienced a great reverse of fortune, and was chiefly indebted for his support to the gratuitous benefactions of Pliny the Younger, whom he had extolled in some epigrams.

The poems of Martial consist of fourteen books, all written in the epigrammatic form, to which species of composition, introduced by the Greeks, he had a peculiar propensity. Amidst such a multitude of verses, on a variety of subjects, often composed extempore, and many of them, probably, in the moments of fashionable dissipation, it is not surprising that we find a large number unworthy the genius of the author. Delicacy, and even decency, is often violated in the productions of Martial. Grasping at every thought which afforded even the shadow of ingenuity, he gave unlimited scope to the exercise of an active and fruitful imagination. In respect to composition, he is likewise liable to censure. At one time he wearies, and at another tantalises the reader, with the prolixity or ambiguity of his preambles. His prelusive sentiments are sometimes far-fetched, and converge not with a natural declination into the focus of epigram. In dispensing praise and censure, he often seems to be governed more by prejudice or policy, than by justice and truth; and he is more constantly attentive to the production of wit, than to the improvement of morality.

But while we remark the blemishes and imperfections of this poet, we must acknowledge his extraordinary merits. In composition he is, in general, elegant and correct; and where the subject is capable of connection with sentiment, his inventive ingenuity never fails to extract from it the essence of delight and

surprise. His fancy is prolific of beautiful images, and his (505) judgment expert in arranging them to the greatest advantage. He bestows panegyric with inimitable grace, and satirises with equal dexterity. In a fund of Attic salt, he surpasses every other writer; and though he seems to have at command all the varied stores of gall, he is not destitute of candour. With almost every kind of versification he appears to be familiar; and notwithstanding a facility of temper, too accommodating, perhaps, on many occasions, to the licentiousness of the times, we may venture from strong indications to pronounce, that, as a moralist, his principles were virtuous. It is observed of this author, by Pliny the Younger, that, though his compositions might, perhaps, not obtain immortality, he wrote as if they would. [Aeterna, quae scripsit, non erunt fortasse: ille tamen scripsit tanquam futura.] The character which Martial gives of his epigrams, is just and comprehensive:

Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura,
Quae legis: hic aliter non fit, Avite, liber.

Some are good, some indifferent, and some again still worse;
Such, Avitus, you will find is a common case with verse.

THE END

THE TWELVE CAESARS: J. C. ROLFE TRANSLATION



Translated by J. C. Rolfe

CONTENTS

[THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR](#)

[THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF CALIGULA](#)

[THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF NERO](#)

[THE LIFE OF GALBA](#)

[THE LIFE OF OTHO](#)

[THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN](#)

[THE LIFE OF TITUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN](#)

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR

1.

In the course of his sixteenth year he lost his father. In the next consulate, having previously been nominated priest of Jupiter, he broke his engagement with Cossutia, a lady of only equestrian rank, but very wealthy, who had been betrothed to him before he assumed the gown of manhood, and married Cornelia, daughter of that Cinna who was four times consul, by whom he afterwards had a daughter Julia; and the dictator Sulla could by no means force him to put away his wife. Therefore besides being punished by the loss of his priesthood, his wife's dowry, and his family inheritances, Caesar was held to be one of the opposite party. He was accordingly forced to go into hiding, and though suffering from a severe attack of quartan ague, to change from one covert to another almost every night, and save himself from Sulla's detectives by bribes. But at last, through the good offices of the Vestal virgins and of his near kinsmen, Mamercus Aemilius and Aurelius Cotta, he obtained forgiveness. Everyone knows that when Sulla had long held out against the most devoted and eminent men of his party who interceded for Caesar, and they obstinately persisted, he at last gave way and cried, either by divine inspiration or a shrewd forecast: "Have your way and take him; only bear in mind that the man you are so eager to save will one day deal the death blow to the cause of the aristocracy, which you have joined with me in upholding; for in this Caesar there is more than one Marius."

2.

He served his first campaign in Asia on the personal staff of Marcus Thermus, governor of the province. Being sent by Thermus to Bithynia, to fetch a fleet, he dawdled so long at the court of Nicomedes that he was suspected of improper relations with the king; and he lent colour to this scandal by going back to Bithynia a few days after his return, with the alleged purpose of collecting a debt for a freedman, one of his dependents. During the rest of the campaign he enjoyed a better reputation, and at the storming of Mytilene Thermus awarded him the civic crown.

3.

He served too under Servilius Isauricus in Cilicia, but only for a short time; for learning of the death of Sulla, and at the same time hoping to profit by a counter revolution which Marcus Lepidus was setting on foot, he hurriedly returned to Rome. But he did not make common cause with Lepidus, although he was offered highly favourable terms, through lack of confidence both in that leader's capacity and in the outlook, which he found less promising than he had expected.

4.

Then, after the civil disturbance had been quieted, he brought a charge of extortion against Cornelius Dolabella, an ex-consul who had been honoured with a triumph. On the acquittal of Dolabella Caesar determined to withdraw to Rhodes, to escape from the ill-will which he had incurred, and at the same time to rest and have leisure to study under Apollonius Molo, the most eminent teacher of oratory of that time. While crossing to Rhodes, after the winter season had already begun, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacussa and remained in their custody for nearly forty days in a state of intense vexation, attended only by a single physician and two body-servants; for he had sent off his travelling companions and the rest of his attendants at the outset, to raise money for his ransom. Once he was set on shore on payment of fifty talents, he did not delay then and there to launch a fleet and pursue the departing pirates, and the moment they were in his power to inflict on them the punishment which he had often threatened when joking with them. He then proceeded to Rhodes, but as Mithridates was devastating the neighbouring regions, he crossed over into Asia, to avoid the appearance of inaction when the allies of the Roman people were in danger. There he levied a band of auxiliaries and drove the king's prefect from the province, thus holding the wavering and irresolute states to their allegiance.

5.

While serving as military tribune, the first office which was conferred on him by vote of the people after his return to Rome, he ardently supported the leaders in the attempt to re-establish the authority of the tribunes of the commons, the extent of which Sulla had curtailed. Furthermore, through a bill proposed by one Plotius, he effected the recall of his wife's brother Lucius Cinna, as well as of the others who had taken part with Lepidus in his revolution and after the consul's death had fled to Sertorius; and he personally spoke in favour of the measure.

6.

When quaestor, he pronounced the customary orations from the rostra in praise of his aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia, who had both died. And in the eulogy of his aunt he spoke in the following terms of her paternal and maternal ancestry and that of his own father: "The family of my aunt Julia is descended by her mother from the kings, and on her father's side is akin to the immortal Gods; for the Marcii Reges (her mother's family name) go back to Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, the family of which ours is a branch, to Venus. Our stock therefore has at once the sanctity of kings, whose power is supreme among mortal men, and the claim to reverence which attaches to the Gods, who hold sway over kings themselves."

In place of Cornelia he took to wife Pompeia, daughter of Quintus Pompeius and granddaughter of Lucius Sulla. But he afterward divorced her, suspecting her of adultery with Publius Clodius; and in fact the report that Clodius had gained access to her in woman's garb during a public religious ceremony was so persistent, that the senate decreed that the pollution of the sacred rites be judicially investigated.

7.

As quaestor it fell to his lot serve in Further Spain. When he was there, while making the circuit of the assize-towns, to hold court under commission from the praetor, he came to Gades, and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh, and as if out of patience with his own incapacity in having as yet done nothing noteworthy at a time of life when Alexander had already brought the world to his feet, he straightway asked for his discharge, to grasp the first opportunity for greater enterprises at Rome. Furthermore, when he was dismayed by a dream the following night (for he thought that he had offered violence to his mother) the soothsayers inspired him with high hopes by their interpretation, which was: that he was destined to rule the world, since the mother whom he had seen in his power was none other than the earth, which is regarded as the common parent of all mankind.

8.

Departing therefore before his term was over, he went to the Latin colonies which were in a state of unrest and meditating a demand for citizenship; and he might have spurred them on to some rash act, had not the consuls, in anticipation

of that very danger, detained there for a time the legions which had been enrolled for service in Cilicia.

9.

For all that he presently made a more daring attempt at Rome; for a few days before he entered upon his aedileship he was suspected of having made a conspiracy with Marcus Crassus, an ex-consul, and likewise with Publius Sulla and Lucius Autronius, who, after their election to the consulship, had been found guilty of corrupt practices. The design was to set upon the senate at the opening of the year and put to the sword as many as they thought good; then Crassus was to usurp the dictatorship, naming Caesar as his master of horse, and when they had organized the state according to their pleasure, the consulship was to be restored to Sulla and Autronius. This plot is mentioned by Tanusius Geminus in his History, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Gaius Curio the elder in his speeches. Cicero too seems to hint at it in a letter to Axius, where he says that Caesar in his consulship established the despotism which he had had in mind when he was aedile. Tanusius adds that Crassus, either conscience-stricken or moved by fear, did not appear on the day appointed for the massacre, and that therefore Caesar did not give the signal which it had been arranged that he should give; and Curio says that the arrangement was that Caesar should let his toga fall from his shoulder. Not only Curio, but Marcus Actorius Naso as well declare that Caesar made another plot with Gnaeus Piso, a young man to whom the province of Spain had been assigned unasked and out of the regular order, because he was suspected of political intrigues at Rome; that they agreed to rise in revolt at the same time, Piso abroad and Caesar at Rome, aided by the Ambrani and the peoples beyond the Po; but that Piso's death brought both their designs to naught.

10.

When aedile, Caesar decorated not only the Comitium and the Forum with its adjacent basilicas, but the Capitol as well, building temporary colonnades for the display of a part of his material. He exhibited combats with wild beasts and stage-plays too, both with his colleague and independently. The result was that Caesar alone took all the credit even for what they spent in common, and his colleague Marcus Bibulus openly said that his was the fate of Pollux: "For," said he, "just as the temple erected in the Forum to the twin brethren, bears only the name of Castor, so the joint liberality of Caesar and myself is credited to Caesar

alone.” Caesar gave a gladiatorial show besides, but with somewhat fewer pairs of combatants than he had purposed; for the huge band which he assemble from all quarters so terrified his opponents, that a bill was passed limiting the number of gladiators which anyone was to be allowed to keep in the city.

11.

Having won the goodwill of the masses, Caesar made an attempt through some of the tribunes to have the charge of Egypt given him by a decree of the commons, seizing the opportunity to ask for so irregular an appointment because the citizens of Alexandria had deposed their king, who had been named by the senate an ally and friend of the Roman people, and their action was generally condemned. He failed however because of the opposition of the aristocratic party; wishing therefore to impair their prestige in every way he could, he restored the trophies commemorating the victories of Gaius Marius over Jugurtha and over the Cimbri and Teutoni, which Sulla had long since demolished. Furthermore in conducting prosecutions for murder, he included in the number of murderers even those who had received moneys from the public treasury during the proscriptions for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, although they were expressly exempted by the Cornelian laws.

12.

He also bribed a man to bring a charge of high treason against Gaius Rabirius, who some years before had rendered conspicuous service to the senate in repressing the seditious designs of the tribune Lucius Saturninus; and when he had been selected by lot to sentence the accused, he did so with such eagerness, that when Rabirius appealed to the people, nothing was so much in his favour as the bitter hostility of his judge.

13.

After giving up hope of the special commission, he announced his candidacy for the office of pontifex maximus, resorting to the most lavish bribery. Thinking on the enormous debt which he had thus contracted, he is said to have declared to his mother on the morning of his election, as she kissed him when he was starting for the polls, that he would never return except as pontifex. And in fact he so decisively defeated two very strong competitors (for they were greatly his superiors in age and rank), that he polled more votes in their tribes than were

cast for both of them in all the tribes.

14.

When the conspiracy of Catiline was detected, and all the rest of the senate favoured inflicting the extreme penalty on those implicated in the plot, Caesar, who was now praetor elect, alone proposed that their goods be confiscated and that they be imprisoned each in a separate town. Nay, more, he inspired such fear in those who favoured severer measures, by picturing the hatred which the Roman commons would feel for them for all future time, that Decimus Silanus, consul elect, was not ashamed to give a milder interpretation to his proposal (since it would have been humiliating to change it) alleging that it had been understood in a harsher sense than he intended. Caesar would have prevailed too, for a number had already gone over to him, including Cicero, the consul's brother, had not the address of Marcus Cato kept the wavering senate in line. Yet not even then did he cease to delay the proceedings, but only when an armed troop of Roman knights that stood on guard about the place threatened him with death as he persisted in his headstrong opposition. They even drew their swords and made such passes at him that his friends who sat next him forsook him, while a few had much ado to shield him in their embrace or with their robes. Then, in evident fear, he not only yielded the point, but for the rest of the year kept aloof from the House.

15.

On the first day of his praetorship he called upon Quintus Catulus to render an account owing to the people touching the restoration of the Capitol, proposing a bill for turning over the commission to another. But he withdrew the measure, since he could not cope with the united opposition of the aristocrats, seeing that they had at once dropped their attendance on the newly elected consuls and hastily gathered in throngs, resolved on an obstinate resistance.

16.

Nevertheless, when Caecilius Metellus, tribune of the commons, brought forward some bills of a highly seditious nature in spite of the veto of his colleagues, Caesar abetted him and espoused his cause in the stubbornest fashion, until at last both were suspended from the exercise of their public functions by a decree of the senate. Yet in spite of this Caesar had the audacity to

continue in office and to hold court; but when he learned that some were ready to stop him by force of arms, he dismissed his lictors, laid aside his robe of office, and slipped off privily to his house, intending to remain in retirement because of the state of the times. Indeed, when the populace on the following day flocked to him quite of their own accord, and with riotous demonstrations offered him their aid in recovering his position, he held them in check. Since this action of his was wholly unexpected, the senate, which had been hurriedly convoked to take action about that very gathering, publicly thanked him through its leading men; then summoning him to the House and lauding him in the strongest terms, they rescinded their former decree and restored him to his rank.

17.

He again fell into danger by being named among the accomplices of Catiline, both before the commissioner Novius Niger by an informer called Lucius Vettius and in the senate by Quintus Curius, who had been voted a sum of money from the public funds as the first to disclose the plans of the conspirators. Curius alleged that his information came directly from Catiline, while Vettius actually offered to produce a letter to Catiline in Caesar's handwriting. But Caesar, thinking that such an indignity could in no wise be endured, showed by appealing to Cicero's testimony that he had of his own accord reported to the consul certain details of the plot, and thus prevented Curius from getting the reward. As for Vettius, after his bond was declared forfeit and his goods seized, he was roughly handled by the populace assembled before the rostra, and all but torn to pieces. Caesar then put him in prison, and Novius the commissioner went there too, for allowing an official of superior rank to be arraigned before his tribunal.

18.

Being allotted the province of Farther Spain after his praetorship, Caesar got rid of his creditors, who tried to detain him, by means of sureties and contrary both to precedent and law was on his way before the provinces were provided for; possibly through fear of a private impeachment or perhaps to respond more promptly to the entreaties of our allies for help. After restoring order in his province, he made off with equal haste, and without waiting for the arrival of his successor, to sue at the same time for a triumph and the consulship. But inasmuch as the day for the elections had already been announced and no account be taken of Caesar's candidacy unless he entered the city as a private

citizen, and since his intrigues to gain exemption from the laws met with general protest, he was forced to forgo the triumph, to avoid losing the consulship.

19.

Of the two other candidates for this office, Lucius Luceius and Marcus Bibulus, Caesar joined forces with the former, making a bargain with him that since Luceius had less influence but more funds, he should in their common name promise largess to the electors from his own pocket. When this became known, the aristocracy authorized Bibulus to promise the same amount, being seized with fear that Caesar would stick at nothing when he became chief magistrate, if he had a colleague who was heart and soul with him. Many of them contributed to the fund, and even Cato did not deny that bribery under such circumstances was for the good of the commonwealth.

So Caesar was chosen consul with Bibulus. With the same motives the aristocracy took care that provinces of the smallest importance should be assigned to the newly elected consuls; that is, mere woods and pastures. Thereupon Caesar, especially incensed by this slight, by every possible attention courted the goodwill of Gnaeus Pompeius, who was at odds with the senate because of its tardiness in ratifying his acts after his victory over king Mithridates. He also patched up a peace between Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, who had been enemies since their consulship, which had been one of constant wrangling. Then he made a compact with both of them, that no step should be taken in public affairs which did not suit any one of the three.

20.

Caesar's very first enactment after becoming consul was, that the proceedings both of the senate and of the people should day by day be compiled and published. He also revived a by-gone custom, that during the months when he did not have the fasces an orderly should walk before him, while the lictors followed him. He brought forward an agrarian law too, and when his colleague announced adverse omens, he resorted to arms and drove him from the Forum; and when next day Bibulus made complaint in the senate and no one could be found who ventured to make a motion, or even to express an opinion about so high-handed a proceeding (although decrees had often been passed touching less serious breaches of the peace), Caesar's conduct drove him to such a pitch of desperation, that from that time until the end of his term he did not leave his house, but merely issued proclamations announcing adverse omens.

From that time on Caesar managed all the affairs of state alone and after his own pleasure; so that sundry witty fellows, pretending by way of jest to sign and seal testamentary documents, wrote "Done in the consulship of Julius and Caesar," instead of "Bibulus and Caesar," writing down the same man twice, by name and by surname. Presently too the following verses were on everyone's lips:

"In Caesar's year, not Bibulus', an act took place of late;
For naught do I remember done in Bibulus' consulate."

The plain called Stellas, which had been devoted to public uses by the men of by-gone days, and the Campanian territory, which had been reserved to pay revenues for the aid of the government, he divided without casting lots among twenty thousand citizens who had three or more children each. When the publicans asked for relief, he freed them from a third part of their obligation, and openly warned them in contracting for taxes in the future not to bid too recklessly. He freely granted everything else that anyone took it into his head to ask, either without opposition or by intimidating anyone who tried to object. Marcus Cato, who tried to delay proceedings, was dragged from the House by a lictor at Caesar's command and taken off to prison. When Lucius Lucullus was somewhat too outspoken in his opposition, he filled him with such fear of malicious prosecution, that Lucullus actually fell on his knees before him. Because Cicero, while pleading in court, deplored the times, Caesar transferred the orator's enemy Publius Clodius that very same day from the patricians to the plebeians, a thing for which Clodius had for a long time been vainly striving; and that too at the ninth hour. Finally taking action against all the opposition in a body, he bribed an informer to declare that he had been egged on by certain men to murder Pompey, and to come out upon the rostra and name the guilty parties according to a prearranged plot. But when the informer had named one or two to no purpose and not without suspicion of double-dealing, Caesar, hopeless of the success of his over-hasty attempt, is supposed to have had him taken off by poison.

21.

At about the same time he took to wife Calpurnia, daughter of Lucius Piso, who was to succeed him in the consulship, and affianced his own daughter Julia to Gnaeus Pompeius, breaking a previous engagement with Servilius Caepio, although the latter had shortly before rendered him conspicuous service in his

contest with Bibulus. And after this new alliance he began to call upon Pompey first to give his opinion in the senate, although it had been his habit to begin with Crassus, and it was the rule for the consul in calling for opinions to continue throughout the year the order which he had established on the Kalends of January.

22.

Backed therefore by his father-in-law and son-in-law, out of all the numerous provinces he made the Gauls his choice, as the most likely to enrich him and furnish suitable material for triumphs. At first, it is true, by the bill of Vatinius he received only Cisalpine Gaul with the addition of Illyricum; but presently he was assigned Gallia Comata as well by the senate, since the members feared that even if they should refuse it, the people would give him this also. Transported with joy at this success, he could not keep from boasting a few days later before a crowded house, that having gained his heart's desire to the grief and lamentation of his opponents, he would therefore from that time mount on their heads; and when someone insultingly remarked that that would be no easy matter for any woman, he replied in the same vein that Semiramis too had been queen in Syria and the Amazons in days of old had held sway over a great part of Asia.

23.

When at the close of his consulship the praetors Gaius Memmius and Lucius Domitius moved an inquiry into his conduct during the previous year, Caesar laid the matter before the senate; and when they failed to take it up, and three days had been wasted in fruitless wrangling, went off to his province. Whereupon his quaestor was at once arraigned on several counts, as a preliminary to his own impeachment. Presently he himself too was prosecuted by Lucius Antistius, tribune of the commons, and it was only by appealing to the whole college that he contrived not to be brought to trial, on the ground that he was absent on public service. Then to secure himself for the future, he took great pains always to put the magistrates for the year under personal obligation, and not to aid any candidates or suffer any to be elected, save such as guaranteed to defend him in his absence. And he did not hesitate in some cases to exact an oath to keep this pledge or even a written contract.

24.

When however Lucius Domitius, candidate for the consulship, openly threatened to effect as consul what he had been unable to do as praetor, and to take his armies from him, Caesar compelled Pompeius and Crassus to come to Luca, a city in his province, where he prevailed on them to stand for a second consulship, to defeat Domitius; and he also succeeded through their influence in having his term as governor of Gaul made five years longer. Encouraged by this, he added to the legions which he had received from the state others at his own cost, one actually composed of men of Transalpine Gaul and bearing a Gallic name too (for it was called *Alauda*), which he trained in the Roman tactics and equipped with Roman arms; and later on he gave every man of it citizenship. After that he did not let slip any pretext for war, however unjust and dangerous it might be, picking quarrels as well with allied, as with hostile and barbarous nations; so that once the senate decreed that a commission be sent to inquire into the condition of the Gallic provinces, and some even recommended that Caesar be handed over to the enemy. But as his enterprises prospered, thanksgivings were appointed in his honour oftener and for longer periods than for anyone before his time.

25.

During the nine years of his command this is in substance what he did. All that part of Gaul which is bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Cévennes, and by the Rhine and Rhone rivers, a circuit of some 3,200 miles, with the exception of some allied states which had rendered him good service, he reduced to the form of a province; and imposed upon it a yearly tribute of 40,000,000 sesterces. He was the first Roman to build a bridge and attack the Germans beyond the Rhine; and he inflicted heavy losses upon them. He invaded the Britons too, a people unknown before, vanquished them, and exacted moneys and hostages. Amid all these successes he met with adverse fortune but three times in all: in Britain, where his fleet narrowly escaped destruction in a violent storm; in Gaul, when one of his legions was routed at Gergovia; and on the borders of Germany, when his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were ambushed and slain.

26.

Within this same space of time he lost first his mother, then his daughter, and soon afterwards his grandchild. Meanwhile, as the community was aghast at the murder of Publius Clodius, the senate had voted that only one consul should be

chosen, and expressly named Gnaeus Pompeius. When the tribunes planned to make him Pompey's colleague, Caesar urged them rather to propose to the people that he be permitted to stand for a second consulship without coming to Rome, when the term of his governorship drew near its end, to prevent his being forced for the sake of the office to leave his province prematurely and without finishing the war. On the granting of this, aiming still higher and flushed with hope, he neglected nothing in the way of lavish expenditure or of favours to anyone, either in his public capacity or privately. He began a forum with the proceeds of his spoils, the ground for which cost more than a hundred million sesterces. He announced a combat of gladiators and a feast for the people in memory of his daughter, a thing quite without precedent. To raise the expectation of these events to the highest possible pitch, he had the material for the banquet prepared in part by his own household, although he had let contracts to the markets as well. He gave orders that whenever famous gladiators fought without winning the favour of the people, they should be rescued by force and kept for him. He had the novices trained, not in a gladiatorial school by professionals, but in private houses by Roman knights and even by senators who were skilled in arms, earnestly beseeching them, as is shown by his own letters, to give the recruits individual attention and personally direct their exercises. He doubled the pay of the legions for all time. Whenever grain was plentiful, he distributed it to them without stint or measure, and now and then gave each man a slave from among the captives.

27.

Moreover, to retain his relationship and friendship with Pompey, Caesar offered him his sister's granddaughter Octavia in marriage, although she was already the wife of Gaius Marcellus, and asked for the hand of Pompey's daughter, who was promised to Faustus Sulla. When he had put all Pompey's friends under obligation, as well as the greater part of the senate, through loans made without interest or at a low rate, he lavished gifts on men of all other classes, both those whom he invited to accept his bounty and those who applied to him unasked, including even freedmen and slaves who were special favourites of their masters or patrons. In short, he was the sole and ever ready help of all who were in legal difficulties or in debt and of young spendthrifts, excepting only those whose burden of guilt or poverty was so heavy, or who were so given up to riotous living, that even he could not save them; and to these he declared in the plainest terms that what they needed was a civil war.

28.

He took no less pains to win the devotion of princes and provinces all over the world, offering prisoners to some by the thousand as a gift, and sending auxiliary troops to the aid of others whenever they wished, and as often as they wished, without the sanction of the senate or people, besides adorning the principal cities of Asia and Greece with magnificent public works, as well as those of Italy and the provinces of Gaul and Spain. At last, when all were thunder-struck at his actions and wondered what their purpose could be, the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus, after first making proclamation that he purposed to bring before the senate a matter of the highest public moment, proposed that a successor to Caesar be appointed before the end of his term, on the ground that the war was ended, peace was established, and the victorious army ought to be disbanded; also that no account be taken of Caesar at the elections, unless he were present, since Pompey's subsequent action had not annulled the decree of the people. And it was true that when Pompey proposed a bill touching the privileges of officials, in the clause whereby he debarred absentees from candidacy for office he forgot to make a special exception in Caesar's case, and did not correct the oversight until the law had been inscribed on a tablet of bronze and deposited in the treasury. Not content with depriving Caesar of his provinces and his privilege, Marcellus also moved that the colonists whom Caesar had settled in Novum Comum by the bill of Vatinius should lose their citizenship, on the ground that it had been given from political motives and was not authorized by the law.

29.

Greatly troubled by these measures, and thinking, as they say he was often heard to remark, that now that he was the leading man of the state, it was harder to push him down from the first place to the second than it would be from the second to the lowest, Caesar stoutly resisted Marcellus, partly through vetoes of the tribunes and partly through the other consul, Servius Sulpicius. When next year Gaius Marcellus, who had succeeded his cousin Marcus as consul, tried the same thing, Caesar by a heavy bribe secured the support of the other consul, Aemilius Paulus, and of Gaius Curio, the most reckless of the tribunes. But seeing that everything was being pushed most persistently, and that even the consuls elect were among the opposition, he sent a written appeal to the senate, not to take from him the privilege which the people had granted, or else to compel the others in command of armies to resign also; feeling sure, it was

thought, that he could more readily muster his veterans as soon as he wished, than Pompey his newly levied troops. He further proposed a compromise to his opponents, that after giving up eight legions and Transalpine Gaul, he be allowed to keep two legions and Cisalpine Gaul, or at least one legion and Illyricum, until he was elected consul.

30.

But when the senate declined to interfere, and his opponents declared that they would accept no compromise in a matter affecting the public welfare, he crossed to Hither Gaul, and after holding all the assizes, halted at Ravenna, intending to resort to war if the senate took any drastic action against the tribunes of the commons who interposed vetoes in his behalf. Now this was his excuse for the civil war, but it is believed that he had other motives. Gnaeus Pompeius used to declare that since Caesar's own means were not sufficient to complete the works which he had planned, nor to do all that he had led the people to expect on his return, he desired a state of general unrest and turmoil. Others say that he dreaded the necessity of rendering an account for what he had done in his first consulship contrary to the auspices and the laws, and regardless of vetoes; for Marcus Cato often declared, and took oath too, that he would impeach Caesar the moment he had disbanded his army. It was openly said too that if he was out of office on his return, he would be obliged, like Milo, to make his defence in a court hedged about by armed men. The latter opinion is the more credible one in view of the assertion of Asinius Pollio, that when Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus saw his enemies slain or in flight, he said, word for word: "They would have it so. Even I, Gaius Caesar, after so many great deeds, should have been found guilty, if I had not turned to my army for help." Some think that habit had given him a love of power, and that weighing the strength of his adversaries against his own, he grasped the opportunity of usurping the despotism which had been his heart's desire from early youth. Cicero too was seemingly of this opinion, when he wrote in the third book of his *De Officiis* that Caesar ever had upon his lips these lines of Euripides, of which Cicero himself adds a version:

"If wrong may e'er be right, for a throne's sake
Were wrong most right: — be God in all else feared."

31.

Accordingly, when word came that the veto of the tribunes had been set aside and they themselves had left the city, he at once sent on a few cohorts with all

secrecy, and then, to disarm suspicion, concealed his purpose by appearing at a public show inspecting the plans of a gladiatorial school which he intended building, and joining as usual in a banquet with a large company. It was not until after sunset that he set out very privily with a small company, taking the mules from a bakeshop hard by and harnessing them to a carriage; and when his lights went out and he lost his way, he was astray for some time, but at last found a guide at dawn and got back to the road on foot by narrow by-paths. Then, overtaking his cohorts at the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he paused for a while, and realising what a step he was taking, he turned to those about him and said: "Even yet we may draw back; but once cross yon little bridge, and the whole issue is with the sword."

32.

As he stood in doubt, this sign was given him. On a sudden there appeared hard by a being of wondrous stature and beauty, who sat and played upon a reed; and when not only the shepherds flocked to hear him, but many of the soldiers left their posts, and among them some of the trumpeters, the apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, rushed to the river, and sounding the war-note with mighty blast, strode to the opposite bank. Then Caesar cried: "Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out. The die is cast," said he.

33.

Accordingly, crossing with his army, and welcoming the tribunes of the commons, who had come to him after being driven from Rome, he harangued the soldiers with tears, and rending his robe from his breast besought their faithful service. It is even thought that he promised every man a knight's estate, but that came of a misunderstanding: for since he often pointed to the finger of his left hand as he addressed them and urged them on, declaring that to satisfy all those who helped him to defend his honour he would gladly tear this very ring from his hand, those on the edge of the assembly, who could see him better than they could hear his words, assumed that he said what his gesture seemed to mean; and so the report went about that he had promised them the right of the ring and four hundred thousand sesterces as well.

34.

The sum total of his movements after that is, in their order, as follows: He overran Umbria, Picenum, and Etruria, took prisoner Lucius Domitius, who had been irregularly named his successor, and was holding Corfinium with a garrison, let him go free, and then proceeded along the Adriatic to Brundisium, where Pompey and the consuls had taken refuge, intending to cross the sea as soon as might be. After trying by every kind of hindrance to prevent their sailing, he marched off to Rome, and after calling the senate together to discuss public business, went to attack Pompey's strongest forces, which were in Spain under command of three of his lieutenants — Marcus Petreius, Lucius Afranius, and Marcus Varro — saying to his friends before he left "I go to meet an army without a leader, and I shall return to meet a leader without an army." And in fact, though his advance was delayed by the siege of Massilia, which had shut its gates against him, and by extreme scarcity of supplies, he nevertheless quickly gained a complete victory.

35.

Returning thence to Rome, he crossed into Macedonia, and after blockading Pompey for almost four months behind mighty ramparts, finally routed him in the battle at Pharsalus, followed him in his flight to Alexandria, and when he learned that his rival had been slain, made war on King Ptolemy, whom he perceived to be plotting against his own safety as well; a war in truth of great difficulty, convenient neither in time nor place, but carried on during the winter season, within the walls of a well-provisioned and crafty foeman, while Caesar himself was without supplies of any kind and ill-prepared. Victor in spite of all, he turned over the rule of Egypt to Cleopatra and her younger brother, fearing that if he made a province of it, it might one day under a headstrong governor be a source of revolution. From Alexandria he crossed to Syria, and from there went to Pontus, spurred on by the news that Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great, had taken advantage of the situation to make war, and was already flushed with numerous successes; but Caesar vanquished him in a single battle within five days after his arrival and four hours after getting sight of him, often remarking on Pompey's good luck in gaining his principal fame as a general by victories over such feeble foemen. Then he overcame Scipio and Juba, who were patching up the remnants of their party in Africa, and the sons of Pompey in Spain.

36.

In all the civil wars he suffered not a single disaster except through his lieutenants, of whom Gaius Curio perished in Africa, Gaius Antonius fell into the hands of the enemy in Illyricum, Publius Dolabella lost a fleet also off Illyricum, and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus an army in Pontus. Personally he always fought with the utmost success, and the issue was never even in doubt save twice: once at Dyrrachium, where he was put to flight, and said of Pompey, who failed to follow up his success, that he did not know how to use a victory; again in Spain, in the final struggle, when, believing the battle lost, he actually thought of suicide.

37.

Having ended the wars, he celebrated five triumphs, four in a single month, but at intervals of a few days, after vanquishing Scipio; and another on defeating Pompey's sons. The first and most splendid was the Gallic triumph, after that the African, and finally the Spanish, each differing from the rest in its equipment and display of spoils. As he rode through the Velabrum on the day of his Gallic triumph, the axle of his chariot broke, and he was all but thrown out; and he mounted the Capitol by torchlight, with forty elephants bearing lamps on his right and his left. In his Pontic triumph he displayed among the show-pieces of the procession an inscription of but three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered," not indicating the events of the war, as the others did, but the speed with which it was finished.

38.

To each and every foot-soldier of his veteran legions he gave twenty-four thousand sesterces by way of booty, over and above the two thousand apiece which he had paid them at the beginning of the civil strife. He also assigned them lands, but not side by side, to avoid dispossessing any of the former owners. To every man of the people, besides ten pecks of grain and the same number of pounds of oil, he distributed the three hundred sesterces which he had promised at first, and one hundred apiece to boot because of the delay. He also remitted a year's rent in Rome to tenants who paid two thousand sesterces or less, and in Italy up to five hundred sesterces. He added a banquet and a dole of meat, and after his Spanish victory two dinners; for deeming that the former of these had not been served with a liberality creditable to his generosity, he gave another five days later on a most lavish scale.

He gave entertainments of divers kinds: a combat of gladiators and also stage-plays in every ward all over the city, performed too by actors of all languages, as well as races in the circus, athletic contests, and a sham sea-fight. In the gladiatorial contest in the Forum Furius Leptinus, a man of praetorian stock, and Quintus Calpenus, a former senator and pleader at the bar, fought to a finish. A Pyrrhic dance was performed by the sons of the princes of Asia and Bithynia. During the plays Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight, acted a farce of his own composition, and having been presented with five hundred thousand sesterces and a gold ring, passed from the stage through the orchestra and took his place in the fourteen rows. For the races the circus was lengthened at either end and a broad canal was dug all about it; then young men of the highest rank drove four-horse and two-horse chariots and rode pairs of horses, vaulting from one to the other. The game called Troy was performed by two troops, of younger and of older boys. Combats with wild beasts were presented on five successive days, and last of all there was a battle between two opposing armies, in which five hundred foot-soldiers, twenty elephants, and thirty horsemen engaged on each side. To make room for this, the goals were taken down and in their place two camps were pitched over against each other. The athletic competitions lasted for three days in a temporary stadium built for the purpose in the region of the Campus Martius. For the naval battle a pool was dug in the lesser Codeta and there was a contest of ships of two, three, and four banks of oars, belonging to the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, manned by a large force of fighting men. Such a throng flocked to all these shows from every quarter, that many strangers had to lodge in tents pitched in streets or along the roads, and the press was often such that many were crushed to death, including two senators.

Then turning his attention to the reorganisation of the state, he reformed the calendar, which the negligence of the pontiffs had long since so disordered, through their privilege of adding months or days at pleasure, that the harvest festivals did not come in summer nor those of the vintage in the autumn; and he adjusted the year to the sun's course by making it consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, abolishing the intercalary month, and adding one day every fourth year. Furthermore, that the correct reckoning of seasons might begin with the next Kalends of January, he inserted two other months between those of November and December; hence the year in which these arrangements were

made was one of fifteen months, including the intercalary month, which belonged to that year according to the former custom.

41.

He filled the vacancies in the senate, enrolled additional patricians, and increased the number of praetors, aediles, and quaestors, as well as of the minor officials; he reinstated those who had been degraded by official action of the censors or found guilty of bribery by verdict of the jurors. He shared the elections with the people on this basis: that except in the case of the consulship, half of the magistrates should be appointed by the people's choice, while the rest should be those whom he had personally nominated. And these he announced in brief notes like the following, circulated in each tribe: "Caesar the Dictator to this or that tribe. I commend to you so and so, to hold their positions by your votes." He admitted to office even the sons of those who had been proscribed. He limited the right of serving as jurors to two classes, the equestrian and senatorial orders, disqualifying the third class, the tribunes of the treasury.

He made the enumeration of the people neither in the usual manner nor place, but from street to street aided by the owners of blocks of houses, and reduced the number of those who received grain at public expense from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. And to prevent the calling of additional meetings at any future time for purposes of enrolment, he provided that the places of such as died should be filled each year by the praetors from those who were not on the list.

42.

Moreover, to keep up the population of the city, depleted as it was by the assignment of eighty thousand citizens to colonies across the sea, he made a law that no citizen older than twenty or younger than forty, who was not detained by service in the army, should be absent from Italy for more than three successive years; that no senator's son should go abroad except as the companion of a magistrate or on his staff; and that those who made a business of grazing should have among their herdsmen at least one-third who were men of free birth. He conferred citizenship on all who practised medicine at Rome, and on all teachers of the liberal arts, to make them more desirous of living in the city and to induce others to resort to it.

As to debts, he disappointed those who looked for their cancellation, which was often agitated, but finally decreed that the debtors should satisfy their

creditors according to a valuation of their possessions at the price what they had paid for them before the civil war, deducting from the principal whatever interest had been paid in cash or pledged through bankers; an arrangement which wiped out about a fourth part of their indebtedness. He dissolved all guilds, except those of ancient foundation. He increased the penalties for crimes; and inasmuch as the rich involved themselves in guilt with less hesitation because they merely suffered exile, without any loss of property, he punished murderers of freemen by the confiscation of all their goods, as Cicero writes, and others by the loss of one-half.

43.

He administered justice with the utmost conscientiousness and strictness. Those convicted of extortion he even dismissed from the senatorial order. He annulled the marriage of an ex-praetor, who had married a woman the very day after her divorce, although there was no suspicion of adultery. He imposed duties on foreign wares. He denied the use of litters and the wearing of scarlet robes or pearls to all except those of a designated position and age, and on set days. In particular he enforced the laws against extravagance, setting watchmen in various parts of the market, to seize and bring to him dainties which were exposed for sale in violation of the law; and sometimes he sent his lictors and soldiers to take from a dining-room any articles which had escaped the vigilance of his watchmen, even after they had been served.

44.

In particular, for the adornment and convenience of the city, also for the protection and extension of the Empire, he formed more projects and more extensive ones every day: first of all, to rear a temple of Mars, greater than any in existence, filling up and levelling the pool in which he had exhibited the sea-fight, and to build a theatre of vast size, sloping down from the Tarpeian rock; to reduce the civil code to fixed limits, and of the vast and prolix mass of statutes to include only the best and most essential in a limited number of volumes; to open to the public the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books, assigning to Marcus Varro the charge of procuring and classifying them; to drain the Pomptine marshes; to let out the water from Lake Fucinus; to make a highway from the Adriatic across the summit of the Apennines as far as the Tiber; to cut a canal through the Isthmus; to check the Dacians, who had poured into Pontus and Thrace; then to make war on the Parthians by way of Lesser Armenia, but

not to risk a battle with them until he had first tested their mettle.

All these enterprises and plans were cut short by his death. But before I speak of that, it will not be amiss to describe briefly his personal appearance, his dress, his mode of life, and his character, as well as his conduct in civil and military life.

45.

He is said to have been tall of stature with a fair complexion, shapely limbs, a somewhat full face, and keen black eyes; sound of health, except that towards the end he was subject to sudden fainting fits and to nightmare as well. He was twice attacked by the falling sickness during his campaigns. He was somewhat overnice in the care of his person, being not only carefully trimmed and shaved, but even having superfluous hair plucked out, as some have charged; while his baldness was a disfigurement would troubled him greatly, since he found that it was often the subject of the gibes of his detractors. Because of it he used to comb forward his scanty locks from the crown of his head, and of all the honours voted him by the senate and people there was none which he received or made use of more gladly than the privilege of wearing a laurel wreath at all times. They say, too, that he was remarkable in his dress; that he wore a senator's tunic with fringed sleeves reaching to the wrist, and always had a girdle over it, though rather a loose one; and this, they say, was the occasion of Sulla's mot, when he often warned the nobles to keep an eye on the ill-girt boy.

46.

He lived at first in the Subura in a modest house, but after he became pontifex maximus, in the official residence on the Sacred Way. Many have water that he was very fond of elegance and luxury; that having laid the foundations of a country-house on his estate at Nemi and finished it at great cost, he tore it all down because it did not suit him in every particular, although at the time he was still poor and heavily in debt; and that he carried tessellated and mosaic floors about with him on his campaigns.

47.

They say that he was led to invade Britain by the hope of getting pearls, and that in comparing their size he sometimes weighed them with his own hand; that he was always a most enthusiastic collector of gems, carvings, statues, and

pictures by early artists; also of slaves of exceptional figure and training at enormous prices, of which he himself was so ashamed that he forbade his entry in his accounts.

48.

It is further reported that in the provinces he gave banquets constantly in two dining-halls, in one of which his officers or Greek companions, in the other Roman civilians and the more distinguished of the provincials reclined at table. He was so punctilious and strict in the management of his household, in small matters as well as in those of greater importance, that he put his baker in irons for serving him with one kind of bread and his guests with another; and he inflicted capital punishment on a favourite freedman for adultery with the wife of a Roman knight, although no complaint was made against him.

49.

There was no stain on his reputation for chastity except his intimacy with King Nicomedes, but that was a deep and lasting reproach, which laid him open to insults from every quarter. I say nothing of the notorious lines of Licinius Calvus:

“Whate’er Bithynia had, and Caesar’s paramour.”

I pass over, too, the invectives of Dolabella and the elder Curio, in which Dolabella calls him “the queen’s rival, the inner partner of the royal couch,” and Curio, “the brothel of Nicomedes and the stew of Bithynia.” I take no account of the edicts of Bibulus, in which he posted his colleague as “the queen of Bithynia,” saying that “of yore he was enamoured of a king, but now of a king’s estate.” At this same time, so Marcus Brutus declares, one Octavius, a man whose disordered mind made him somewhat free with his tongue, after saluting Pompey as “king” in a crowded assembly, greeted Caesar as “queen.” But Gaius Memmius makes the direct charge that he acted as cup-bearer to Nicomedes with the rest of his wantons at a large dinner-party, and that among the guests were some merchants from Rome, whose names Memmius gives. Cicero, indeed, is not content with having written in sundry letters that Caesar was led by the king’s attendants to the royal apartments, that he lay on a golden couch arrayed in purple, and that the virginity of this son of Venus was lost in Bithynia; but when Caesar was once addressing the senate in defence of Nysa, daughter of Nicomedes, and was enumerating his obligations to the king, Cicero cried: “No more of that, pray, for it is well known what he gave you, and what you gave

him in turn.” Finally, in his Gallic triumph his soldiers, among the bantering songs which are usually sung by those who followed the chariot, shouted these lines, which became a by-word:

“All the Gauls did Caesar vanquish, Nicomedes vanquished him;
Lo! now Caesar rides in triumph, victor over all the Gauls,
Nicomedes does not triumph, who subdued the conqueror.”

50.

That he was unbridled and extravagant in his intrigues is the general opinion, and that he seduced many illustrious women, among them Postumia, wife of Servius Sulpicius, Lollia, wife of Aulus Gabinius, Tertulla, wife of Marcus Crassus, and even Gnaeus Pompey’s wife Mucia. At all events there is no doubt that Pompey was taken to task by the elder and the younger Curio, as well as by many others, because through a desire for power he had afterwards married the daughter of a man on whose account he divorced a wife who had borne him three children, and whom he had often referred to with a groan as an Aegisthus. But beyond all others Caesar loved Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, for whom in his first consulship he bought a pearl costing six million sesterces. During the civil war, too, besides other presents, he knocked down some fine estates to her in a public auction at a nominal price, and when some expressed their surprise at the low figure, Cicero wittily remarked: “It’s a better bargain than you think, for there is a third off.” And in fact it was thought that Servilia was prostituting her own daughter Tertia to Caesar.

51.

That he did not refrain from intrigues in the provinces is shown in particular by this couplet, which was also shouted by the soldiers in his Gallic triumph:

“Men of Rome, keep close to your consorts, here’s a bald adulterer.
Gold in Gaul you spent in dalliance, which you borrowed here in
Rome.”

52.

He had love affairs with queens too, including Eunoe the Moor, wife of Bogudes, on whom, as well as on her husband, he bestowed many splendid

presents, as Naso writes; but above all with Cleopatra, with whom he often feasted until daybreak, and he would have gone through Egypt with her in her state-barge almost to Aethiopia, had not his soldiers refused to follow him. Finally he called her to Rome and did not let her leave until he had ladened her with high honours and rich gifts, and he allowed her to give his name to the child which she bore. In fact, according to certain Greek writers, this child was very like Caesar in looks and carriage. Mark Antony declared to the senate that Caesar had really acknowledged the boy, and that Gaius Matius, Gaius Oppius, and other friends of Caesar knew this. Of these Gaius Oppius, as if admitting that the situation required apology and defence, published a book, to prove that the child whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar was not his. Helvius Cinna, tribune of the commons, admitted to several that he had a bill drawn up in due form, which Caesar had ordered him to propose to the people in his absence, making it lawful for Caesar to marry what wives he wished, and as many as he wished, "for the purpose of begetting children." But to remove all doubt that he had an evil reputation both for shameless vice and for adultery, I have only to add that the elder Curio in one of his speeches calls him "every woman's man and every man's woman."

53.

That he drank very little wine not even his enemies denied. There is a saying of Marcus Cato that Caesar was the only man who undertook to overthrow the state when sober. Even in the matter of food Gaius Oppius tells us that he was so indifferent, that once when his host served stale oil instead of fresh, and the other guests would have none of it, Caesar partook even more plentifully than usual, not to seem to charge his host with carelessness or lack of manners.

54.

Neither when in command of armies nor as a magistrate at Rome did he show a scrupulous integrity; for as certain man have declared in their memoirs, when he was proconsul in Spain, he not only begged money from the allies, to help pay his debts, but also attacked and sacked some towns of the Lusitanians although they did not refuse his terms and opened their gates to him on his arrival. In Gaul he pillaged shrines and temples of the gods filled with offerings, and oftener sacked towns for the sake of plunder than for any fault. In consequence he had more gold than he knew what to do with, and offered it for sale throughout Italy and the provinces at the rate of three thousand sesterces the

pound. In his first consulship he stole three thousand pounds of gold from the Capitol, replacing it with the same weight of gilded bronze. He made alliances and thrones a matter of barter, for he extorted from Ptolemy alone in his own name and that of Pompey nearly six thousand talents, while later on he met the heavy expenses of the civil wars and of his triumphs and entertainments by the most bare-faced pillage and sacrilege.

55.

In eloquence and in the art of war he either equalled or surpassed the fame of their most eminent representatives. After his accusation of Dolabella, he was without question numbered with the leading advocates. At all events when Cicero reviews the orators in his *Brutus*, he says that he does not see to whom Caesar ought to yield the palm, declaring that his style is elegant as well as transparent, even grand and in a sense noble. Again in a letter to Cornelius Nepos he writes thus of Caesar: "Come now, what orator would you rank above him of those who have devoted themselves to nothing else? Who has cleverer or more frequent epigrams? Who is either more picturesque or more choice in diction?" He appears, at least in his youth, to have imitated the manner of Caesar Strabo, from whose speech entitled "For the Sardinians" he actually transferred some passages word for word to a trial address of his own. He is said to have delivered himself in a high-pitched voice with impassioned action and gestures, which were not without grace. He left several speeches, including some which are attributed to him on insufficient evidence. Augustus had good reason to think that the speech "For Quintus Metellus" was rather taken down by shorthand writers who could not keep pace with his delivery, than published by Caesar himself; for in some copies I find that even the title is not "For Metellus," but, "Which he wrote for Metellus," although the discourse purports to be from Caesar's lips, defending Metellus and himself against the charges of their common detractors. Augustus also questions the authenticity of the address "To His Soldiers in Spain," although there are two sections of it, one purporting to have been spoken at the first battle, the other at the second, when Asinius Pollio writes that because of the sudden onslaught of the enemy he actually did not have time to make an harangue.

56.

He left memoirs too of his deeds in the Gallic war and in the civil strife with Pompey; for the author of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars is

unknown; some think it was Oppius, others Hirtius, who also supplied the final book of the Gallic War, which Caesar left unwritten. With regard to Caesar's memoirs Cicero, also in the *Brutus* speaks in the following terms: "He wrote memoirs which deserve the highest praise; they are naked in their simplicity, straightforward yet graceful, stripped of all rhetorical adornment, as of a garment; but while his purpose was to supply material to others, on which those who wished to write history might draw, he haply gratified silly folk, who will try to use the curling-irons on his narrative, but he has kept men of any sense from touching the subject." Of these same memoirs Hirtius uses this emphatic language: "They are so highly rated in the judgment of all men, that he seems to have deprived writers of an opportunity, rather than given them one; yet our admiration for this feat is greater than that of others; for they know how well and faultlessly he wrote, while we know besides how easily and rapidly he finished his task." Asinius Pollio thinks that they were put together somewhat carelessly and without strict regard for truth; since in many cases Caesar was too ready to believe the accounts which others gave of their actions, and gave a perverted account of his own, either designedly or perhaps from forgetfulness; and he thinks that he intended to rewrite and revise them. He left besides a work in two volumes "On Analogy," the same number of "Speeches criticising Cato," in addition to a poem, entitled "The Journey." He wrote the first of these works while crossing the Alps and returning to his army from Hither Gaul, where he had held the assizes; the second about the time of the battle of Munda, and the third in the course of a twenty-four days' journey from Rome to Farther Spain. Some letters of his to the senate are also preserved, and he seems to have been the first to reduce such documents to pages and the form of a note-book, whereas previously consuls and generals sent their reports written right across the sheet. There are also letters of his to Cicero, as well as to his intimates on private affairs, and in the latter, if he had anything confidential to say, he wrote it in cipher, that is, by so changing the order of the letters of the alphabet, that not a word could be made out. If anyone wishes to decipher these, and get at their meaning, he must substitute the fourth letter of the alphabet, namely D, for A, and so with the others. We also have mention of certain writings of his boyhood and early youth, such as the "Praises of Hercules," a tragedy "Oedipus," and a "Collection of Apophthegms"; but Augustus forbade the publication of all these minor works in a very brief and frank letter sent to Pompeius Macer, whom he had selected to set his libraries in order.

He was highly skilled in arms and horsemanship, and of incredible powers of endurance. On the march he headed his army, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, bareheaded both in the heat of the sun and in rain. He covered great distances with incredible speed, making a hundred miles a day in a hired carriage and with little baggage, swimming the rivers which barred his path or crossing them on inflated skins, and very often arriving before the messengers sent to announce his coming.

58.

In the conduct of his campaigns it is a question whether he was more cautious or more daring, for he never led his army where ambushes were possible without carefully reconnoitring the country, and he did not cross to Britain without making personal inquiries about the harbours, the course, and the approach to the island. But on the other hand, when news came that his camp in Germany was beleaguered, he made his way to his men through the enemies' pickets, disguised as a Gaul. He crossed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium in winter time, running the blockade of the enemy's fleets; and when the troops which he had ordered to follow him delayed to do so, and he had sent to fetch them many times in vain, at last in secret and alone he boarded a small boat at night with his head muffled up; and he did not reveal who he was, or suffer the helmsman to give way to the gale blowing in their teeth, until he was all but overwhelmed by the waves.

59.

No regard for religion ever turned him from any undertaking, or even delayed him. Though the victim escaped as he was offering sacrifice, he did not put off his expedition against Scipio and Juba. Even when he had a fall as he disembarked, he gave the omen a favourable turn by crying: "I hold thee fast, Africa." Furthermore, to make the prophecies ridiculous which declared that the stock of the Scipios was fated to be fortunate and invincible in that province, he kept with him in camp a contemptible fellow belonging to the Cornelian family, to whom the nickname Salvito had been given as a reproach for his manner of life.

60.

He joined battle, not only after planning his movements in advance but on a

sudden opportunity, often immediately at the end of a march, and sometimes in the foulest weather, when one would least expect him to make a move. It was not until his later years that he became slower to engage, through a conviction that the oftener he had been victor, the less he ought to tempt fate, and that he could not possibly gain as much by success as he might lose by defeat. He never put his enemy to flight without also driving him from his camp, thus giving him no respite in his panic. When the issue was doubtful, he used to send away the horses, and his own among the first, to impose upon the troops the greater necessity of standing their ground by taking away that aid to flight.

61.

He rode a remarkable horse, too, with feet that were almost human; for its hoofs were cloven in such a way as to look like toes. This horse was foaled on his own place, and since the soothsayers had declared that it foretold the rule of the world for its master, he reared it with the greatest care, and was the first to mount it, for it would endure no other rider. Afterwards, too, he dedicated a statue of it before the temple of Venus Genetrix.

62.

When his army gave way, he often rallied it single-handed, planting himself in the way of the fleeing men, laying hold of them one by one, and even catching them by the throat and forcing them to face the enemy; that, too, when they were in such a panic that an eagle-bearer made a pass at him with the point as he tried to stop him, while another left the standard in Caesar's hand when he would hold him back.

63.

His presence of mind was no less renowned, and the instances of it will appear even more striking. After the battle of Pharsalus, when he had sent on his troops and was crossing the strait of the Hellespont in a small passenger boat, he met Lucius Cassius, of the hostile party, with ten armoured ships, and made no attempt to escape, but went to meet Cassius and actually urged him to surrender; and Cassius sued for mercy and was taken on board.

64.

At Alexandria, while assaulting a bridge, he was forced by a sudden sally of

the enemy to take to a small skiff; when many others threw themselves into the same boat, he plunged into the sea, and after swimming for two hundred paces, got away to the nearest ship, holding up his left hand all the way, so as not to wet some papers which he was carrying, and dragging his cloak after him with his teeth, to keep the enemy from getting it as a trophy.

65.

He valued his soldiers neither for their personal character nor for their fortune, but solely for their prowess, and he treated them with equal strictness and indulgence; for he did not curb them everywhere and at all times, but only in the presence of the enemy. Then he required the strictest discipline, not announcing the time of a march or a battle, but keeping them ready and alert to be led on a sudden at any moment wheresoever he might wish. He often called them out even when there was no occasion for it, especially on rainy days and holidays. And warning them every now and then that they must keep close watch on him, he would steal away suddenly by day or night and make a longer march than usual, to tire out those who were tardy in following.

66.

When they were in a panic through reports about the enemy's numbers, he used to rouse their courage not by denying or discounting the rumours, but by falsely exaggerating the true danger. For instance, when the anticipation of Juba's coming filled them with terror, he called the soldiers together and said: "Let me tell you that within the next few days the king will be here with ten legions, thirty thousand horsemen, a hundred thousand light-armed troops, and three hundred elephants. Therefore some of you may as well cease to ask further questions or make surmises and may rather believe me, since I know all about it. Otherwise, I shall surely have them shipped on some worn out craft and carried off to whatever lands the wind may blow them."

67.

He did not take notice of all their offences or punish them by rule, but he kept a sharp look out for deserters and mutineers, and chastised them most severely, shutting his eyes to other faults. Sometimes, too, after a great victory he relieved of all duties and gave them full licence to revel, being in the habit of boasting that his soldiers could fight well even when reeking of perfumes. In the assembly

he addressed them not as “soldiers,” but by the more flattering term “comrades,” and he kept them in fine trim, furnishing them with arms inlaid with silver and gold, both for show and to make them hold the faster to them in battle, through fear of the greatness of the loss. Such was his love for them that when he heard of the disaster to Titurius, he let his hair and beard grow long, and would not cut them until he had taken vengeance.

68.

In this way he made them most devoted to his interests as well as most valiant. When he began the civil war, every centurion of each legion proposed to supply a horseman from his own savings, and the soldiers one and all offered their service without pay and without rations, the richer assuming the care of the poorer. Throughout the long struggle not one deserted and many of them, on being taken prisoner, refused to accept their lives, when offered them on the condition of consenting to serve against Caesar. They bore hunger and other hardships, both when in a state of siege and when besieging others, with such fortitude, that when Pompey saw in the works at Dyrrachium a kind of bread made of herbs, on which they were living, he said that he was fighting wild beasts; and he gave orders that it be put out of sight quickly and shown to none of his men, for fear that the endurance and resolution of the foe would break their spirit.

How valiantly they fought is shown by the fact that when they suffered their sole defeat before Dyrrachium, they insisted on being punished, and their commander felt called upon rather to console them than to chastise them. In the other battles they overcame with ease countless forces of the enemy, though decidedly fewer in number themselves. Indeed one cohort of the sixth legion, when set to defend a redoubt, kept four legions of Pompey at bay for several hours, though almost all were wounded by the enemy’s showers of arrows, of which a hundred and thirty thousand were picked up within the ramparts. And no wonder, when one thinks of the deeds of individual soldiers, either of Cassius Scaeva the centurion, or of Gaius Acilius of the rank and file, not to mention others. Scaeva, with one eye gone, his thigh and shoulder wounded, and his shield bored through in a hundred and twenty places, continued to guard the gate of a fortress put in his charge. Acilius in the sea-fight at Massilia grasped the stern of one of the enemy’s ships, and when his right hand was lopped off, rivalling the famous exploit of the Greek hero Cynegirus, boarded the ship and drove the enemy before him with the boss of his shield.

69.

They did not mutiny once during the ten years of the Gallic war; in the civil wars they did so now and then, but quickly resumed their duty, not so much owing to any indulgence of their general as to his authority. For he never gave way to them when they were insubordinate, but always boldly faced them, discharging the entire ninth legion in disgrace before Placentia, though Pompey was still in the field, reinstating them unwillingly and only after many abject entreaties, and insisting on punish the ringleaders.

70.

Again at Rome, when the men of the Tenth clamoured for their discharge and rewards with terrible threats and no little peril to the city, though the war in Africa was then raging, he did not hesitate to appear before them, against the advice of his friends, and to disband them. But with a single word, calling them “citizens,” instead of “soldiers,” he easily brought them round and bent them to his will; for they at once replied that they were his “soldiers” and insisted on following him to Africa, although he refused their service. Even then he punished the most insubordinate by the loss of a third part of the booty and of the land intended for them.

71.

Even when a young man he showed no lack of devotion and fidelity to his dependents. He defended Masintha, a youth of high birth, against king Hiempsal with such spirit, that in the dispute he caught the king’s son Juba by the beard. On Masintha’s being declared tributary to the king, he at once rescued him from those who would carry him off and kept him hidden for some time in his own house; and when presently he left for Spain after his praetorship, he carried the young man off in his own litter, unnoticed amid the crowd that came to see him off and the lictors with their faces.

72.

His friends he treated with invariable kindness and consideration. When Gaius Oppius was his companion on a journey through a wild, woody country and was suddenly taken ill, Caesar gave up to him the only shelter there was, while he himself slept on the ground out-of-doors. Moreover, when he came to power, he advanced some of his friends to the highest positions, even though they were of

the humblest origin, and when taken to task for it, flatly declared that if he had been helped in defending his honour by brigands and cut-throats, he would have requited even such men in the same way.

73.

On the other hand he never formed such bitter enmities that he was not glad to lay them aside when opportunity offered. Although Gaius Memmius had made highly caustic speeches against him, to which he had replied with equal bitterness, he went so far as to support Memmius afterwards in his suit for the consulship. When Gaius Calvus, after some scurrilous epigrams, took steps through his friends towards a reconciliation, Caesar wrote to him first and of his own free will. Valerius Catullus, as Caesar himself did not hesitate to say, inflicted a lasting stain on his name by the verses about Mamurra; yet when he apologised, Caesar invited the poet to dinner that very same day, and continued his usual friendly relations with Catullus's father.

74.

Even in avenging wrongs he was by nature most merciful, and when he got hold of the pirates who had captured him, he had them crucified, since he had sworn beforehand that he would do so, but ordered that their throats be cut first. He could never make up his mind to harm Cornelius Phagites, although when he was sick and in hiding, the man had waylaid him night after night, and even a bribe had barely saved him from being handed over to Sulla. The slave Philemon, his amanuensis, who had promised Caesar's enemies that he would poison him, he merely punished by death, without torture. When summoned as a witness against Publius Clodius, the paramour of his wife Pompeia, charged on the same count with sacrilege, Caesar declared that he had no evidence, although both his mother Aurelia and his sister Julia had given the same jurors a faithful account of the whole affair; and on being asked why it was then that he had put away his wife, he replied: "Because I maintain that the members of my family should be free from suspicion, as well as from accusation."

75.

He certainly showed admirable self-restraint and mercy, both in his conduct of the civil war and in the hour of victory. While Pompey announced that he would treat as enemies those who did not take up arms for the government, Caesar gave

out that those who were neutral and of neither party would be numbered with his friends. He freely allowed all those whom he had made centurions on Pompey's recommendation to go over to his rival. When conditions of surrender were under discussion at Ilerda, and friendly intercourse between the two parties was constant, Afranius and Petreius, with a sudden change of purpose, put to death all of Caesar's soldiers whom they found in their camp; but Caesar could not bring himself to retaliate in kind. At the battle of Pharsalus he cried out, "Spare your fellow citizens," and afterwards allowed each of his men to save any one man he pleased of the opposite party. And it will be found that no Pompeian lost his life except in battle, save only Afranius and Faustus, and the young Lucius Caesar; and it is believed that not even these men were slain by his wish, even though the two former had taken up arms again after being pardoned, while Caesar had not only cruelly put to death the dictator's slaves and freedmen with fire and sword, but had even butchered the wild beasts which he had procured for the entertainment of the people. At last, in his later years, he went so far as to allow all those whom he had not yet pardoned to return to Italy, and to hold magistracies and the command of armies: and he actually set up the statues of Lucius Sulla and Pompey, which had been broken to pieces by the populace. After this, if any dangerous plots were formed against him, or slanders uttered, he preferred to quash rather than to punish them. Accordingly, he took no further notice of the conspiracies which were detected, and of meetings by night, than to make known by proclamation that he was aware of them; and he thought it enough to give public warning to those who spoke ill of him, not to persist in their conduct, bearing with good nature the attacks on his reputation made by the scurrilous volume of Aulus Caecina and the abusive lampoons of Pitholaus.

76.

Yet after all, his other actions and word so turn the scale, that it is thought that he abused his power and was justly slain. For not only did he accept excessive honours, such as an uninterrupted consulship, the dictatorship for life, and the censorship of public morals, as well as the forename Imperator, the surname of Father of his Country, a statue among those of the kings, and a raised couch in the orchestra; but he also allowed honours to be bestowed on him which were too great for mortal man: a golden throne in the House and on the judgment seat; a chariot and litter in the procession at the circus; temples, altars, and statues beside those of the gods; a special priest, an additional college of the Luperci, and the calling of one of the months by his name. In fact, there were no honours which he did not receive or confer at pleasure.

He held his third and fourth consulships in name only, content with the power of the dictatorship conferred on him at the same time as the consulships. Moreover, in both years he substituted two consuls for himself for the last three months, in the meantime holding no elections except for tribunes and plebeian aediles, and appointing praefects instead of the praetors, to manage the affairs of the city during his absence. When one of the consuls suddenly died the day before the Kalends of January, he gave the vacant office for a few hours to a man who asked for it. With the same disregard of law and precedent he named magistrates for several years to come, bestowed the emblems of consular rank on ten ex-praetors, and admitted to the House men who had been given citizenship, and in some cases half-civilised Gauls. He assigned the charge of the mint and of the public revenues to his own slaves, and gave the oversight and command of the three legions which he had left at Alexandria to a favourite of his called Rufio, son of one of his freedmen.

77.

No less arrogant were his public utterances, which Titus Ampius records: that the state was nothing, a mere name without body or form; that Sulla did not know his A. B. C. when he laid down his dictatorship; that men ought now to be more circumspect in addressing him, and to regard his word as law. So far did he go in his presumption, that when a soothsayer once reported direful inwards without a heart, he said: "They will be more favourable when I wish it; it should not be regarded as a portent, if a beast has no heart."

78.

But it was the following action in particular that roused deadly hatred against him. When the Senate approached him in a body with many highly honorary decrees, he received them before the temple of Venus Genetrix without rising. Some think that when he attempted to get up, he was held back by Cornelius Balbus; others, that he made no such move at all, but on the contrary frowned angrily on Gaius Trebatius when he sued that he should rise. And this action of his seemed the more intolerable, because when he himself in one of his triumphal processions rode past the benches of the tribunes, he was so incensed because a member of the college, Pontius Aquila, did not rise, that he cried: "Come then, Aquila, take back the republic from me, you tribune"; and for several days he would not make a promise to any one without adding, "That is, if Pontius Aquila will allow me."

To an insult which so plainly showed his contempt for the Senate he added an act of even greater insolence; for at the Latin Festival, as he was returning to the city, amid the extravagant and unprecedented demonstrations of the populace, someone in the press placed on his statue a laurel wreath with a white fillet tied to it; and when Epidius Marullus and Caesetius Flavius, tribunes of the commons, gave orders that the ribbon be removed from the wreath and the man taken off to prison, Caesar sharply rebuked and deposed them, either offended that the hint at regal power had been received with so little favour, or, as he asserted, that he had been robbed of the glory of refusing it. But from that time on he could not rid himself of the odium of having aspired to the title of monarch, although he replied to the commons, when they hailed him as king, "I am Caesar and no king," and at the Lupercalia, when the consul Antony several times attempted to place a crown upon his head as he spoke from the rostra, he put it aside and at last sent it to the Capitol, to be offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Nay, more, the report had spread in various quarters that he intended to move to Ilium or Alexandria, taking with him the resources of the state, draining Italy by levies, and leaving the charge of the city to his friends; also that at the next meeting of the Senate Lucius Cotta would announce as the decision of Fifteen, that inasmuch as it was written in the books of fate that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king, Caesar should be given that title.

It was this that led the conspirators to hasten in carrying out their designs, in order to avoid giving their assent to this proposal.

Therefore the plots which had previously been formed separately, often by groups of two or three, were united in a general conspiracy, since even the populace no longer were pleased with present conditions, but both secretly and openly rebelled at his tyranny and cried out for defenders of their liberty. On the admission of foreigners to the Senate, a placard was posted: "God bless the Commonwealth! let no one consent to point out the House to a newly made senator." The following verses too were sung everywhere:

"Caesar led the Gauls in triumph, led them to the senate house;
Then the Gauls put off their breeches, and put on the laticlave."

When Quintus Maximus, whom he had appointed consul in his place for three

months, was entering the theatre, and his lictor called attention to his arrival in the usual manner, a general shout was raised: "He's no consul!" At the first election after the deposing of Caesetius and Marullus, the tribunes, several votes were found for their appointment as consuls. Some wrote on the base of Lucius Brutus' statue: "Oh, that you were still alive"; and on that of Caesar himself:

"First of all was Brutus consul, since he drove the kings from Rome;
Since this man drove out the consuls, he at last is made our king."

More than sixty joined the conspiracy against him, led by Gaius Cassius and Marcus and Decimus Brutus. At first they hesitated whether to form two divisions at the elections in the Campus Martius, so that while some hurled him from the bridge as he summoned the tribes to vote, the rest might wait below and slay him; or to set upon him in the Sacred Way or at the entrance to the theatre. When, however, a meeting of the Senate was called for the Ides of March in the Hall of Pompey, they readily gave that time and place the preference.

81.

Now Caesar's approaching murder was foretold to him by unmistakable signs. A few months before, when the settlers assigned to the colony at Capua by the Julian Law were demolishing some tombs of great antiquity, to build country houses, and plied their work with the greater vigour because as they rummaged about they found a quantity of vases of ancient workmanship, there was discovered in a tomb, which was said to be that of Capys, the founder of Capua, a bronze tablet, inscribed with Greek words and characters to this purport: "Whenever the bones of Capys shall be moved, it will come to pass that a son of Ilium shall be slain at the hands of his kindred, and presently avenged at heavy cost to Italy." And let no one think this tale a myth or a lie, for it is vouched for by Cornelius Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar. Shortly before his death, as he was told, the herds of horses which he had dedicated to the river Rubicon when he crossed it, and had let loose without a keeper, stubbornly refused to graze and wept copiously. Again, when he was offering sacrifice, the soothsayer Spurinna warned him to beware of danger, which would come not later than the Ides of March; and on the day before the Ides of that month a little bird called the king-bird flew into the Hall of Pompey with a sprig of laurel, pursued by others of various kinds from the grove hard by, which tore it to pieces in the hall. In fact the very night before his murder he dreamt now that he was flying above the clouds, and now that he was clasping the hand of Jupiter; and his wife Calpurnia

thought that the pediment of their house fell, and that her husband was stabbed in her arms; and on a sudden the door of the room flew open of its own accord.

Both for these reasons and because of poor health he hesitated for a long time whether to stay at home and put off what he had planned to do in the senate; but at last, urged by Decimus Brutus not to disappoint the full meeting which had for some time been waiting for him, he went forth almost at the end of the fifth hour; and when a note revealing the plot was handed him by someone on the way, he put it with others which he held in his left hand, intending to read them presently. Then, after several victims had been slain, and he could get favourable omens, laughing at Spurinna and calling him a false prophet, because the Ides of March were come without bringing him harm; though Spurinna replied that they had of a truth come, but they had not gone.

82.

As he took his seat, the conspirators gathered about him as if to pay their respects, and straightway Tillius Cimber, who had assumed the lead, came nearer as though to ask something; and when Caesar with a gesture put him off to another time, Cimber caught his toga by both shoulders; then as Caesar cried, "Why, this is violence!" one of the Cascas stabbed him from one side just below the throat. Caesar caught Casca's arm and ran it through with his stylus, but as he tried to leap to his feet, he was stopped by another wound. When he saw that he was beset on every side by drawn daggers, he muffled his head in his robe, and at the same time drew down its lap to his feet with his left hand, in order to fall more decently, with the lower part of his body also covered. And in this wise he was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, uttering not a word, but merely a groan at the first stroke, though some have written that when Marcus Brutus rushed at him, he said in Greek, "You too, my child?" All the conspirators made off, and he lay there lifeless for some time, and finally three common slaves put him on a litter and carried him home, with one arm hanging down. And of so many wounds none turned out to be mortal, in the opinion of the physician Antistius, except the second one in the breast.

The conspirators had intended after slaying him to drag his body to the Tiber, confiscate his property, and revoke his decrees; but they forebore through fear of Marcus Antonius the consul, and Lepidus, the master of horse.

83.

Then at the request of his father-in-law, Lucius Piso, the will was unsealed and

read in Antony's house, which Caesar had made on the preceding Ides of September at his place near Lavicum, and put in the care of the chief of the Vestals. Quintus Tubero states that from his first consulship until the beginning of the civil war it was his wont to write down Gnaeus Pompeius as his heir, and to read this to the assembled soldiers. In his last will, however, he named three heirs, his sisters' grandsons, Gaius Octavius, to three-fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius to share the remainder. At the end of the will, too, he adopted Gaius Octavius into his family and gave him his name. He named several of his assassins among the guardians of his son, in case one should be born to him, and Decimus Brutus even among his heirs in the second degree. To the people he left his gardens near the Tiber for their common use and three hundred sesterces to each man.

84.

When the funeral was announced, a pyre was erected in the Campus Martius near the tomb of Julia, and on the rostra a gilded shrine was placed, made after the model of the temple of Venus Genetrix; within was a couch of ivory with coverlets of purple and gold, and at its head a pillar hung with the robe in which he was slain. Since it was clear that the day would not be long enough for those who offered gifts, they were directed to bring them to the Campus by whatsoever streets of the city they wished, regardless of any order of precedence. At the funeral games, to rouse pity and indignation at his death, these words from the "Contest for the Arms" of Pacuvius were sung:

"Saved I these men that they might murder me?"

and words of like purport from the "Electra" of Atilius. Instead of a eulogy the consul Antonius caused a herald to recite the decree of the Senate in which it had voted Caesar all divine and human honours at once, and likewise the oath with which they had all pledged themselves to watch over his personal safety; to which he added a very few words of his own. The bier on the rostra was carried down into the Forum by magistrates and ex-magistrates; and while some were urging that it be burned in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and others in the Hall of Pompey, on a sudden two beings with swords by their sides and brandishing a pair of darts set fire to it with blazing torches, and at once the throng of bystanders heaped upon it dry branches, the judgment seats with the benches, and whatever else could serve as an offering. Then the musicians and actors tore off their robes, which they had taken from the equipment of his

triumphs and put on for the occasion, rent them to bits and threw them into the flames, and the veterans of the legions the arms with which they had adorned themselves for the funeral; many of the women too, offered up the jewels which they wore and the amulets and robes of their children.

At the height of the public grief a throng of foreigners went about lamenting each after the fashion of his country, above all the Jews, who even flocked to the place for several successive nights.

85.

Immediately after the funeral the commons ran to the houses of Brutus and Cassius with firebrands, and after being repelled with difficulty, they slew Helvius Cinna when they met him, through a mistake in the name, supposing that he was Cornelius Cinna, who had the day before made a bitter indictment of Caesar and for whom they were looking; and they set his head upon a spear and paraded it about the streets. Afterwards they set up in the Forum a solid column of Numidian marble almost twenty feet high, and inscribed upon it, "To the Father of his Country." At the foot of this they continued for a long time to sacrifice, make vows, and settle some of their disputes by an oath in the name of Caesar.

86.

Caesar left in the minds of some of his friends the suspicion that he did not wish to live longer and had taken no precautions, because of his failing health; and that therefore he neglected the warnings which came to him from portents and from the reports of his friends. Some think that it was because he had full trust in the last decree of the senators and their oath that he dismissed even the armed bodyguard of Spanish soldiers that formerly attended him. Others, on the contrary, believe that he elected to expose himself once for all to the plots that threatened him on every hand, rather than to be always anxious and on his guard. Some, too, say that he was wont to declare that it was not so much to his own interest as to that of his country that he remain alive; he had long since had his fill of power and glory; but if aught befell him, the commonwealth would have no peace, but would be plunged in strife under much worse conditions.

87.

About one thing almost all are fully agreed, that he all but desired such a death

as he met; for once when he read in Xenophon how Cyrus in his last illness gave directions for his funeral, he expressed his horror of such a lingering kind of end and his wish for one which was swift and sudden. And the day before his murder, in a conversation which arose at a dinner at the house of Marcus Lepidus, as to what manner of death was most to be desired, he had given his preference to one which was sudden and unexpected.

88.

He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was numbered among the gods, not only by a formal decree, but also in the conviction of the common people. For at the first of the games which his heir Augustus gave in honour of his apotheosis, a comet shone for seven successive days, rising about the eleventh hour, and was believed to be the soul of Caesar, who had been taken to heaven; and this is why a star is set upon the crown of his head in his statue.

It was voted that the hall in which he was slain be walled up, that the Ides of March be called the Day of Parricide, and that a meeting of the senate should never be called on that day.

89.

Hardly any of his assassins survived him for more than three years, or died a natural death. They were all condemned, and they perished in various ways — some by shipwreck, some in battle; some took their own lives with the self-same dagger with which they had impiously slain Caesar.

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS

1.

There are many indications that the Octavian family was in days of old a distinguished one at Velitrae; for not only was a street in the most frequented part of town long ago called Octavian, but an altar was shown there besides, consecrated by an Octavius. This man was leader in a war with a neighbouring town, and when news of a sudden onset of the enemy was brought to him just as he chanced to be sacrificing to Mars, he snatched the inwards of the victim from the fire and offered them up half raw; and thus he went forth to battle, and returned victorious. There was, besides, a decree of the people on record, providing that for the future too the inwards should be offered to Mars in the same way, and the rest of the victims be handed over to the Octavii.

2.

The family was admitted to the senate by king Tarquinius Priscus among the lesser clans; was later enrolled by Servius Tullius among the patricians; in course of time returned to the ranks of the plebeians; and after a long interval was restored to patrician rank by the Deified Julius. The first of the house to be elected by the people to a magistracy was Gaius Rufus, who became quaestor. He begot Gnaeus and Gaius, from whom two branches of the Octavian family were derived, of very different standing; for Gnaeus and all his scions in turn held the highest offices, but Gaius and his progeny, whether from chance or choice, remained in the equestrian order down to the father of Augustus. Augustus's great-grandfather served in Sicily in the second Punic war as tribune of the soldiers under the command of Aemilius Papus. His grandfather, content with the offices of a municipal town and possessing an abundant income, lived to a peaceful old age. This is the account given by others; Augustus himself merely writes that he came of an old and wealthy equestrian family, in which his own father was the first to become a senator. Marcus Antonius taunts him with his great-grandfather, saying that he was a freedman and a rope-maker from the country about Thurii, while his grandfather was a money-changer. This is all that I have been able to learn about the paternal ancestors of Augustus.

3.

His father Gaius Octavius was from the beginning of his life a man of wealth and repute, and I cannot but wonder that some have said that he too was a money-changer, and was even employed to distribute bribes at the elections and perform other services in the Campus; for as a matter of fact, being brought up in affluence, he readily attained to high positions and filled them with distinction. Macedonia fell to his lot at the end of his praetorship; on his way to the province, executing a special commission from the senate, he wiped out a band of runaway slaves, refugees from the armies of Spartacus and Catiline, who held possession of the country about Thurii. In governing his province he showed equal justice and courage; for besides routing the Bessi and the other Thracians in a great battle, his treatment of our allies was such, that Marcus Cicero, in letters which are still in existence, urges and admonishes his brother Quintus, who at the time was serving as proconsular governor of Asia with no great credit to himself, to imitate his neighbour Octavius in winning the favour of our allies.

4.

While returning from Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the consulship, he died suddenly, survived by three children, an elder Octavia by Ancharia, and by Atia a younger Octavia and Augustus. Atia was the daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus and Julia, sister of Gaius Caesar. Balbus, a native of Aricia on his father's side, and of a family displaying many senatorial portraits, was closely connected on his mother's side with Pompey the Great. After holding the office of praetor, he was one of the commission of twenty appointed by the Julian law to distribute lands in Campania to the commons. But Antonius again, trying to disparage the maternal ancestors of Augustus as well, twits him with having a great-grandfather of African birth, who kept first a perfumery shop and then a bakery at Aricia. Cassius of Parma also taunts Augustus with being the grandson both of a baker and of a money-changer, saying in one of his letters: "Your mother's meal came from a vulgar bakeshop of Aricia; this a money-changer from Nerulum kneaded into shape with hands stained with filthy lucre."

5.

Augustus was born just before sunrise on the ninth day before the Kalends of October in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius, at the Ox-Heads in the Palatine quarter, where he now has a shrine, built shortly after his death. For it is recorded in the proceedings of the senate, that when Gaius

Laetorius, a young man of patrician family, was pleading for a milder punishment for adultery because of his youth and position, he further urged upon the senators that he was the possessor and as it were the warden of the spot which the deified Augustus first touched at his birth, begged that he be pardoned for the sake of what might be called his own special god. Whereupon it was decreed that that part of his house should be consecrated.

6.

A small room like a pantry is shown to this day as the emperor's nursery in his grandfather's country-house near Velitrae, and the opinion prevails in the neighbourhood that he was actually born there. No one ventures to enter this room except of necessity and after purification, since there is a conviction of long-standing that those who approach it without ceremony are seized with shuddering and terror; and what is more, this has recently been shown to be true. For when a new owner, either by chance or to test the matter, went to bed in that room, it came to pass that, after a very few hours of the night, he was thrown out by a sudden mysterious force, and was found bedclothes and all half-dead before the door.

7.

In his infancy he was given the surname Thurinus in memory of the home of his ancestors, or else because it was near Thurii that his father Octavius, shortly after the birth of his son, had gained his victory over the runaway slaves. That he was surnamed Thurinus I may assert on very trustworthy evidence, since I once obtained a bronze statuette, representing him as a boy and inscribed with that name in letters of iron almost illegible from age. This I presented to the emperor, who cherishes it among the Lares of his bed-chamber. Furthermore, he is often called Thurinus in Mark Antony's letters by way of insult; to which Augustus merely replied that he was surprised that his former name was thrown in his face as a reproach. Later he took the name of Gaius Caesar and then the surname Augustus, the former by the will of his great-uncle, the latter on the motion of Munatius Plancus. For when some expressed the opinion that he ought to be called Romulus as a second founder of the city, Plancus carried the proposal that he should rather be named Augustus, on the ground that this was not merely a new title but a more honourable one, inasmuch as sacred places too, and those in which anything is consecrated by augural rites are called "august" (*augusta*), from the increase (*auctus*) in dignity, or front movements or feeding of the birds

(*avium gestus gustuve*), as Ennius also shows when he writes:
“After by augury august illustrious Rome had been founded.”

8.

At the age of four he lost his father. In his twelfth year he delivered a funeral oration to the assembled people in honour of his grandmother Julia. Four years later, after assuming the gown of manhood, he received military prizes at Caesar's African triumph, although he had taken no part in the war on account of his youth. When his uncle presently went to Spain to engage the sons of Pompey, although Augustus had hardly yet recovered his strength after a severe illness, he followed over roads beset by the enemy with only a very few companions, and that too after suffering shipwreck, and thereby greatly endeared himself to Caesar, who soon formed a high opinion of his character over and above the energy with which he had made the journey.

When Caesar, after recovering the Spanish provinces, planned an expedition against the Dacians and then against the Parthians, Augustus, who had been sent on in advance to Apollonia, devoted his leisure to study. As soon as he learned that his uncle had been slain and that he was his heir, he was in doubt for some time whether to appeal to the nearest legions, but gave up the idea as hasty and premature. He did, however, return to the city and enter upon his inheritance, in spite of the doubts of his mother and the strong opposition of his stepfather, the ex-consul Marcius Philippus. Then he levied armies and henceforth ruled the State, at first with Marcus Antonius and Marcus Lepidus, then with Antony alone for nearly twelve years, and finally by himself for forty-four.

9.

Having given as it were a summary of his life, I shall now take up its various phases one by one, not in chronological order, but by classes, to make the account clearer and more intelligible.

The civil wars which he waged were five, called by the names of Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium; the first and last of these were against Marcus Antonius, the second against Brutus and Cassius, the third against Lucius Antonius, brother of the triumvir, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus.

10.

The initial reason for all these wars was this: since he considered nothing more incumbent on him than to avenge his uncle's death and maintain the validity of his enactments, immediately on returning from Apollonia he resolved to surprise Brutus and Cassius by taking up arms against them; and when they foresaw the danger and fled, to resort to law and prosecute them for murder in their absence. Furthermore, since those who had been appointed to celebrate Caesar's victory by games did not dare to do so, he gave them himself. To be able to carry out his other plans with more authority, he announced his candidature for the position of one of the tribunes of the people, who happened to die; though he was a patrician, and not yet a senator. But when his designs were opposed by Marcus Antonius, who was then consul, and on whose help he had especially counted, and Antony would not allow him even common and ordinary justice without the promise of a heavy bribe, he went over to the aristocrats, who he knew detested Antony, especially because he was besieging Decimus Brutus at Mutina, and trying to drive him by force of arms from the province given him by Caesar and ratified by the senate. Accordingly at the advice of certain men he hired assassins to kill Antony, and when the plot was discovered, fearing retaliation he mustered veterans, by the use of all the money he could command, both for his own protection and that of the State. Put in command of the army which he had raised, with the rank of *propraetor*, and bidden to join with Hirtius and Pansa, who had become consuls, in lending aid to Decimus Brutus, he finished the war which had been entrusted to him within three months in two battles. In the former of these, so Antony writes, he took to flight and was not seen again until the next day, when he returned without his cloak and his horse; but in that which followed all agree that he played the part not only a leader, but of a soldier as well, and that, in the thick of the fight, when the eagle-bearer of his legion was sorely wounded, he shouldered the eagle and carried it for some time.

11.

As Hirtius lost his life in battle during this war, and Pansa shortly afterwards from a wound, the rumour spread that he had caused the death of both, in order that after Antony had been put to flight and the state bereft of its consuls, he might gain sole control of the victorious armies. The circumstances of Pansa's death in particular were so mysterious, that the physician Glyco was imprisoned on the charge of having applied poison to his wound. Aquilius Niger adds to this that Augustus himself slew the other consul Hirtius amid the confusion of the battle.

12.

But when he learned that Antony after his flight had found a protector in Marcus Lepidus, and that the rest of the leaders and armies were coming to terms with them, he abandoned the cause of the nobles without hesitation, alleging as a pretext for his change of allegiance the words and acts of certain of their number, asserting that some had called him a boy, while others had openly said that he ought to be honoured and got rid of, to escape the necessity of making suitable recompense to him or to his veterans. To show more plainly that he regretted his connection with the former party, he imposed a heavy fine on the people of Nursia and banished them from their city when they were unable to pay it, because they had at public expense erected a monument to their citizens who were slain in the battles at Mutina and inscribed upon it: “they fell for liberty.”

13.

Then, forming a league with Antony and Lepidus, he finished the war of Philippi also in two battles, although weakened by illness, being driven from his camp in the first battle and barely making his escape by fleeing to Antony’s division. He did not use his victory with moderation, but after sending Brutus’s head to Rome, to be cast at the feet of Caesar’s statue, he vented his spleen upon the most distinguished of his captives, not even sparing them insulting language. For instance, to one man who begged humbly for burial, he is said to have replied: “The birds will soon settle that question.” When two others, father and son, begged for their lives, he is said to have bidden them cast lots or play mora, to decide which should be spared, and then to have looked on while both died, since the father was executed because he offered to die for his son, and the latter thereupon took his own life. Because of this the rest, including Marcus Favonius, the well-known imitator of Cato, saluted Antony respectfully as Imperator, when they were led out in chains, but lashed Augustus to his face with the foulest abuse.

When the duties of administration were divided after the victory, Antony undertaking to restore order in the East, and Augustus to lead the veterans back to Italy and assign them lands in the municipalities, he could neither satisfy the veterans nor the landowners, since the latter complained that they were driven from their homes, and the former that they were not being treated as their services had led them to hope.

14.

When Lucius Antonius at this juncture attempted a revolution, relying on his position as consul and his brother's power, he forced him to take refuge in Perusia, and starved him into surrender, not, however, without great personal danger both before and during the war. For at an exhibition of games, when he had given orders that a common soldier who was sitting in the fourteen rows be put out by an attendant, the report was spread by his detractors that he had had the man killed later and tortured as well; whereupon he all but lost his life in a furious mob of soldiers, owing his escape to the sudden appearance of the missing man safe and sound. Again, when he was sacrificing near the walls of Perusia, he was well nigh cut off by a band of gladiators, who had made a sally from the town.

15.

After the capture of Perusia he took vengeance on many, meeting all attempts to beg for pardon or to make excuses with the one reply, "You must die." Some write that three hundred men of both orders were selected from the prisoners of war and sacrificed on the Ides of March like so many victims at the altar raised to the Deified Julius. Some have written that he took up arms of a set purpose, to unmask his secret opponents and those whom fear rather than good-will kept faithful to him, by giving them the chance to follow the lead of Lucius Antonius; and then by vanquishing them and confiscating their estates to pay the rewards promised to his veterans.

16.

The Sicilian war was among the first that he began, but it was long drawn out by many interruptions, now for the purpose of rebuilding his fleets, which he twice lost by shipwreck due to storms, and that, too, in the summer; and again by making peace at the demand of the people, when supplies were cut off and there was a severe famine. Finally, after new ships had been built and twenty thousand slaves set free and trained as oarsmen, he made the Julian harbour at Baiae by letting the sea into the Lucrine lake and lake Avernus. After drilling his forces there all winter, he defeated Pompey between Mylae and Naulochus, though just before the battle he was suddenly held fast by so deep a sleep that his friends had to awaken him to give the signal. And it was this, I think, that gave Antony opportunity for the taunt: "He could not even look with steady eyes at the fleet

when it was ready for battle, but lay in a stupor on his back, looking up at the sky, and did not rise or appear before the soldiers until the enemy's ships had been put to flight by Marcus Agrippa." Some censured an act and saying of his, declaring that when his fleets were lost in the storm, he cried out, "I will have the victory spite of Neptune," and that on the day when games in the Circus next occurred, he removed the statue of the god from the sacred procession. And it is safe to say that in none of his wars did he encounter more dangers or greater ones. For when he had transported an army to Sicily and was on his way back to the rest of his forces on the mainland, he was surprised by Pompey's admirals Demochares and Apollophanes and barely escaped with but a single ship. Again, as he was going on foot to Regium by way of Locri, he saw some of Pompey's biremes coasting along the shore, and taking them for his own ships and going down to the beach, narrowly escaped capture. At that same time, too, as he was making his escape by narrow bypaths, a slave of his companion Aemilius Paulus, nursing a grudge because Augustus had proscribed his master's father some time before, and thinking that he had an opportunity for revenge, attempted to slay him.

After Pompey's flight, Augustus' other colleague, Marcus Lepidus, whom he had summoned from Africa to help him, was puffed up by confidence in his twenty legions and claimed the first place with terrible threats; but Augustus stripped him of his army; and though he granted him his life when he sued for it, he banished him for all time to Circei.

17.

At last he broke off his alliance with Marcus Antonius, which was always doubtful and uncertain, and with difficulty kept alive by various reconciliations; and the better to show that his rival had fallen away from conduct becoming a citizen, he had the will which Antony had left in Rome, naming his children by Cleopatra among his heirs, opened and read before the people. But when Antony was declared a public enemy, he sent back to him all his kinsfolk and friends, among others Gaius Sosius and Titus Domitius, who were still consuls at the time. He also excused the community of Bononia from joining in the rally of all Italy to his standards, since they had been from ancient days dependents of the Antonii. Not long afterwards he won the sea-fight at Actium, where the contest continued to so late an hour that the victor passed the night on board. Having gone into winter quarters at Samos after Actium, he was disturbed by the news of a mutiny of the troops that he had selected from every division of his army and sent on to Brundisium after the victory, who demanded their rewards and

discharge; and on his way back to Italy he twice encountered storms at sea, first between the headlands of the Peloponnesus and Aetolia, and again off the Ceraunian mountains. In both places a part of his galleys were sunk, while the rigging of the ship in which he was sailing was carried away and its rudder broken. He delayed at Brundisium only twenty-seven days — just long enough to satisfy all the demands of the soldiers — and then went to Egypt by a roundabout way through Asia and Syria, laid siege to Alexandria, where Antony had taken refuge with Cleopatra, and soon took the city. Although Antony tried to make terms at the eleventh hour, Augustus forced him to commit suicide, and viewed his corpse. He greatly desired to save Cleopatra alive for his triumph, and even had Psylli brought to her, to suck the poison from her wound, since it was thought that she had died from the bite of an asp. He allowed them both the honour of burial, and in the same tomb, giving orders that the mausoleum which they had begun should be finished. The young Antony, the elder of Fulvia's two sons, he dragged from the image of the Deified Julius, to which he had fled after many vain entreaties, and slew him. Caesarion, too, whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar, he overtook in his flight, brought back, and put to death. But he spared the rest of the offspring of Antony and Cleopatra, and afterwards maintained and reared them according to their several positions, as carefully as if they were his own kin.

18.

About this time he had the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great brought forth from its shrine, and after gazing on it, showed his respect by placing upon it a golden crown and strewing it with flowers; and being then asked whether he wished to see the tomb of the Ptolemies as well, he replied, "My wish was to see a king, not corpses." He reduced Egypt to the form of a province, and then to make it more fruitful and better adapted to supply the city with grain, he set his soldiers at work cleaning out all the canals into which the Nile overflows, which in the course of many years had become choked with mud. To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate his memory, he founded a city called Nicopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every five years; enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo; and after adorning the site of the camp which he had occupied with naval trophies, consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

19.

After this he nipped in the bud at various times several outbreaks, attempts at revolution, and conspiracies, which were betrayed before they became formidable. The ringleaders were, first the young Lepidus, then Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio, later Marcus Egnatius, next Plautius Rufus and Lucius Paulus, husband of the emperor's granddaughter, and besides these Lucius Audasius, who had been charged with forgery, and was most old and feeble; also Asinius Epicadus, a half-breed of Parthian descent, and finally Telephus, slave and page of a woman; for even men of the lowest condition conspired against him and imperilled his safety. Audasius and Epicadus had planned to take his daughter Julia and his grandson Agrippa by force to the armies from the islands where they were confined, Telephus to set upon both Augustus and the senate, under the delusion that he himself was destined for empire. Even a soldier's servant from the army in Illyricum, who had escaped the vigilance of the door-keepers, was caught at night near the emperor's bed-room, armed with a hunting knife; but whether the fellow was crazy or feigned madness is a question, since nothing could be wrung from him by torture.

20.

He carried on but two foreign wars in person: in Dalmatia, when he was but a youth, and with the Cantabrians after the overthrow of Antony. He was wounded, too, in the former campaign, being struck on the right knee with a stone in one battle, and in another having a leg and both arms severely injured by the collapse of a bridge. His other wars he carried on through his generals, although he was either present at some of those in Pannonia and Germany, or was not far from the front, since he went from the city as far as Ravenna, Mediolanum, or Aquileia.

21.

In part as leader, and in part with armies serving under his auspices, he subdued Cantabria, Aquitania, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and all Illyricum, as well as Raetia and the Vindelici and Salassi, who submitted to him and were taken into Gaul and settled in lands near the Rhine. He reduced to submission other peoples, too, that were in a state of unrest.

But he never made war on any nation without just and due cause, and he was so far from desiring to increase his dominion or his military glory at any cost, that he forced the chiefs of certain barbarians to take oath in the temple of Mars the Avenger that they would faithfully keep the peace for which they asked; in

some cases, indeed, he tried exacting a new kind of hostages, namely women, realizing that the barbarians disregarded pledges secured by males; but all were given the privilege of reclaiming their hostages whenever they wished. On those who rebelled often or under circumstances of especial treachery he never inflicted any severer punishment than that of selling the prisoners, with the condition that they should not pass their term of slavery in a country near their own, nor be set free within thirty years. The reputation for prowess and moderation which he thus gained led even the Indians and the Scythians, nations known to us only by hearsay, to send envoys of their own free will and sue for his friendship and that of the Roman people. The Parthians, too, readily yielded to him, when he laid claim to Armenia, and at his demand surrendered the standards which they had taken from Marcus Crassus and Marcus Antonius; they offered him hostages besides, and once when there were several claimants of their throne, they would accept only the one whom he selected.

22.

The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been closed but twice before his time since the founding of the city, he closed three times in a far shorter period, having won peace on land and sea. He twice entered the city in an ovation, after the war of Philippi, again after that in Sicily, and he celebrated three regular triumphs for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria, all on three successive days.

23.

He suffered but two severe and ignominious defeats, those of Lollius and Varus, both of which were in Germany. Of these the former was more humiliating than serious, but the latter was almost fatal, since three legions were cut to pieces with their general, his lieutenants, and all the auxiliaries. When the news of this came, he ordered that watch be kept by night throughout the city, to prevent outbreak, and prolonged the terms of the governors of the provinces, that the allies might be held to their allegiance by experienced men with whom they were acquainted. He also vowed great games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in case the condition of the commonwealth should improve, a thing which had been done in the Cimbric and Marsic wars. In fact, they saw that he was so greatly affected that for several months in succession he cut neither his beard nor his hair, and sometimes he would dash his head against a door, crying: "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!" And he observed the day of the disaster each

year as one of sorrow and mourning.

24.

He made many changes and innovations in the army, besides reviving some usages of former times. He exacted the strictest discipline. It was with great reluctance that he allowed even his generals to visit their wives, and then only in the winter season. He sold a Roman knight and his property at public auction, because he had cut off the thumbs of two young sons, to make them unfit for military service; but when he saw that some tax-gatherers were intent upon buying him, he knocked him down to a freedman of his own, with the understanding that he should be banished to the country districts, but allowed to live in freedom. He dismissed the entire tenth legion in disgrace, because they were insubordinate, and others, too, that demanded their discharge in an insolent fashion, he disbanded without the rewards which would have been due for faithful service. If any cohorts gave way in battle, he decimated them, and fed the rest on barley. When centurions left their posts, he punished them with death, just as he did the rank and file; for faults of other kinds he imposed various ignominious penalties, such as ordering to stand all day long before the general's tent, sometimes in their tunics without their sword-belts, or again holding ten-foot poles or even a clod of earth.

25.

After the civil wars he never called any of the troops "comrades," either in the assembly or in an edict, but always "soldiers"; and he would not allow them to be addressed otherwise, even by those of his sons or stepsons who held military commands, thinking the former term too flattering for the requirements of discipline, the peaceful state of the times, and his own dignity and that of his household. Except as a fire-brigade in Rome, and when there was fear of riots in times of scarcity, he employed freedmen as soldiers only twice: once as a guard for the colonies in the vicinity of Illyricum, and again to defend the bank of the river Rhine; even these he levied, when they were slaves, from men and women of means, and at once gave them freedom; and he kept them under their original standard, not mingling them with the soldiers of free birth or arming them in the same fashion.

As military prizes he was somewhat more ready to give trappings or collars, valuable for their gold and silver, than crowns for scaling ramparts or walls, which conferred high honour; the latter he gave as sparingly as possible and

without favouritism, often even to the common soldiers. He presented Marcus Agrippa with a blue banner in Sicily after his naval victory. Those who had celebrated triumphs were the only ones whom he thought ineligible for prizes, even though they had been the companions of his campaigns and shared in his victories, on the ground that they themselves had the privilege of bestowing such honours wherever they wished. He thought nothing less becoming in a well-trained leader than haste and rashness, and, accordingly, favourite sayings of his were: "More haste, less speed"; "Better a safe commander than a bold"; and "That is done quickly enough which is done well enough." He used to say that a war or a battle should not be begun under any circumstances, unless the hope of gain was clearly greater than the fear of loss; for he likened such as grasped at slight gains with no slight risk to those who fished with a golden hook, the loss of which, if it were carried off, could not be made good by any catch.

26.

He received offices and honours before the usual age, and some of a new kind and for life. He usurped the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, leading his legions against the city as if it were that of an enemy, and sending messengers to demand the office for him in the name of his army; and when the Senate hesitated, his centurion, Cornelius, leader of the deputation, throwing back his cloak and showing the hilt of his sword, did not hesitate to say in the House, "This will make him consul, if you do not." He held his second consulship nine years later, and a third after a year's interval; the rest up to the eleventh were in successive years, then after declining a number of terms that were offered him, he asked of his own accord for a twelfth after a long interval, no less than seventeen years, and two years later for a thirteenth, wishing to hold the highest magistracy at the time when he introduced each of his sons Gaius and Lucius to public life upon their coming of age. The five consulships from the sixth to the tenth he held for the full year, the rest for nine, six, four, or three months, except the second, which lasted only a few hours; for after sitting for a short time on the curule chair in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the early morning, he resigned the honour on the Kalends of January and appointed another in his place. He did not begin all his consulships in Rome, but the fourth in Asia, the fifth on the Isle of Samos, the eighth and ninth at Tarraco.

27.

He was for ten years a member of the triumvirate for restoring the State to

order, and though he opposed his colleagues for some time and tried to prevent a proscription, yet when it was begun, he carried it through with greater severity than either of them. For while they could oftentimes be moved by personal influence and entreaties, he alone was most insistent that no one should be spared, even adding to the list his guardian Gaius Toranius, who had also been the colleague of his father Octavius in the aedileship. Julius Saturninus adds that after the proscription was over Marcus Lepidus addressed the senate in justification of the past and held out hope of leniency thereafter, since enough punishment had been inflicted; but that Augustus on the contrary declared that he had consented to end the proscription only on condition that he was allowed a free hand for the future. However, to show his regret for this inflexibility, he later honoured Titus Vinus Philopoemen with equestrian rank, because it was said that he had hidden his patron, who was on the list.

While he was triumvir, Augustus incurred general detestation by many of his acts. For example, when he was addressing the soldiers and a throng of civilians had been admitted to the assembly, noticing that Pinarius, a Roman knight, was taking notes, he ordered that he be stabbed on the spot, thinking him an eavesdropper and a spy. Because Tediis Afer, consul elect, railed at some act of his in spiteful terms, he uttered such terrible threats that Afer committed suicide. Again, when Quintus Gallius, a praetor, held some folded tablets under his robe as he was paying his respects, Augustus, suspecting that he had a sword concealed there, did not dare to make a search on the spot for fear it should turn out to be something else; but a little later he had Gallius hustled from the tribunal by some centurions and soldiers, tortured him as if he were a slave, and though he made no confession, ordered his execution, first tearing out the man's eyes with his own hand. He himself writes, however, that Gallius made a treacherous attack on him after asking for an audience, and was haled to prison; and that after he was dismissed under sentence of banishment, he either lost his life by shipwreck or was waylaid by brigands.

He received the tribunician power for life, and once or twice chose a colleague in the office for periods of five years each. He was also given the supervision of morals and of the laws for all time, and by the virtue of this position, although without the title of censor, he nevertheless took the census thrice, the first and last time with a colleague, the second time alone.

28.

He twice thought of restoring the republic; first immediately after the overthrow of Antony, remembering that his rival had often made the charge that

it was his fault that it was not restored; and again in the weariness of a lingering illness, when he went so far as to summon the magistrates and the senate to his house, and submit an account of the general condition of the empire. Reflecting, however, that as he himself would not be free from danger if he should retire, so too it would be hazardous to trust the State to the control of more than one, he continued to keep it in his hands; and it is not easy to say whether his intentions or their results were the better. His good intentions he not only expressed from time to time, but put them on record as well in an edict in the following words: "May it be my privilege to establish the State in a firm and secure position, and reap from that act the fruit that I desire; but only if I may be called the author of the best possible government, and bear with me the hope when I die that the foundations which I have laid for the State will remain unshaken." And he realized his hope by making every effort to prevent any dissatisfaction with the new régime.

Since the city was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, he so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble. He made it safe too for the future, so far as human foresight could provide for this.

29.

He built many public works, in particular the following: his forum with the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and the fane of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol. His reason for building the forum was the increase in the number of the people and of cases at law, which seemed to call for a third forum, since two were no longer adequate. Therefore it was opened to the public with some haste, before the temple of Mars was finished, and it was provided that the public prosecutions be held there apart from the rest, as well as the selection of jurors by lot. He had made a vow to build the temple of Mars in the war of Philippi, which he undertook to avenge his father; accordingly he decreed that in it the senate should consider wars and claims for triumphs, from it those who were on their way to the provinces with military commands should be escorted, and to it victors on their return should bear the tokens of their triumphs. He reared the temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the Palatine for which the soothsayers declared that the god had shown his desire by striking it with lightning. He joined to it colonnades with Latin and Greek libraries, and when he was getting to be an old man he often held meetings of the senate there as well, and revised the lists of jurors. He dedicated the shrine to Jupiter the Thunderer because of a narrow escape; for on his

Cantabrian expedition during a march by night, a flash of lightning grazed his litter and struck the slave dead who was carrying a torch before him. He constructed some works too in the name of others, his grandsons and nephew to wit, his wife and his sister, such as the colonnade and basilica of Gaius and Lucius; also the colonnades of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. More than that, he often urged other prominent men to adorn the city with new monuments or to restore and embellish old ones, each according to his means. And many such works were built at that time by many men; for example, the temple of Hercules and the Muses by Marcius Philippus, the temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius, the Hall of Liberty by Asinius Pollio, the temple of Saturn by Munatius Plancus, a theatre by Cornelius Balbus, an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus, and by Marcus Agrippa in particular many magnificent structures.

30.

He divided the area of the city into regions and wards, arranging that the former should be under the charge of magistrates selected each year by lot, and the latter under “masters” elected by the inhabitants of the respective neighbourhoods. To guard against fires he devised a system of stations of night watchmen, and to control the floods he widened and cleared out the channel of the Tiber, which had for some time been filled with rubbish and narrowed by jutting buildings. Further, to make the approach to the city easier from every direction, he personally undertook to rebuild the Flaminian Road all the way to Ariminum, and assigned the rest of the high-ways to others who had been honoured with triumphs, asking them to use their prize-money in paving them.

He restored sacred edifices which had gone to ruin through lapse of time or had been destroyed by fire, and adorned both these and the other temples with most lavish gifts, depositing in the shrine of Jupiter Capitolinus as a single offering sixteen thousand pounds of gold, besides pearls and other precious stones to the value of fifty million sesterces.

31.

After he finally had assumed the office of pontifex maximus on the death of Lepidus (for he could not make up his mind to deprive him of the honour while he lived) he collected whatever prophetic writings of Greek or Latin origin were in circulation anonymously or under the names of authors of little repute, and burned more than two thousand of them, retaining only the Sibylline books and making a choice even among those; and he deposited them in two gilded cases

under the pedestal of the Palatine Apollo. Inasmuch as the calendar, which had been set in order by the Deified Julius, had later been confused and disordered through negligence, he restored it to its former system; and in making this arrangement he called the month Sextilis by his own surname, rather than his birth-month September, because in the former he had won his first consulship and his most brilliant victories. He increased the number and importance of the priests, and also their allowances and privileges, in particular those of the Vestal virgins. Moreover, when there was occasion to choose another vestal in place of one who had died, and many used all their influence to avoid submitting their daughters to the hazard of the lot, he solemnly swore that if anyone of his granddaughters were of eligible age, he would have proposed her name. He also revived some of the ancient rites which had gradually fallen into disuse, such as the augury of Safety, the office of Flamen Dialis, the ceremonies of the Lupercalia, the Secular Games, and the festival of the Compitalia. At the Lupercalia he forbade beardless youths to join in the running, and at the Secular Games he wouldn't allow young people of either sex to attend any entertainment by night except in company with some adult relative. He provided that the Lares of the Crossroads should be crowned twice a year, with spring and summer flowers.

Next to the immortal Gods he honoured the memory of the leaders who had raised the estate of the Roman people from obscurity to greatness. Accordingly he restored the works of such men with their original inscriptions, and in the two colonnades of his forum dedicated statues of all of them in triumphal garb, declaring besides in a proclamation: "I have contrived this to lead the citizens to require me, while I live, and the rulers of later times as well, to attain the standard set by those worthies of old." He also moved the statue of Pompey from the hall in which Gaius Caesar had been slain and placed it on a marble arch opposite the grand door of Pompey's theatre.

32.

Many pernicious practices militating against public security had survived as a result of the lawless habits of the civil wars, or had even arisen in time of peace. Gangs of footpads openly went about with swords by their sides, ostensibly to protect themselves, and travellers in the country, freemen and slaves alike, were seized and kept in confinement in the workhouses of the land owners; numerous leagues, too, were formed for the commission of crimes of every kind, assuming the title of some new guild. Therefore to put a stop to brigandage, he stationed guards of soldiers wherever it seemed advisable, inspected the workhouses, and

disbanded all guilds, except such as were of long standing and formed for legitimate purposes. He burned the records of old debts to the treasury, which were by far the most frequent source of blackmail. He made over to their holders places in the city to which the claim of the state was uncertain. He struck off the lists the names of those who had long been under accusation, from whose humiliation nothing was to be gained except the gratification of their enemies, with the stipulation that if anyone was minded to renew the charge, he should be liable to the same penalty. To prevent any action for damages or on a disputed claim from falling through or being put off, he added to the term of the courts thirty more days, which had before been taken up with honorary games. To the three divisions of jurors he added a fourth of a lower estate, to be called *ducenarii* and to sit on cases involving trifling amounts. He enrolled as jurors men of thirty years or more, that is five years younger than usual. But when many strove to escape court duty, he reluctantly consented that each division in turn should have a year's exemption, and that the custom of holding court during the months of November and December should be given up.

33.

He himself administered justice regularly and sometimes up to nightfall, having a litter placed upon the tribunal, if he was indisposed, or even lying down at home. In his administration of justice he was both highly conscientious and very lenient; for to save a man clearly guilty of parricide from being sown up in the sack, a punishment which was inflicted only on those who pleaded guilty, he is said to have put the question to him in this for: "You surely did not kill your father, did you?" Again, in a case touching a forged will, in which all the signers were liable to punishment by the Cornelian Law, he distributed to the jury not merely the two tablets for condemnation or acquittal, but a third as well, for the pardon of those who were shown to have been induced to sign by misrepresentation or misunderstanding. Each year he referred appeals of cases involving foreigners to ex-consuls, of whom he had put one in charge of the business affairs of each province.

34.

He revised existing laws and enacted some new ones, for example, on extravagance, on adultery and chastity, on bribery, and on the encouragement of marriage among the various classes of citizens. Having made somewhat more stringent changes in the last of these than in the others, he was unable to carry it

out because of an open revolt against its provisions, until he had abolished or mitigated a part of the penalties, besides increasing the rewards and allowing a three years' exemption from the obligation to marry after the death of a husband or wife. When the knights even then persistently called for its repeal at a public show, he sent for the children of Germanicus and exhibited them, some in his own lap and some in their father's, intimating by his gestures and expression that they should not refuse to follow that young man's example. And on finding that the spirit of the law was being evaded by betrothal with immature girls and by frequent changes of wives, he shortened the duration of betrothals and set a limit on divorce.

35.

Since the number of the senators was swelled by a low-born and ill-assorted rabble (in fact, the senate numbered more than a thousand, some of whom, called by the vulgar *Orcivi*, were wholly unworthy, and had been admitted after Caesar's death through favour or bribery) he restored it to its former limits and distinction by two enrolments, one according to the choice of the members themselves, each man naming one other, and a second made by Agrippa and himself. On the latter occasion it is thought that he wore a coat of mail under his tunic as he presided, and a sword by his side, while ten of the most robust of his friends among the senators stood by his chair. Cremutius Cordus writes that even then the senators were not allowed to approach except one by one, and after the folds of their robes had been carefully searched. Some he shamed into resigning, but he allowed even these to retain their distinctive dress, as well as the privilege of viewing the games from the orchestra and taking part in the public banquets of the order. Furthermore, that those who were chosen and approved might perform their duties more conscientiously, and also with less inconvenience, he provided that before taking his seat each member should offer incense and wine at the altar of the god in whose temple the meeting was held; that regular meetings of the senate should be held not oftener than twice a month, on the Kalends and the Ides; and that in the months of September and October only those should be obliged to attend who were drawn by lot, to a number sufficient for the passage of decrees. He also adopted the plan of privy councils chosen by lot for terms of six months, with which to discuss in advance matters which were to come before the entire body. On questions of special importance he called upon the senators to give their opinions, not according to the order established by precedent, but just as he fancied, to induce each man to keep his mind on the alert, as if he were to initiate action rather than give assent to others.

36.

He introduced other innovations too, among them these: that the proceedings of the senate should not be published; that magistrates should not be sent to the provinces immediately after laying down their office; that a fixed sum should be allowed the proconsuls for mules and tents, which it was the custom to contract for and charge to the State; that the management of the public treasury should be transferred from the city quaestors to ex-praetors or praetors; and that the centumviral court, which it was usual for ex-quaestors to convoke, should be summoned by the Board of Ten.

37.

To enable more men to take part in the administration of the State, he devised new offices: the charge of public buildings, of the roads, of the aqueducts, of the channel of the Tiber, of the distribution of grain to the people, as well as the prefecture of the city, a board of three for choosing senators, and another for reviewing the companies of the knights whenever it should be necessary. He appointed censors, an office which had long been discontinued. He increased the number of praetors. He also demanded that whenever the consulship was conferred on him, he should have two colleagues instead of one; but this was not granted, since all cried out that it was a sufficient offence to his supreme dignity that he held the office with another and not alone.

38.

He was not less generous in honouring martial prowess, for he had regular triumphs voted to above thirty generals, and the triumphal regalia to somewhat more than that number.

To enable senators' sons to gain an earlier acquaintance with public business, he allowed them to assume the broad purple stripe immediately after the gown of manhood and to attend meetings of the senate; and when they began their military career, he gave them not merely a tribunate in a legion, but the command of a division of cavalry as well; and to furnish all of them with experience in camp life, he usually appointed two senators' sons to command each division.

He reviewed the companies of knights at frequent intervals, reviving the custom of the procession after long disuse. But he would not allow an accuser to force anyone to dismount as he rode by, as was often done in the past; and he

permitted those who were conspicuous because of old age or any bodily infirmity to send on their horses in the review, and come on foot to answer to their names whenever they were summoned. Later he excused those who were over thirty-five years of age and did not wish to retain their horses from formally surrendering them.

39.

Having obtained ten assistants from the senate, he compelled each knight to render an account of his life, punishing some of those whose conduct was scandalous and degrading others; but the greater part he reprimanded with varying degrees of severity. The mildest form of reprimand was to hand them a pair of tablets publicly, which they were to read in silence on the spot. He censured some because they had borrowed money at low interest and invested it at a higher rate.

40.

At the elections for tribunes if there were not candidates enough of senatorial rank, he made appointments from among the knights, with the understanding that after their term they might remain in whichever order they wished. Moreover, since many knights whose property was diminished during the civil wars did not venture to view the games from the fourteen rows through fear of the penalty of the law regarding theatres, he declared that none were liable to its provisions, if they themselves or their parents had ever possessed a knight's estate.

He revised the lists of the people district by district, and to prevent the commons from being called away from their occupations too often because of the distributions of grain, he determined to give out tickets for four months' supply three times a year; but at their urgent request he allowed a return to the old custom of receiving a share every month. He also revived the old time election privileges, trying to put a stop to bribery by numerous penalties, and distributing to his fellow members of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes a thousand sesterces a man from his own purse on the day of the elections, to keep them from looking for anything from any of the candidates.

Considering it also of great importance to keep the people pure and unsullied by any taint of foreign or servile blood, he was most chary of conferring Roman citizenship and set a limit to manumission. When Tiberius requested citizenship for a Grecian dependent of his, Augustus wrote in reply that he would not grant

it unless the man appeared in person and convinced him that he had reasonable grounds for the request; and when Livia asked it for a Gaul from a tributary province, he refused, offering instead freedom from tribute, and declaring that he would more willingly suffer a loss to his privy purse than the prostitution of the honour of Roman citizenship. Not content with making it difficult for slaves to acquire freedom, and still more so for them to attain full rights, by making careful provision as to the number, condition, and status of those who were manumitted, he added the proviso that no one who had ever been put in irons or tortured should acquire citizenship by any grade of freedom.

He desired also to revive the ancient fashion of dress, and once when he saw in an assembly a throng of men in dark cloaks, he cried out indignantly, "Behold them

Romans, lords of the world, the nation clad in the toga,"

and he directed the aediles never again to allow anyone to appear in the Forum or its neighbourhood except in the toga and without a cloak.

41.

He often showed generosity to all classes when occasion offered. For example, by bringing the royal treasures to Rome in his Alexandrian triumph he made ready money so abundant, that the rate of interest fell, and the value of real estate rose greatly; and after that, whenever there was an excess of funds from the property of those who had been condemned, he loaned it without interest for fixed periods to any who could give security for double the amount. He increased the property qualification for senators, requiring one million two hundred thousand sesterces, instead of eight hundred thousand, and making up the amount for those who did not possess it. He often gave largess to the people, but usually of different sums: now four hundred, now three hundred, now two hundred and fifty sesterces a man; and he did not even exclude young boys, though it had been usual for them to receive a share only after the age of eleven. In times of scarcity to he often distributed grain to each man at a very low figure, sometimes for nothing, and he doubled the money tickets.

42.

But to show that he was a prince who desired the public welfare rather than popularity, when the people complained of the scarcity and high price of wine, he sharply rebuked them by saying: "My son-in-law Agrippa has taken good care, by building several aqueducts, that men shall not go thirsty." Again, when

the people demanded largess which he had in fact promised, he replied: "I am a man of my word"; but when they called for one which had not been promised, he rebuked them in a proclamation for their shameless impudence, and declared that he would not give it, even though he was intending to do so. With equal dignity and firmness, when he had announced a distribution of money and found that many had been manumitted and added to the list of citizens, he declared that those to whom no promise had been made should receive nothing, and gave the rest less than he had promised, to make the appointed sum suffice. Once indeed in a time of great scarcity when it was difficult to find a remedy, he expelled from the city the slaves that were for sale, as well as the schools of gladiators, all foreigners with the exception of physicians and teachers, and a part of the household slaves; and when grain at last became more plentiful, he writes: "I was strongly inclined to do away forever with distributions of grain, because through dependence on them agriculture was neglected; but I did not carry out my purpose, feeling sure that they would one day be renewed through desire for popular favour." But from that time on he regulated the practice with no less regard for the interests of the farmers and grain-dealers than for those of the populace.

43.

He surpassed all his predecessors in the frequency, variety, and magnificence of his public shows. He says that he gave games four times in his own name and twenty-three times for other magistrates, who were either away from Rome or lacked means. He gave them sometimes in all the wards and on many stages with actors in all languages, and combats of gladiators not only in the Forum or the amphitheatre, but in the Circus and in the Saepta; sometimes, however, he gave nothing except a fight with wild beasts. He gave athletic contests too in the Campus Martius, erecting wooden seats; also a sea-fight, constructing an artificial lake near the Tiber, where the grove of the Caesars now stands. On such occasions he stationed guards in various parts of the city, to prevent it from falling a prey to footpads because of the few people who remained at home. In the Circus he exhibited charioteers, runners, and slayers of wild animals, who were sometimes young men of the highest rank. Besides he gave frequent performances of the game of Troy by older and younger boys, thinking it a time-honoured and worthy custom for the flower of the nobility to become known in this way. When Nonius Asprenas was lamed by a fall while taking part in this game, he presented him with a golden necklace and allowed him and his descendants to bear the surname Torquatus. But soon after he gave up that form

of entertainment, because Asinius Pollio the orator complained bitterly and angrily in the senate of an accident to his grandson Aeserninus, who also had broken his leg.

He sometimes employed even Roman knights in scenic and gladiatorial performances, but only before it was forbidden by decree of the senate. After that he exhibited no one of respectable parentage, with the exception of a young man named Lycius, whom he showed merely as a curiosity; for he was less than two feet tall, weighed but seventeen pounds, yet had a stentorian voice. He did however on the day of one of the shows make a display of the first Parthian hostages that had ever been sent to Rome, by leading them through the middle of the arena and placing them in the second row above his own seat. Furthermore, if anything rare and worth seeing was ever brought to the city, it was his habit to make a special exhibit of it in any convenient place on days when no shows were appointed. For example a rhinoceros in the Saepta, a tiger on the stage and a snake of fifty cubits in front of the Comitium.

It chanced that at the time of the games which he had vowed to give in the circus, he was taken ill and headed the sacred procession lying in a litter; again, at the opening of the games with which he dedicated the theatre of Marcellus, it happened that the joints of his curule chair gave way and he fell on his back. At the games for his grandsons, when the people were in a panic for fear the theatre should fall, and he could not calm them or encourage them in any way, he left his own place and took his seat in the part which appeared most dangerous.

44.

He put a stop by special regulations to the disorderly and indiscriminate fashion of viewing the games, though exasperation at the insult to a senator, to whom no one offered a seat in a crowded house at some largely attended games in Puteoli. In consequence of this the senate decreed that, whenever any public show was given anywhere, the first row of seats should be reserved for senators; and at Rome he would not allow the envoys of the free and allied nations to sit in the orchestra, since he was informed that even freedmen were sometimes appointed. He separated the soldiery from the people. He assigned special seats to the married men of the commons, to boys under age their own section and the adjoining one to their preceptors; and he decreed that no one wearing a dark cloak should sit in the middle of the house. He would not allow women to view even the gladiators except from the upper seats, though it had been the custom for men and women to sit together at such shows. Only the Vestal virgins were assigned a place to themselves, opposite the praetor's tribunal. As for the

contests of the athletes, he excluded women from them so strictly, that when a contest between a pair of boxers had been called for at the games in honour of his appointment as pontifex maximus, he postponed it until early the following day, making proclamation that it was his desire that women should not come to the theatre before the fifth hour.

45.

He himself usually watched the games in the Circus from the upper rooms of his friends and freedmen, but sometimes from the imperial box, and even in company with his wife and children. He was sometimes absent for several hours, and now and then for whole days, making his excuses and appointing presiding officers to take his place. But whenever he was present, he gave his entire attention to the performance, either to avoid the censure to which he realized that his father Caesar had been generally exposed, because he spent his time in reading or answering letters and petitions; or from his interest and pleasure in the spectacle, which he never denied but often frankly confessed. Because of this he used to offer special prizes and numerous valuable gifts from his own purse at games given by others, and he appeared at no contest in the Grecian fashion without making a present to each of the participants according to his deserts. He was especially given to watching boxers, particularly those of Latin birth, not merely such as were recognized and classed as professionals, whom he was wont to match even with Greeks, but the common untrained townspeople that fought rough and tumble and without skill in the narrow streets. In fine, he followed with his interest all classes of performers who took part in the public shows; maintained the privileges of the athletes and even increased them; forbade the matching of gladiators without the right of appeal for quarter; and deprived the magistrates of the power allowed them by an ancient law of punishing actors anywhere and everywhere, restricting it to the time of games and to the theatre. Nevertheless he exacted the severest discipline in the contests in the wrestling halls and the combats of the gladiators. In particular he was so strict in curbing the lawlessness of the actors, that when he learned that Stephanio, an actor of Roman plays, was waited on by a matron with hair cut short to look like a boy, he had him whipped with rods through the three theatres and then banished him. Hylas, a pantomimic actor, was publicly scourged in the atrium of his own house, on complaint of a praetor, and Pylades was expelled from the city and from Italy as well, because by pointing at him with his finger he turned all eyes upon a spectator who was hissing him.

46.

After having thus set the city and its affairs in order, he added to the population of Italy by personally establishing twenty-eight colonies; furnished many parts of it with public buildings and revenues; and even gave it, at least to some degree, equal rights and dignity with the city of Rome, by devising a kind of votes which the members of the local senate were to cast in each colony for candidates for the city offices and send under seal to Rome against the day of the elections. To keep up the supply of men of rank and induce the commons to increase and multiply, he admitted to the equestrian military career those who were recommended by any town, while to those of the commons who could lay claim to legitimate sons or daughters when he made his rounds of the districts he distributed a thousand sesterces for each child.

47.

The stronger provinces, which could neither easily nor safely be governed by annual meetings, he took to himself; the others he assigned to proconsular governors selected by lot. But he changed some of them at times from one class to the other, and often visited many of both sorts. Certain of the cities which had treaties with Rome, but were on the road to ruin through their lawlessness, he deprived of their independence; he relieved others that were overwhelmed with debt, rebuilt some which had been destroyed by earthquakes, and gave Latin rights or full citizenship to such as could point to services rendered the Roman people. I believe there is no province, excepting only Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit; and he was planning to cross to these from Sicily after his defeat of Sextus Pompeius, but was prevented by a series of violent storms, and later had neither the opportunity nor occasion to make the voyage.

48.

Except in a few instances he restored the kingdoms of which he gained possession by the right of conquest to those from whom he had taken them or joined them with other foreign nations. He also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them. He never failed to treat them all with consideration as integral parts of the empire, regularly appointing a guardian for such as were too young to rule or whose minds were affected, until they grew up or recovered; and he brought up the children of many of them and educated them

with his own.

49.

Of his military forces he assigned legions and auxiliaries to the various provinces, stationed a fleet at Misenum and another at Ravenna, to defend the Upper and Lower seas, and employed the remainder partly in the defence of the city and partly in that of his own person, disbanding a troop of Calagurritani which had formed a part of his body-guard until the overthrow of Antony, and also one of Germans, which he had retained until the defeat of Varus. However, he never allowed more than three cohorts to remain in the city and even those were without a permanent camp; the rest he regularly sent to winter or summer quarters in the towns near Rome. Furthermore, he restricted all the soldiery everywhere to a fixed scale of pay and allowances, designating the duration of their service and the rewards on its completion according to each man's rank, in order to keep them from being tempted to revolution after their discharge either by age or poverty. To have funds ready at all times without difficulty for maintaining the soldiers and paying the rewards due to them, he established a military treasury, supported by new taxes.

To enable what was going on in each of the provinces to be reported and known more speedily and promptly, he at first stationed young men at short intervals along the military roads, and afterwards post-chaises. The latter has seemed the more convenient arrangement, since the same men who bring the dispatches from any place can, if occasion demands, be questioned as well.

50.

In passports, dispatches, and private letters he used as his seal at first a sphinx, later an image of Alexander the Great, and finally his own, carved by the hand of Dioscurides; and this his successors continued to use as their seal. He always attached to all letters the exact hour, not only of the day, but even of the night, to indicate precisely when they were written.

51.

The evidences of his clemency and moderation are numerous and strong. Not to give the full list of the men of the opposite faction whom he not only pardoned and spared, but allowed to hold high positions in the state, I may say that he thought it enough to punish two plebeians, Junius Novatus and Cassius

Patavinus, with a fine and with a mild form of banishment respectively, although the former had circulated a most scathing letter about him under the name of the young Agrippa, while the latter had openly declared at a large dinner party that he lacked neither the earnest desire nor the courage to kill him. Again, when he was hearing a case against Aemilius Aelianus of Corduba and it was made the chief offence, amongst other charges, that he was in the habit of expressing a bad opinion of Caesar, Augustus turned to the accused with assumed anger and said: "I wish you could prove the truth of that. I'll let Aelianus know that I have a tongue as well as he, for I'll say even more about him;" and he made no further inquiry either at the time or afterwards. When Tiberius complained to him of the same thing in a letter, but in more forcible language, he replied as follows: "My dear Tiberius, do not be carried away by the ardour of youth in this matter, or take it too much to heart that anyone speak evil of me; we must be content if we can stop anyone from doing evil to us."

52.

Although well aware that it was usual to vote temples even to proconsuls, he would not accept one even in a province save jointly in his own name and that of Rome. In the city itself he refused this honour most emphatically, even melting down the silver statues which had been set up in his honour in former times and with the money coined from them dedicating golden tripods to Apollo of the Palatine.

When the people did their best to force the dictatorship upon him, he knelt down, threw off his toga from his shoulders and with bare breast begged them not to insist.

53.

He always shrank from the title of Lord as reproachful and insulting. When the words

"O just and gracious Lord!"

were uttered in a farce at which he was a spectator and all at people sprang to their feet and applauded as if they were said of him, he at once checked their unseemly flattery by look and gesture, and on the following day sharply reproved them in an edict. After that he would not suffer himself to be called Sire even by his children or his grandchildren either in jest or in earnest, and he forbade them to use such flattering terms even among themselves. He did not if he could help it leave or enter any city or town except in the evening or at night,

to avoid disturbing anyone by the obligations of ceremony. In his consulship he commonly went through the streets on foot, and when he was not consul, generally in a closed litter. His morning receptions were open to all, including even the commons, and he met the requests of those who approached him with great affability, jocosely reproving one man because he presented a petition to him with as much hesitation "as he would a penny to an elephant." On the day of a meeting of the senate he always greeted the members in the House and in their seats, calling each man by name without a prompter; and when he left the House, he used to take leave of them in the same manner, while they remained seated. He exchanged social calls with many, and did not cease to attend all their anniversaries, until he was well on in years and was once incommoded by the crowd on the day of a betrothal. When Gallus Cerrinius, a senator with whom he was not at all intimate, had suddenly become blind and had therefore resolved to end his life by starvation, Augustus called on him and by his consoling words induced him to live.

54.

As he was speaking in the senate someone said to him: "I did not understand," and another: "I would contradict you if I had an opportunity." Several times when he was rushing from the House in anger at the excessive bickering of the disputants, some shouted after him: "Senators ought to have the right of speaking their mind on public affairs." At the selection of senators when each member chose another, Antistius Labeo named Marcus Lepidus, an old enemy of the emperor's who was at the time in banishment; and when Augustus asked him whether there were not others more deserving of the honour, Labeo replied that every man had his own opinion. Yet for all that no one suffered for his freedom of speech or insolence.

55.

He did not even dread the lampoons against him which were scattered in the senate house, but took great pains to refute them; and without trying to discover the authors, he merely proposed that thereafter such as published notes or verses defamatory of anyone under a false name should be called to account.

56.

When he was assailed with scurrilous or spiteful jests by certain men, he made

reply in a public proclamation; yet he vetoed a law to check freedom of speech in wills. Whenever he took part in the election of magistrates, he went the round of the tribes with his candidates and appealed for them in the traditional manner. He also cast his own vote in his tribe, as one of the people. When he gave testimony in court, he was most patient in submitting to questions and even to contradiction. He made his forum narrower than he had planned, because he did not venture to eject the owners of the neighbouring houses. He never recommended his sons for office without adding "If they be worthy of it." When they were still under age and the audience at the theatre rose as one man in their honour, and stood up and applauded them, he expressed strong disapproval. He wished his friends to be prominent and influential in the state, but to be bound by the same laws as the rest and equally liable to prosecution. When Nonius Asprenas, a close friend of his, was meeting a charge of poisoning made by Cassius Severus, Augustus asked the senate what they thought he ought to do; for he hesitated, he said, for fear that if he should support him, it might be thought that he was shielding a guilty man, but if he failed to do so, that he was proving false to a friend and prejudicing his case. Then, since all approved of his appearing in the case, he sat on the benches for several hours, but in silence and without even speaking in praise of the defendant. He did however defend some of his clients, for instance a certain Scutarius, one of his former officers, who was accused of slander. But he secured the acquittal of no more than one single man, and then only by entreaty, making a successful appeal to the accuser in the presence of the jurors; this was Castricius, through whom he had learned of Murena's conspiracy.

57.

It may readily be imagined how much he was beloved because of this admirable conduct. I say nothing of decrees of the senate, which might seem to have been dictated by necessity or by awe. The Roman knights celebrated his birthday of their own accord by common consent, and always for two successive days. All sorts and conditions of men, in fulfillment of a vow for his welfare, each year threw a small coin into the Lacus Curtius, and also brought a New Year's gift to the Capitol on the Kalends of January, even when he was away from Rome. With this sum he bought and dedicated in each of the city wards costly statues of the gods, such as Apollo Sandalarius, Jupiter Tragoedus, and others. To rebuild his house on the Palatine, which had been destroyed by fire, the veterans, the guilds, the tribes, and even individuals of other conditions gladly contributed money, each according to his means; but he merely took a

little from each pile as a matter of form, not more than a denarius from any of them. On his return from a province they received him not only with prayers and good wishes, but with songs. It was the rule, too, that whenever he entered the city, no one should suffer punishment.

58.

The whole body of citizens with a sudden unanimous impulse proffered him the title of Father of his Country: first the commons, by a deputation sent to Antium, and then, because he declined it, again at Rome as he entered the theatre, which they attended in throngs, all wearing laurel wreaths: the senate afterwards in the House, not by a decree or by acclamation, but through Valerius Messala. He, speaking for the whole body, said: "Good fortune and divine favour attend thee and thy house, Caesar Augustus; for thus we feel that we are praying for lasting prosperity for our country and happiness for our city. The senate in accord with the people of Rome hails thee Father of thy Country." Then Augustus with tears in his eyes replied as follows (and I have given his exact words, as I did those of Messala): "Having attained my highest hopes, Fathers of the Senate, what more have I to ask of the immortal gods than that I may retain this same unanimous approval of yours to the very end of my life."

59.

In honour of his physician, Antonius Musa, through whose care he had recovered from a dangerous illness, a sum of money was raised and Musa's statue was set up beside that of Aesculapius. Some householders provided in their wills that their heirs should drive victims to the Capitol and pay a thank-offering in their behalf, because Augustus had survived them, and that a placard to this effect should be carried before them. Some of the Italian cities made the day on which he first visited them the beginning of their year. Many of the provinces, in addition to temples and altars, established quinquennial games in his honour in almost every one of their towns.

60.

His friends and allies among the kings each in his own realm founded a city called Caesarea, and all joined in a plan to contribute the funds for finishing the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which was begun at Athens in ancient days, and to dedicate it to his Genius; and they would often leave their kingdoms and show

him the attentions usual in dependents, clad in the toga and without the emblems of royalty, not only at Rome, but even when he was travelling through the provinces.

61.

Now that I have shown how he conducted himself in civil and military positions, and in ruling the State in all parts of the world in peace and in war, I shall next give an account of his private and domestic life, describing his character and his fortune at home and in his household from his youth until the last day of his life.

He lost his mother during his first consulship and his sister Octavia in his fifty-fourth year. To both he showed marked devotion during their lifetime, and also paid them the highest honours after their death.

62.

In his youth he was betrothed to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus, but when he became reconciled with Antony after their first quarrel, and their troops begged that the rivals be further united by some tie of kinship, he took to wife Antony's stepdaughter Claudia, daughter of Fulvia by Publius Clodius, although she was barely of marriageable age; but because of a falling out with his mother-in-law Fulvia, he divorced her before they had begun to live together. Shortly after that he married Scribonia, who had been wedded before to two ex-consuls, and was a mother by one of them. He divorced her also, "unable to put up with her shrewish disposition," as he himself writes, and at once took Livia Drusilla from her husband Tiberius Nero, although she was with child at the time; and he loved and esteemed her to the end without a rival.

63.

By Scribonia he had a daughter Julia, by Livia no children at all, although he earnestly desired issue. One baby was conceived, but was prematurely born. He gave Julia in marriage first to Marcellus, son of his sister Octavia and hardly more than a boy, and then after his death to Marcus Agrippa, prevailing upon his sister to yield her son-in-law to him; for at that time Agrippa had to wife one of the Marcellas and had children from her. When Agrippa also died, Augustus, after considering various alliances for a long time, even in the equestrian order, finally chose his stepson Tiberius, obliging him to divorce his wife, who was

with child and by whom he was already a father. Mark Antony writes that Augustus first betrothed his daughter to his son Antonius and then to Cotiso, king of the Getae, at the same time asking for the hand of the king's daughter for himself in turn.

64.

From Agrippa and Julia he had three grandsons, Gaius, Lucius, and Agrippa, and two granddaughters, Julia and Agrippina. He married Julia to Lucius Paulus, the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus his sister's grandson. Gaius and Lucius he adopted at home, privately buying them from their father by a symbolic sale, and initiated them into administrative life when they were still young, sending them to the provinces and the armies as consuls elect. In bringing up his daughter and his granddaughters he even had them taught spinning and weaving, and he forbade them to say or do anything except openly and such as might be recorded in the household diary. He was most strict in keeping them from meeting strangers, once writing to Lucius Vinicius, a young man of good position and character: "You have acted presumptuously in coming to Baiae to call on my daughter." He taught his grandsons reading, swimming, and the other elements of education, for the most part himself, taking special pains to train them to imitate his own handwriting; and he never dined in their company unless they sat beside him on the lowest couch, or made a journey unless they preceded his carriage or rode close by it on either side.

65.

But at the height of his happiness and his confidence in his family and its training, Fortune proved fickle. He found the two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, guilty of every form of vice, and banished them. He lost Gaius and Lucius within the span of eighteen months, for the former died in Lycia and the latter at Massilia. He then publicly adopted his third grandson Agrippa and at the same time his stepson Tiberius by a bill passed in the assembly of the curiae; but he soon disowned Agrippina because of his low tastes and violent temper, and sent him off to Surrentum.

He bore the death of his kin with far more resignation than their misconduct. For he was not greatly broken by the fate of Gaius and Lucius, but he informed the senate of his daughter's fall through a letter read in his absence by a quaestor, and for very shame would meet no one for a long time, and even thought of putting her to death. At all events, when one of her confidantes, a freedwoman

called Phoebe, hanged herself at about that same time, he said: "I would rather have been Phoebe's father." After Julia was banished, he denied her the use of wine and every form of luxury, and would not allow any man, bond or free, to come near her without his permission, and then not without being informed of his stature, complexion, and even of any marks or scars upon his body. It was not until five years later that he moved her from the island to the mainland and treated her with somewhat less rigour. But he could not by any means be prevailed on to recall her altogether, and when the Roman people several times interceded for her and urgently pressed their suit, he in open assembly called upon the gods to curse them with like daughters and like wives. He would not allow the child born to his granddaughter Julia after her sentence to be recognized or reared. As Agrippa grew no more manageable, but on the contrary became madder from day to day, he transferred him to an island and set a guard of soldiers over him besides. He also provided by a decree of the senate that he should be confined there for all time, and at every mention of him and of the Julias he would sigh deeply and even cry out:

"Would that I ne'er had wedded and would I had died without offspring";
and he never alluded to them except as his three boils and his three ulcers.

66.

He did not readily make friends, but he clung to them with the utmost constancy, not only suitably rewarding their virtues and deserts but even condoning their faults, provided they were not too great. In fact one cannot readily name any of his numerous friends who fell into disgrace, except Salvidienus Rufus, whom he had advanced to a consul's rank, and Cornelius Gallus, whom he had raised to the prefecture of Egypt, both from the lowest estate. The former he handed over to the senate that it might condemn him to death, because he was plotting revolution; the latter he forbade his house and the privilege of residence in the imperial provinces, because of his ungrateful and envious spirit. But when Gallus too was forced to undergo death through the declarations of his accusers and the decrees of the senate, though commending their loyalty and their indignation on his account, Augustus yet shed tears and bewailed his lot, because he alone could not set what limits he chose to his anger with his friends. All the rest continued to enjoy power and wealth to the end of their lives, each holding a leading place in his own class, although sometimes differences arose. Not to mention the others, he occasionally found Agrippa lacking in patience and Maecenas in the gift of silence; for the former because of a slight suspicion of coolness and of a preference shown for Marcellus, threw up

everything and went off to Mytilene, while the latter betrayed to his wife Terentia the secret of the discovery of the conspiracy of Murena.

In return he demanded of his friends affection on their part, both in life and after death. For though he was in no sense a legacy-hunter, and in fact could never bring himself to accept anything from the will of a stranger, yet he was highly sensitive in weighing the death-bed utterances of his friends, concealing neither his chagrin if he was left a niggardly bequest or one unaccompanied by compliments, nor his satisfaction, if he was praised in terms of gratitude and affection. Whenever legacies or shares in inheritances were left him by men of any station who had offspring, he either turned them over to the children at once, or if the latter were in their minority, paid the money back with interest on the day when they assumed the gown of manhood or married.

67.

As patron and master he was no less strict than gracious and merciful, while he held many of his freedmen in high honour and close intimacy, such as Licinus, Celadus, and others. His slave Cosmus, who spoke of him most insultingly, he merely put in irons. When he was walking with his steward Diomedes, and the latter in a panic got behind him when they were suddenly charged by a wild boar, he preferred to tax the man with timorousness rather than with anything more serious, and turned a matter of grave danger into a jest, because after all there was no evil intent. But he forced Polus, a favourite freedman of his, to take his own life, because he was convicted of adultery with Roman matrons, and broke the legs of his secretary Thallus for taking five hundred denarii to betray the contents of a letter. Because the tutor and attendants of his son Gaius took advantage of their master's illness and death to commit acts of arrogance and greed in his province, he had them thrown into a river with heavy weights about their necks.

68.

In early youth he incurred the reproach of sundry shameless acts. Sextus Pompey taunted him with effeminacy; Mark Antony with having earned adoption by his uncle through unnatural relations; and Lucius, brother of Mark Antony, that after sacrificing his honour to Caesar he had given himself to Aulus Hirtius in Spain for three hundred thousand sesterces, and that he used to singe his legs with red-hot nutshells, to make the hair grow softer. What is more, one day when there were plays in the theatre, all the people took as directed against

him and loudly applauded the following line, spoken on the stage and referring to a priest of the Mother of the Gods, as he beat his timbrel:

“See’st how a wanton’s finger sways the world?”

69.

That he was given to adultery not even his friends deny, although it is true that they excuse it as committed not from passion but from policy, the more readily to get track of his adversaries’ designs through the women of their households. Mark Antony charged him, besides his hasty marriage with Livia, with taking the wife of an ex-consul from her husband’s dining-room before his very eyes into a bed-chamber, and bringing her back to the table with her hair in disorder and her ears glowing; that Scribonia was divorced because she expressed her resentment too freely at the excessive influence of a rival; that his friends acted as his panders, and stripped and inspected matrons and well-grown girls, as if Toranius the slave-dealer were putting them up for sale. Antony also writes to Augustus himself in the following familiar terms, when he had not yet wholly broken with him privately or publicly: “What has made such a change in you? Because I lie with the queen? She is my wife. Am I just beginning this, or was it nine years ago? What then of you — do you lie only with Drusilla? Good luck to you if when you read this letter you have not been with Tertulla or Terentilla or Rufilla or Salvia Titisenia, or all of them. Does it matter where or with whom you take your pleasure?”

70.

There was besides a private dinner of his, commonly called that of the “twelve gods,” which was the subject of gossip. At this the guests appeared in the guise of gods and goddesses, while he himself was made up to represent Apollo, as was charged not merely in letters of Antony, who spitefully gives the names of all the guests, but also in these anonymous lines, which everyone knows

“As soon as that table of rascals had secured a choragus and Mallia saw six gods and six goddesses, while Caesar impiously plays the false rôle of Apollo and feasts amid novel debaucheries of the gods; then all the deities turned their faces from the earth and Jupiter himself fled from his golden throne.”

The scandal of this banquet was the greater because of dearth and famine in the land at the time, and on the following day there was an outcry that the gods had eaten all the grain and that Caesar was in truth Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor, a surname under which the god was worshipped in one part of the

city. He was criticized too as over fond of costly furniture and Corinthian bronzes and as given to gaming. Indeed, as early as the time of the proscriptions there was written on his statue

“In silver once my father dealt, now in Corinthians I,”

since it was believed that he caused some men to be entered in the list of the proscribed because of their Corinthian vases. Later, during the Sicilian war, this epigram was current:

“After he has twice been beaten at sea and lost his ships, he plays at dice all the time, in the hope of winning one victory.”

71.

Of these charges or slanders (whichever we may call them) he easily refuted that for unnatural vice by the purity of his life at the time and afterwards; so too the odium of extravagance by the fact that when he took Alexandria, he kept none of the furniture of the palace for himself except a single agate cup, and presently melted down all the golden vessels intended for everyday use. He could not dispose of the charge of lustfulness and they say that even in his later years he was fond of deflowering maidens, who were brought together for him from all quarters, even by his own wife. He did not in the least shrink from a reputation for gaming, and played frankly and openly for recreation, even when he was well on in years, not only in the month of December, but on other holidays as well, and on working days too. There is no question about this, for in a letter in his own handwriting he says: “I dined, dear Tiberius, with the same company; we had besides as guests Vinicius and the elder Silius. We gambled like old men during the meal both yesterday and to-day; for when the dice were thrown, whoever turned up the ‘dog’ or the six, put a denarius in the pool for each one of the dice, and the whole was taken by anyone who threw the ‘Venus.’” Again in another letter: “We spent the Quinquatria very merrily, my dear Tiberius, for we played all day long and kept the gaming-board warm. Your brother made a great outcry about his luck, but after all did not come out far behind in the long run; for after losing heavily, he unexpectedly and little by little got back a good deal. For my part, I lost twenty thousand sesterces, but because I was extravagantly generous in my play, as usual. If I had demanded of everyone the stakes which I let go, or had kept all that I gave away, I should have won fully fifty thousand. But I like that better, for my generosity will exalt me to immortal glory.” To his daughter he writes: “I send you two hundred and fifty denarii, the sum which I gave each of my guests, in case they wished to play at dice or at odd and even during the dinner.”

72.

In the other details of his life it is generally agreed that he was most temperate and without even the suspicion of any fault. He lived at first near the Forum Romanum, above the Stairs of the Ringmakers, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards, on the Palatine, but in the no less modest dwelling of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for size nor elegance, having but short colonnades with columns of Alban stone, and rooms without any marble decorations or handsome pavements. For more than forty years too he used the same bedroom in winter and summer; although he found the city unfavourable to his health in the winter, yet continued to winter there. If ever he planned to do anything in private or without interruption, he had a retired place at the top of the house, which he called "Syracuse" and "technyphion." In this he used to take refuge, or else in the villa of one of his freedmen in the suburbs; but whenever he was not well, he slept at Maecenas's house. For retirement he went most frequently to places by the sea and the islands of Campania, or to the towns near Rome, such as Lanuvium, Praeneste or Tibur, where he very often held court in the colonnades of the Temple of Hercules. He disliked large and sumptuous country palaces, actually razing to the ground one which his granddaughter Julia built on a lavish scale. His own villas, which were modest enough, he decorated not so much with handsome statues and pictures as with terraces, groves, and objects noteworthy for their antiquity and rarity; for example, at Capreae the monstrous bones of huge sea monsters and wild beasts, called the "bones of the giants," and the weapons of the heroes.

73.

The simplicity of his furniture and household goods may be seen from couches and tables still in existence, many of which are scarcely fine enough for a private citizen. They say that he always slept on a low and plainly furnished bed. Except on special occasions he wore common clothes for the house, made by his sister, wife, daughter or granddaughters; his togas were neither close nor full, his purple stripe neither narrow nor broad, and his shoes somewhat high-soled, to make him look taller than he really was. But he always kept shoes and clothing to wear in public ready in his room for sudden and unexpected occasions.

74.

He gave dinner parties constantly and always formally, with great regard to the rank and personality of his guests. Valerius Messala writes that he never invited a freedman to dinner with the exception of Menas, and then only when he had been enrolled among the freeborn after betraying the fleet of Sextus Pompey. Augustus himself writes that he once entertained a man at whose villa he used to stop, who had been one of his body-guard. He would sometimes come to table late on these occasions and leave early, allowing his guests to begin to dine before he took his place and keep their places after he went out. He served a dinner of three courses or of six when he was most lavish, without needless extravagance but with the greatest goodfellowship. For he drew into the general conversation those who were silent or chatted under their breath, and introduced music and actors, or even strolling players from the circus, and especially storytellers.

75.

Festivals and holidays he celebrated lavishly as a rule, but sometimes only in a spirit of fun. On the Saturnalia, and at any other time when he took it into his head, he would now give gifts of clothing or gold and silver; again coins of every device, including old pieces of the kings and foreign money; another time nothing but hair cloth, sponges, pokers and tongs, and other such things under misleading names of double meaning. He used also at a dinner party to put up for auction lottery-tickets for articles of most unequal value, and paintings of which only the back was shown, thus by the caprice of fortune disappointing or filling to the full the expectations of the purchasers, requiring however that all the guests should take part in the bidding and share the loss or gain.

76.

He was a light eater (for I would not omit even this detail) and as a rule ate of plain food. He particularly liked coarse bread, small fishes, hand-made moist cheese, and green figs of the second crop; and he would eat even before dinner, wherever and whenever he felt hungry. I quote word for word from some of his letters: "I ate a little bread and some dates in my carriage." And again: "As I was on my homeward way from the Regia in my litter, I devoured an ounce of bread and a few berries from a cluster of hard-fleshed grapes." Once more: "Not even a Jew, my dear Tiberius, fasts so scrupulously on his sabbaths as I have to-day; for it was not until after the first hour of the night that I ate two mouthfuls of bread in the bath before I began to be anointed." Because of this irregularity he

sometimes ate alone either before a dinner party began or after it was over, touching nothing while it was in progress.

77.

He was by nature most sparing also in his use of wine. Cornelius Nepos writes that in camp before Mutina it was his habit to drink not more than three times at dinner. Afterwards, when he indulged most freely he never exceeded a pint; or if he did, he used to throw it up. He liked Raetian wine best, but rarely drank before dinner. Instead he would take a bit of bread soaked in cold water, a slice of cucumber, a sprig of young lettuce, or an apple with a tart flavour, either fresh or dried.

78.

After his midday meal he used to rest for a while just as he was, without taking off his clothes or his shoes, with his feet uncovered and his hand to his eyes. After dinner he went to a couch in his study, where he remained to late at night, until he had attended to what was left of the day's business, either wholly or in great part. Then he went to bed and slept not more than seven hours at most, and not even that length of time without a break, but waking three or four times. If he could not resume his sleep when it was interrupted, as would happen, he sent for readers or story-tellers, and when sleep came to him he often prolonged it until after daylight. He would never lie awake in the dark without having someone sit by his side. He detested early rising and when he had to get up earlier than usual because of some official or religious duty, to avoid inconveniencing himself he spent the night in the room of one of his friends near the appointed place. Even so, he often suffered from want of sleep, and he would drop off while he was being carried through the streets and when his litter was set down because of some delay.

79.

He was unusually handsome and exceedingly graceful at all periods of his life, though he cared nothing for personal adornment. He was so far from being particular about the dressing of his hair, that he would have several barbers working in a hurry at the same time, and as for his beard he now had it clipped and now shaved, while at the very same time he would either be reading or writing something. His expression, whether in conversation or when he was

silent, was so calm and mild, that one of the leading men of the Gallic provinces admitted to his countrymen that it had softened his heart, and kept him from carrying out his design of pushing the emperor over a cliff, when he had been allowed to approach him under the pretence of a conference, as he was crossing the Alps. He had clear, bright eyes, in which he liked to have it thought that there was a kind of divine power, and it greatly pleased him, whenever he looked keenly at anyone, if he let his face fall as if before the radiance of the sun; but in his old age he could not see very well with his left eye. His teeth were wide apart, small, and ill-kept; his hair was slightly curly and inclining to golden; his eyebrows met. His ears were of moderate size, and his nose projected a little at the top and then bent slightly inward. His complexion was between dark and fair. He was short of stature (although Julius Marathus, his freedman and keeper of his records, says that he was five feet and nine inches in height), but this was concealed by the fine proportion and symmetry of his figure, and was noticeable only by comparison with some taller person standing beside him.

80.

It is said that his body was covered with spots and that he had birthmarks scattered over his breast and belly, corresponding in form, order and number with the stars of the Bear in the heavens; also numerous callous places resembling ringworm, caused by a constant itching of his body and a vigorous use of the strigil. He was not very strong in his left hip, thigh, and leg, and even limped slightly at times; but he strengthened them by treatment with sand and reeds. He sometimes found the forefinger of his right hand so weak, when it was numb and shrunken with the cold, that he could hardly use it for writing even with the aid of a finger-stall of horn. He complained of his bladder too, and was relieved of the pain only after passing stones in his urine.

81.

In the course of his life he suffered from several severe and dangerous illnesses, especially after the subjugation of Cantabria, when he was in such a desperate plight from abscesses of the liver, that he was forced to submit to an unprecedented and hazardous course of treatment. Since hot fomentations gave him no relief, he was led by the advice of his physician Antonius Musa to try cold ones.

He experienced also some disorders which recurred every year at definite times; for he was commonly ailing just before his birthday; and at the beginning

of spring he was troubled with an enlargement of the diaphragm, and when the wind was in the south, with catarrh. Hence his constitution was so weakened that he could not readily endure either cold or heat.

82.

In winter he protected himself with four tunics and a heavy toga, besides an undershirt, a woollen chest-protector and wraps for his thighs and shins, while in summer he slept with the doors of his bed-room open, oftentimes in the open court near a fountain, besides having someone to fan him. Yet he could not endure the sun even in winter, and never walked in the open air without wearing a broad-brimmed hat, even at home. He travelled in a litter, usually at night, and by such slow and easy stages that he took two days to go to Praeneste or Tibur; and if he could reach his destination by sea, he preferred to sail. Yet in spite of all he made good his weakness by great care, especially by moderation in bathing; for as a rule he was anointed or took sweat by a fire, after which he was doused with water either lukewarm or tepid from long exposure to the sun. When however he had to use hot salt water and sulphur baths for rheumatism, he contented himself with sitting on a wooden bath-seat, which he called by the Spanish name *dureta*, and plunging his hands and feet in the water one after the other.

83.

Immediately after the civil war he gave up exercise with horses and arms in the Campus Martius, at first turning to pass-ball and balloon-ball, but soon confining himself to riding or taking a walk, ending the latter by running and leaping, wrapped in a mantle or a blanket. To divert his mind he sometimes angled and sometimes played at dice, marbles and nuts with little boys, searching everywhere for such as were attractive for their pretty faces or their prattle, especially Syrians or Moors; for he abhorred dwarfs, cripples, and everything of that sort, as freaks of nature and of ill omen.

84.

From early youth he devoted himself eagerly and with utmost diligence to oratory and liberal studies. During the war at Mutina, amid such a press of affairs, he is said to have read, written and declaimed every day. In fact he never afterwards spoke in the senate, or to the people or the soldiers, except in a

studied and written address, although he did not lack the gift of speaking offhand without preparation. Moreover, to avoid the danger of forgetting what he was to say, or wasting time in committing it to memory, he adopted the practice of reading everything from a manuscript. Even his conversations with individuals and the more important of those with his own wife Livia, he always wrote out and read from a note-book, for fear of saying too much or too little if he spoke offhand. He had an agreeable and rather characteristic enunciation, and he practised constantly with a teacher of elocution; but sometimes because of weakness of the throat he addressed the people through a herald.

85.

He wrote numerous works of various kinds in prose, some of which he read to a group of his intimate friends, as others did in a lecture-room; for example, his "Reply to Brutus on Cato." At the reading of these volumes he had all but come to the end, when he grew tired and handed them to Tiberius to finish, for he was well on in years. He also wrote "Exhortations to Philosophy" and some volumes of an Autobiography, giving an account of his life in thirteen books up to the time of the Cantabrian war, but no farther. His essays in poetry were but slight. One book has come down to us written in hexameter verse, of which the subject and the title is "Sicily." There is another, equally brief, of "Epigrams," which he composed for the most part at the time of the bath. Though he began a tragedy with much enthusiasm, he destroyed it because his style did not satisfy him, and when some of his friends asked him what in the world had become of Ajax, he answered that "his Ajax had fallen on his sponge."

86.

He cultivated a style of speaking that was chaste and elegant, avoiding the vanity of attempts at epigram and an artificial order, and as he himself expresses it, "the noisomeness of far-fetched words," making it his chief aim to express his thought as clearly as possible. With this end in view, to avoid confusing and checking his reader or hearer at any point, he did not hesitate to use prepositions with names of cities, nor to repeat conjunctions several times, the omission of which causes some obscurity, though it adds grace. He looked on innovators and archaizers with equal contempt, as faulty in opposite directions, and he sometimes had a fling at them, in particular his friend Maecenas, whose "unguent-dripping curls," as he calls them, he loses no opportunity of belabouring and pokes fun at them by parody. He did not spare even Tiberius,

who sometimes hunted up obsolete and pedantic expressions; and as for Mark Antony, he calls him a madman, for writing rather to be admired than to be understood. Then going on to ridicule his perverse and inconsistent taste in choosing an oratorical style, he adds the following: "Can you doubt whether you ought to imitate Annius Cimber or Veranius Flaccus, that you use the words which Sallustius Crispus gleaned from Cato's *Origines*? Or would you rather introduce into our tongue the verbose and unmeaning fluency of the Asiatic orators?" And in a letter praising the talent of his granddaughter Agrippina he writes: "But you must take great care not to write and talk affectedly."

87.

That in his everyday conversation he used certain favourite and peculiar expressions appears from letters in his own hand, in which he says every now and then, when he wished to indicate that certain men will never pay, that "they will pay on the Greek Kalends." Urging his correspondent to put up with present circumstances, such as they were, he says: "Let's be satisfied with the Cato we have;" and to express the speed of a hasty action, "Quicker than you can cook asparagus." He continually used *baceolus* (dolt) for *stultus* (fool), for *pullus* (dark) *pulleiaceus* (darkish), for *cerritus* (mad) *vacerrosus* (blockhead); also *vapide se habere* (feel flat) for *male se habere* (feel badly) and *betizare* (be like a beet) for *languere* (be weak), for which the vulgar term is *lachanizare*. Besides he used *simus* for *sumus* and *domos* in the genitive singular instead of *domuos*. The last two forms he wrote invariably, for fear they should be thought errors rather than a habit.

I have also observed this special peculiarity in his manner of writing: he does not divide words or carry superfluous letters from the end of one line to the beginning of the next, but writes them just below the rest of the word and draws a loop around them.

88.

He does not strictly comply with orthography, that is to say the theoretical rules of spelling laid down by the grammarians, seeming to be rather of the mind of those who believe that we should spell exactly as we pronounce. Of course his frequent transposition or omission of syllables as well as of letters are slips common to all mankind. I should not have noted this, did it not seem to me surprising that some have written that he cashiered a consular governor, as an uncultivated and ignorant fellow, because he observed that he had written *ixi* for

ipsi. Whenever he wrote in cipher, he wrote B for A, C for B, and the rest of the letters on the same principle, using AA for X.

89.

He was equally interested in Greek studies, and in these too he excelled greatly. His teacher of declamation was Apollodorus of Pergamon, whom he even took with him in his youthful days from Rome to Apollonia, though Apollodorus was an old man at the time. Later he became versed in various forms of learning through association with the philosopher Areus and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor. Yet he never acquired the ability to speak Greek fluently or to compose anything in it; for if he had occasion to use the language, he wrote what he had to say in Latin and gave it to someone else to translate. Still he was far from being ignorant of Greek poetry, even taking pleasure in the Old Comedy and frequently staging it at his public entertainments. In reading the writers of both tongues there was nothing for which he looked so carefully as precepts and examples instructive to the public or to individuals; these he would often copy word for word, and send to the members of his household, or to his generals and provincial governors, whenever any of them required admonition. He even read entire volumes to the senate and called the attention of the people to them by proclamations; for example, the speeches of Quintus Metellus "On Increasing the Family," and of Rutilius "On the Height of Buildings"; to convince them that he was not the first to give attention to such matters, but that they had aroused the interest even of their forefathers.

He gave every encouragement to the men of talent of his own age, listening with courtesy and patience to their readings, not only of poetry and history, but of speeches and dialogues as well. But he took offence at being made the subject of any composition except in serious earnest and by the most eminent writers, often charging the praetors not to let his name be cheapened in prize declamations.

90.

This is what we are told of his attitude towards matters of religion. He was somewhat weak in his fear of thunder and lightning, for he always carried a seal-skin about with him everywhere as a protection, and at any sign of a violent storm took refuge in an underground vaulted room; for as I have said, he was once badly frightened by a narrow escape from lightning during a journey by night.

91.

He was not indifferent to his own dreams or to those which others dreamed about him. At the battle of Philippi, though he had made up his mind not to leave his tent because of illness, he did so after all when warned by a friend's dream; fortunately, as it turned out, for his camp was taken and when the enemy rushed in, his litter was stabbed through and through and torn to pieces, in the belief that he was still lying there ill. All through the spring his own dreams were very numerous and fearful, but idle and unfulfilled; during the rest of the year they were less frequent and more reliable. Being in the habit of making constant visits to the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, which he had founded on the Capitol, he dreamed that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were being taken from him, and that he answered that he had placed the Thunderer hard by to be his doorkeeper; and accordingly he presently festooned the gable of the temple with bells, because these commonly hung at house-doors. It was likewise because of a dream that every year on an appointed day he begged alms of the people, holding out his open hand to have pennies dropped in it.

92.

Certain auspices and omens he regarded as infallible. If his shoes were put on in the wrong way in the morning, the left instead of the right, he considered it a bad sign. If there chanced to be a drizzle of rain when he was starting on a long journey by land or sea, he thought it a good omen, betokening a speedy and prosperous return. But he was especially affected by prodigies. When a palm tree sprang up between the crevices of the pavement before his house, he transplanted it to the inner court beside his household gods and took great pains to make it grow. He was so pleased that the branches of an old oak, which had already drooped to the ground and were withering, became vigorous again on his arrival in the island of Capreae, that he arranged with the city of Naples to give him the island in exchange for Aenaria. He also had regard to certain days, refusing ever to begin a journey on the day after a market day, or to take up any important business on the Nones; though in the latter case, as he writes Tiberius, he merely dreaded the unlucky sound of the name.

93.

He treated with great respect such foreign rites as were ancient and well established, but held the rest in contempt. For example, having been initiated at

Athens and afterwards sitting in judgment of a case at Rome involving the privileges of the priests of Attic Ceres, in which certain matters of secrecy were brought up, he dismissed his counsellors and the throng of bystanders and heard the disputants in private. But on the other hand he not only omitted to make a slight detour to visit Apis, when he was travelling through Egypt, but highly commended his grandson Gaius for not offering prayers at Jerusalem as he passed by Judaea.

94.

Having reached this point, it will not be out of place to add an account of the omens which occurred before he was born, on the very day of his birth, and afterwards, from which it was possible to anticipate and perceive his future greatness and uninterrupted good fortune.

In ancient days, when a part of the wall of Velitrae had been struck by lightning, the prediction was made that a citizen of that town would one day rule the world. Through their confidence in this the people of Velitrae had at once made war on the Roman people and fought with them many times after that almost to their utter destruction; but at last long afterward the event proved that the omen had foretold the rule of Augustus.

According to Julius Marathus, a few months before Augustus was born a portent was generally observed at Rome, which gave warning that nature was pregnant with a king for the Roman people; thereupon the senate in consternation decreed that no male child born that year should be reared; but those whose wives were with child saw to it that the decree was not filed in the treasury, since each one appropriated the prediction to his own family.

I have read the following story in the books of Asclepias of Mendes entitled *Theologumena*. When Atia had come in the middle of the night to the solemn service of Apollo, she had her litter set down in the temple and fell asleep, while the rest of the matrons also slept. On a sudden a serpent glided up to her and shortly went away. When she awoke, she purified herself, as if after the embraces of her husband, and at once there appeared on her body a mark in colours like a serpent, and she could never get rid of it; so that presently she ceased ever to go to the public baths. In the tenth month after that Augustus was born and was therefore regarded as the son of Apollo. Atia too, before she gave him birth, dreamed that her vitals were borne up to the stars and spread over the whole extent of land and sea, while Octavius dreamed that the sun rose from Atia's womb.

The day he was born the conspiracy of Catiline was before the House, and

Octavius came late because of his wife's confinement; then Publius Nigidius, as everyone knows, learning the reason for his tardiness and being informed also of the hour of the birth, declared that the ruler of the world had been born. Later, when Octavius was leading an army through remote parts of Thrace, and in the grove of Father Liber consulted the priests about his son with barbarian rites, they made the same prediction; since such a pillar of flame sprang forth from the wine that was poured over the altar, that it rose above the temple roof and mounted to the very sky, and such an omen had befallen no one save Alexander the Great, when he offered sacrifice at the same altar. Moreover, the very next night he dreamt that his son appeared to him in a guise more majestic than that of mortal man, with the thunderbolt, sceptre, and insignia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, wearing a crown begirt with rays and mounted upon a laurel-wreathed chariot drawn by twelve horses of surpassing whiteness. When Augustus was still an infant, as is recorded by the hand of Gaius Drusus, he was placed by his nurse at evening in his cradle on the ground floor and the next morning had disappeared; but after long search he was at last found on a lofty tower with his face towards the rising sun.

As soon as he began to talk, it chanced that the frogs were making a great noise at his grandfather's country place; he bade them be silent, and they say that since then no frog has ever croaked there. As he was lunching in a grove at the fourth milestone on the Campanian road, an eagle surprised him by snatching his bread from his hand, after flying to a great height, equally to his surprise dropped gently down again and gave it back to him.

After Quintus Catulus had dedicated the Capitol, he had dreams on two nights in succession: first, that Jupiter Optimus Maximus called aside a number of boys of good family, who were playing around his altar, and put in the fold of his toga an image of Roma, which he was carrying in his hand; the next night he dreamt that he saw this same boy in the lap of Jupiter of the Capitol, and that when he had ordered that he be removed, the god warned him to desist, declaring that the boy was being reared to be the saviour of his country. When Catulus next day met Augustus, whom he had never seen before, he looked at him in great surprise and said that he was very like the boy of whom he had dreamed.

Some give a different account of Catulus's first dream: when a large group of well-born children asked Jupiter for a guardian, he pointed out one of their number, to whom they were to refer all their wishes, and then, after lightly touching the boy's mouth with his fingers, laid them on his own lips.

As Marcus Cicero was attending Gaius Caesar to the Capitol, he happened to tell his friends a dream of the night before; that a boy of noble countenance was let down from heaven on a golden chain and, standing at the door of the temple,

was given a whip by Jupiter. Just then suddenly catching sight of Augustus, who was still unknown to the greater number of those present and had been brought to the ceremony by his uncle Caesar, he declared that he was the very one whose form had appeared to him in his dream.

When Augustus was assuming the gown of manhood, his senatorial tunic was ripped apart on both sides and fell at his feet, which some interpreted as a sure sign that the order of which the tunic was the badge would one day be brought to his feet.

As the Deified Julius was cutting down a wood at Munda and preparing a place for his camp, coming across a palm tree, he caused it to be spared as an omen of victory. From this a shoot at once sprang forth and in a few days grew so great that it not only equalled the parent tree, but even overshadowed it; moreover many doves built their nests there, although that kind of bird especially avoids hard and rough foliage. Indeed, it was that omen in particular, they say, that led Caesar to wish that none other than his sister's grandson should be his successor.

While in retirement at Apollonia, Augustus mounted with Agrippa to the studio of the astrologer Theogenes. Agrippa was the first to try his fortune, and when a great and almost incredible career was predicted for him, Augustus persisted in concealing the time of his birth and in refusing to disclose it, through diffidence and fear that he might be found to be less eminent. When he at last gave it unwillingly and hesitatingly, and only after many requests, Theogenes sprang up and threw himself at his feet. From that time on Augustus had such faith in his destiny, that he made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the sign of the constellation Capricornus, under which he was born.

95.

As he was entering the city on his return from Apollonia after Caesar's death, though the heaven was clear and cloudless, a circle like a rainbow suddenly formed around the sun's disc, and straightway the tomb of Caesar's daughter Julia was struck by lightning. Again, as he was taking the auspices in his first consulship, twelve vultures appeared to him, as to Romulus, and when he slew the victims, the livers within all of them were found to be doubled inward at the lower end, which all those who were skilled in such matters unanimously declared to be an omen of a great and happy future.

96.

He even divined beforehand the outcome of all his wars. When the forces of the triumvirs were assembled at Bononia, an eagle that had perched upon his tent made a dash at two ravens, which attacked it on either side, and struck them to the ground. From this the whole army inferred that there would one day be discord among the colleagues, as actually came to pass, and divined its result. As he was on his way to Philippi, a Thessalian gave him notice of his coming victory on the authority of the deified Caesar, whose shade had met him on a lonely road. When he was sacrificing at Perusia without getting a favourable omen, and so had ordered more victims to be brought, the enemy made a sudden sally and carried off all the equipment of the sacrifice; whereupon the soothsayers agreed that all the dangers and disasters with which the sacrificer had been threatened would recoil on the heads of those who were in possession of the entrails; and so it turned out. As he was walking on the shore the day before the sea-fight off Sicily, a fish sprang from the sea and fell at his feet. At Actium, as he was going down to begin the battle, he met an ass with his driver, the man having the name Eutychus and the beast that of Nicon; and after the victory he set up bronze images of the two in the sacred enclosure into which he converted the site of his camp.

97.

His death, too, of which I shall speak next, and his deification after death, were known in advance by unmistakable signs. As he was bringing the lustrum to an end in the Campus Martius before a great throng of people, an eagle flew several times about him and then going across to the temple hard by, perched above the first letter of Agrippa's name. On noticing this, Augustus bade his colleague recite the vows which it is usual to offer for the next five years for although he had them prepared and written out on a tablet, he declared that he would not be responsible for vows which he should never pay. At about the same time the first letter of his name was melted from the inscription on one of his statues by a flash of lightning; this was interpreted to mean that he would live only a hundred days from that time, the number indicated by the letter C, and that he would be numbered with the gods, since *aesar* (that is, the part of the name *Caesar* which was left) is the word for god in the Etruscan tongue.

Then, too, when he was on the point of sending Tiberius to Illyricum and was proposing to escort him as far as Beneventum, and litigants detained him on the judgment seat by bringing forward case after case, he cried out that he would stay no longer in Rome, even if everything conspired to delay him — and this too was afterwards looked upon as one of the omens of his death. When he had

begun the journey, he went on as far as Astura and from there, contrary to his custom, took ship by night since it chanced that there was a favourable breeze, and thus contracted an illness beginning with a diarrhoea.

98.

Then after skirting the coast of Campania and the neighbouring islands, he spent four more days at his villa in Capreae, where he gave himself up wholly to rest and social diversions. As he sailed by the gulf of Puteoli, it happened that from an Alexandrian ship which had just arrived there, the passengers and crew, clad in white, crowned with garlands, and burning incense, lavished upon him good wishes and the highest praise, saying that it was through him that they lived, through him that they sailed the seas, and through him that they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes. Exceedingly pleased at this, he gave forty gold pieces to each of his companions, exacting from every one of them a pledge under oath not to spend the sum that had been given them in any other way than in buying wares from Alexandria. More than that, for the several remaining days of his stay, among little presents of various kinds, he distributed togas and cloaks as well, stipulating that Romans should use the Greek dress and language and the Greeks the Roman. He continually watched the exercises of the ephebi, of whom there was still a goodly number at Capreae according to the ancient usage. He also gave these youths a banquet at which he himself was present, and not only allowed, but even required perfect freedom in jesting and in scrambling for tickets for fruit, dainties and all kinds of things, which he threw to them. In short, there was no form of gaiety in which he did not indulge.

He called the neighbouring part of the island of Capreae Apragopolis from the laziness of some of his company who sojourned there. Besides he used to call one of his favourites, Masgaba by name, Ktistes, as if he were the founder of the island. Noticing from his dining-room that the tomb of this Masgaba, who had died the year before, was visited by a large crowd with many torches, he uttered aloud this verse, composed offhand:

“I see the founder’s tomb alight with fire”;

and turning to Thrasyllus, one of the suite of Tiberius who was reclining opposite him and knew nothing about the matter, he asked of what poet he thought it was the work. When Thrasyllus hesitated, he added another verse:

“See you with lights Masgaba honoured now?”

and asked his opinion of this one also. When Thrasyllus could say nothing except that they were very good, whoever made them, he burst into a laugh and fell a joking above it.

Presently he crossed over to Naples, although his bowels were still weak from intermittent attacks. In spite of this he witnessed a quinquennial gymnastic contest which had been established in his honour, and then started with Tiberius for his destination. But as he was returning his illness increased and he at last took to his bed at Nola, calling back Tiberius, who was on his way to Illyricum, and keeping him for a long time in private conversation, after which he gave attention to no business of importance.

99.

On the last day of his life he asked every now and then whether there was any disturbance without on his account; then calling for a mirror, he had his hair combed and his falling jaws set straight. After that, calling in his friends and asking whether it seemed to them that he had played the comedy of life fitly, he added the tag:

“Since well I’ve played my part, all clap your hands

And from the stage dismiss me with applause.”

Then he sent them all off, and while he was asking some newcomers from the city about the daughter of Drusus, who was ill, he suddenly passed away as he was kissing Livia, uttering these last words: “Live mindful of our wedlock, Livia, and farewell,” thus blessed with an easy death and such a one as he had always longed for. For almost always on hearing that anyone had died swiftly and painlessly, he prayed that he and his might have a like *εὐθανασίαν*, for that was the term he was wont to use. He gave but one single sign of wandering before he breathed his last, calling out in sudden terror that forty men were carrying him off. And even this was rather a premonition than a delusion, since it was that very number of soldiers of the pretorian guard that carried him forth to lie in state.

100.

He died in the same room as his father Octavius, in the consulship of two Sextuses, Pompeius and Appuleius, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of September at the ninth hour, just thirty-five days before his seventy-sixth birthday.

His body was carried by the senators of the municipalities and colonies from Nola all the way to Bovillae, in the night time because of the season of the year, being placed by day in the basilica of the town at which they arrived or in its principal temple. At Bovillae the members of the equestrian order met it and

bore it to the city, where they placed it in the vestibule of his house.

In their desire to give him a splendid funeral and honour his memory the senators so vied with one another that among many other suggestions some proposed that his cortege pass through the triumphal gate, preceded by a statue of Victory which stands in the House, while a dirge was sung by children of both sexes belonging to the leading families; others, that on the day of the obsequies golden rings be laid aside and iron ones worn; and some, that his ashes be collected by the priests of the highest colleges. One man proposed that the name of the month of August be transferred to September, because Augustus was born in the latter, but died in the former; another, that all the period from the day of his birth until his demise be called the Augustan Age, and so entered in the Calendar. But though a limit was set to the honours paid him, his eulogy was twice delivered: before the temple of the Deified Julius by Tiberius, and from the old rostra by Drusus, son of Tiberius; and he was carried on the shoulders of senators to the Campus Martius and there cremated. There was even an ex-praetor who took oath that he had seen the form of the Emperor, after he had been reduced to ashes, on its way to heaven. His remains were gathered up by the leading men of the equestrian order, bare-footed and in ungirt tunics, and placed in the Mausoleum. This structure he had built in his sixth consulship between the Via Flaminia and the bank of the Tiber, and at the same time opened to the public the groves and walks by which it was surrounded.

101.

He had made a will in the consulship of Lucius Plancus and Gaius Silius on the third day before the Nones of April, a year and four months before he died, in two note-books, written in part in his own hand and in part in that of his freedmen Polybius and Hilarion. These the Vestal virgins, with whom they had been deposited, now produced, together with three rolls, which were sealed in the same way. All these were opened and read in the senate. He appointed as his chief heirs Tiberius, to receive two-thirds of the estate, and Livia, one-third; these he also bade assume his name. His heirs in the second degree were Drusus, son of Tiberius, for one-third, and for the rest Germanicus and his three male children. In the third grade he mentioned many of his relatives and friends. He left to the Roman people forty million sesterces; to the tribes three million five hundred thousand; to the soldiers of the pretorian guard a thousand each; to the city cohorts five hundred; and to the legionaries three hundred. This sum he ordered to be paid at once, for he had always kept the amount at hand and ready for the purpose. He gave other legacies to various individuals, some amounting

to as much as twenty thousand sesterces, and provided for the payment of these a year later, giving as his excuse for the delay the small amount of his property, and declaring that not more than a hundred and fifty millions would come to his heirs; for though he had received fourteen hundred millions during the last twenty years from the wills of his friends, he said that he had spent nearly all of it, as well as the estates left him by his natural and his adoptive father, for the benefit of the State. He gave orders that his daughter and his granddaughter Julia should not be put in his Mausoleum, if anything befell them. In one of the three rolls he included directions for his funeral; in the second, an account of what he had accomplished, which he desired to have cut upon bronze tablets and set up at the entrance to the Mausoleum; in the third, a summary of the condition of the whole empire; how many soldiers there were in active service in all parts of it, how much money there was in the public treasury and in the privy-purse, and what revenues were in arrears. He added, besides, the names of the freedmen and slaves from whom the details could be demanded.

THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS

1.

The patrician branch of the Claudian family (for there was, besides, a plebeian branch of no less influence and prestige) originated at Regilli, a town of the Sabines. From there it moved to Rome shortly after the founding of the city with a large band of dependents, through the influence of Titus Tatius, who shared the kingly power with Romulus (or, according to the generally accepted view, of Atta Claudius, the head of the family) about six years after the expulsion of the kings. It was admitted among the patrician families, receiving, besides, from the State a piece of land on the farther side of the Anio for its dependents, and a burial-site for the family at the foot of the Capitoline hill. Then as time went on it was honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs, and two ovations. While the members of the family were known by various forenames and surnames, they discarded the forename Lucius by common consent after two of the family who bore it had been found guilty, the one of highway robbery, and the other of murder. To their surnames, on the other hand, they added that of Nero, which in the Sabine tongue means “strong and valiant.”

2.

There are on record many distinguished services of the Claudii to their country, as well as many deeds of the opposite character. But to mention only the principal instances, Appius the Blind advised against forming an alliance with king Pyrrhus as not at all expedient. Claudius Caudex was the first to cross the straits with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians from Sicily. Tiberius Nero crushed Hasdrubal, on his arrival from Spain with a vast army, before he could unite with his brother Hannibal. On the other hand, Claudius Regillianus, decemvir for codifying the laws, through his lawless attempt to enslave a freeborn maid, to gratify his passion for her, was the cause of the second secession of the plebeians from the patricians. Claudius Russus, having set up his statue at Forum Appi with a crown upon his head, tried to take possession of Italy through his dependents. Claudius Pulcher began a sea-fight off Sicily, though the sacred chickens would not eat when he took the auspices, throwing them into the sea in defiance of the omen, and saying that they might drink, since they would not eat. He was defeated, and on being bidden by the senate to

appoint a dictator, he appointed his messenger Glycias, as if again making a jest of his country's peril.

The women also have records equally diverse, since both the famous Claudias belonged to that family: the one who drew the ship with the sacred properties of the Idaean Mother of the Gods from the shoal on the Tiber on which it was stranded, after first publicly praying that it might yield to her efforts only if her chastity were beyond question; and the one who was tried by the people for treason, an unprecedented thing for a woman, because when her carriage made but slow progress through the throng, she openly gave vent to the wish that her brother Pulcher might come to life and lose another fleet, to make less of a crowd in Rome. It is notorious besides that all the Claudii were aristocrats and staunch upholders of the prestige and influence of the patricians, with the sole exception of Publius Clodius, who for the sake of driving Cicero from the city had himself adopted by a plebeian and one too who was younger than himself. Their attitude towards the commons was so headstrong and stubborn that not even when on trial for his life before the people did any one of them deign to put on mourning or beg for mercy; and some of them during bickering and disputes struck the tribunes of the commons. Even a Vestal virgin mounted her brother's chariot with him, when he was celebrating a triumph without the sanction of the people, and attended him all the way to the Capitol, in order to make it an act of sacrilege for any one of the tribunes to forbid him or interpose his veto.

3.

Such was the stock from which Tiberius Caesar derived his origin, and that too on both sides: on his father's from Tiberius Nero; on his mother's from Appius Pulcher, both of whom were sons of Appius Caecus. He was a member also of the family of the Livii, through the adoption into it of his maternal grandfather. This family too, though of plebeian origin, was yet of great prominence and had been honoured with eight consulships, two censorships, and three triumphs, as well as with the offices of dictator and master of the horse. It was made illustrious too by distinguished members, in particular Salinator and the Drusi. The former in his censorship put the brand on all the tribes on the charge of fickleness, because having convicted and fined him after a previous consulship, they made him consul a second time and censor as well. Drusus gained a surname for himself and his descendants by slaying Drausus, leader of the enemy, in single combat. It is also said that when propraetor he brought back from his province of Gaul the gold which was paid long before to the Senones, when they beleaguered the Capitol, and that this had not been wrested from them

by Camillus, as tradition has it. His grandson's grandson, called "Patron of the Senate" because of his distinguished services against the Gracchi, left a son who was treacherously slain by the party of his opponents, while he was busily agitating many plans during a similar dissension.

4.

Nero, the father of Tiberius, as a quaestor of Julius Caesar during the Alexandrian war and commander of a fleet, contributed materially to the victory. For this he was made pontiff in place of Publius Scipio and sent to conduct colonies to Gaul, among them Narbo and Arelate. Yet after the murder of Caesar, when all the others voted for an amnesty through fear of mob violence, he even favoured a proposal for rewarding the tyrannicides. Later on, having held the praetorship, since a dispute arose among the triumvirs at the close of his term, he retained the badges of his rank beyond the legitimate time and followed Lucius Antonius, consul and brother of the triumvir, to Perusia. When the others capitulated, he alone held to his allegiance and got away first to Praeneste and then to Naples; and after vainly trying to enlist the slaves by a promise of freedom, he took refuge in Sicily. Piqued however because he was not at once given an audience with Sextus Pompeius, and was denied the use of the fasces, he crossed to Achaia and joined Mark Antony. With him he shortly returned to Rome, on the conclusion of a general peace, and gave up to Augustus at his request his wife Livia Drusilla, who was pregnant at the time and had already borne him a son. Not long afterwards he died, survived by both his sons, Tiberius Nero and Drusus Nero.

5.

Some have supposed that Tiberius was born at Fundi, on no better evidence than that his maternal grandmother was a native of that place, and that later a statue of Good Fortune was set up there by decree of the senate. But according to the most numerous and trustworthy authorities, he was born at Rome, on the Palatine, the sixteenth day before the Kalends of December, in the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus (the former for the second time) while the war of Philippi was going on. In fact it is so recorded both in the calendar and in the public gazette. Yet in spite of this some write that he was born in the preceding year, that of Hirtius and Pansa, and others in the following year, in the consulate of Servilius Isauricus and Lucius Antonius.

6.

He passed his infancy and his youth amid hardship and tribulation, since he was everywhere the companion of his parents in their flight; at Naples indeed he all but betrayed them twice by his crying, as they were secretly on their way to a ship just as the enemy burst into town, being suddenly torn from his nurse's breast and again from his mother's arms by those who tried to relieve the poor women of their burden because of the imminent danger. After being taken all over Sicily also and Achaia, and consigned to the public care of the Lacedaemonians, because they were dependents of the Claudii, he almost lost his life as he was leaving there by night, when the woods suddenly took fire all about them, and the flames so encircled the whole company that part of Livia's robe and her hair were scorched. The gifts which were given him in Sicily by Pompeia, sister of Sextus Pompeius, a cloak and clasp, as well as studs of gold, are still kept and exhibited at Baiae. Being adopted, after his return to the city, in the will of Marcus Gallius, a senator, he accepted the inheritance, but soon gave up the name, because Gallius had been a member of the party opposed to Augustus.

At the age of nine he delivered a eulogy of his dead father from the rostra. Then, just as he was arriving at puberty, he accompanied the chariot of Augustus in his triumph after Actium, riding the left trace-horse, while Marcellus, son of Octavia, rode the one on the right. He presided, too, at the city festival, and took part in the game of Troy during the performances in the circus, leading the band of older boys.

7.

The principal events of his youth and later life, from the assumption of the gown of manhood to the beginning of his reign, were these. He gave a gladiatorial show in memory of his father, and a second in honour of his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places, the former in the Forum and the latter in the amphitheatre, inducing some retired gladiators to appear with the rest by the payment of hundred thousand sesterces to each. He also gave stage-plays, but without being present in person. All these were on a grand scale, at the expense of his mother and his stepfather.

He married Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and granddaughter of Caecilius Atticus, a Roman knight, to whom Cicero's letters are addressed; but after he had acknowledged a son from her, Drusus, although she was thoroughly congenial and was a second time with child, he was forced to divorce her and to

contract a hurried marriage with Julia, daughter of Augustus. This caused him no little distress of mind, for he was living happily with Agrippina, and disapproved of Julia's character, having perceived that she had a passion for him even during the lifetime of her former husband, as was in fact the general opinion. But even after the divorce he regretted his separation from Agrippina, and the only time that he chanced to see her, he followed her with such an intent and tearful gaze that care was taken that she should never again come before his eyes. With Julia he lived in harmony at first, and returned her love; but he soon grew cold, and went so far as to cease to live with her at all, after the severing of the tie formed by a child which was born to them, but died at Aquileia in infancy. He lost his brother Drusus in Germany and conveyed his body to Rome, going before it on foot all the way.

8.

He began his civil career by a defence of king Archelaus, the people of Tralles, and those of Thessaly, before the judgment seat of Augustus, the charge in each case being different. He made a plea to the senate in behalf of the citizens of Laodicea, Thyatira and Chios, who had suffered loss from an earthquake and begged for help. Fannius Caepio, who had conspired with Varro Murena against Augustus, he arraigned for high treason and secured his condemnation. In the meantime he undertook two public charges: that of the grain supply, which, as it happened, was deficient; and the investigation of the slave-prisons throughout Italy, the owners of which had gained a bad reputation; for they were charged with holding in durance not only travellers, but also those whom dread of military service had driven to such places of concealment.

9.

His first military service was as tribune of the soldiers in the campaign against the Cantabrians; then he led an army to the Orient and restored the throne of Armenia to Tigranes, crowning him on the tribunal. He besides recovered the standards which the Parthians had taken from Marcus Crassus. Then for about a year he was governor of Gallia Comata, which was in a state of unrest through the inroads of the barbarians and the dissensions of its chiefs. Next he carried on war with the Raeti and Vindelici, then in Pannonia, and finally in Germany. In the first of these wars he subdued the Alpine tribes, in the second the Breuci and Dalmatians, and in the third he brought forty thousand prisoners of war over into Gaul and assigned them homes near the bank of the Rhine. Because of these

exploits he entered the city both in an ovation and riding in a chariot, having previously, as some think, been honoured with the triumphal regalia, a new kind of distinction never before conferred upon anyone.

He entered upon the offices of quaestor, praetor, and consul before the usual age, and held them almost without an interval; then after a time he was made consul again, at the same time receiving the tribunicial power for five years.

10.

At the flood-tide of success, though in the prime of life and health, he suddenly decided to go into retirement and to withdraw as far as possible from the centre of the stage; perhaps from disgust at his wife, whom he dared neither accuse nor put away, though he could no longer endure her; or perhaps, avoiding the contempt born of familiarity, to keep up his prestige by absence, or even add to it, in case his country should ever need him. Some think that, since the children of Augustus were now of age, he voluntarily gave up the position and the virtual assumption of the second rank which he had long held, thus following the example of Marcus Agrippa, who withdrew to Mytilene when Marcellus began his public career, so that he might not seem either to oppose or belittle him by his presence. This was, in fact, the reason which Tiberius himself gave, but afterwards. At the time he asked for leave of absence on the ground of weariness of office and a desire to rest; and he would not give way either to his mother's urgent entreaties or to the complaint which his step-father openly made in the senate, that he was being forsaken. On the contrary, when they made more strenuous efforts to detain him, he refused to take food for four days. Being at last allowed to depart, he left his wife and son in Rome and went down to Ostia in haste, without saying a single word to any of those who saw him off, and kissing only a very few when he left.

11.

From Ostia he coasted along the shore of Campania, and learning of an indisposition of Augustus, he stopped for a while. But since gossip was rife that he was lingering on the chance of realising his highest hopes, although the wind was all but dead ahead, he sailed directly to Rhodes, for he had been attracted by the charm and healthfulness of that island ever since the time when he put in there on his return from Armenia. Content there with a modest house and a villa in the suburbs not much more spacious, he adopted a most unassuming manner of life, at times walking in the gymnasium without a lictor or a messenger, and

exchanging courtesies with the good people of Greece with almost the air of an equal.

It chanced one morning in arranging his programme for the day, that he had announced his wish to visit whatever sick folk there were in the city. This was misunderstood by his attendants, and orders were given that all the sick should be taken to a public colonnade and arranged according to the nature of their complaints. Whereupon Tiberius, shocked at this unexpected sight, and in doubt for some time what to do, at last went about to each one, apologizing for what had happened even to the humblest and most obscure of them.

Only one single instance was noticed of a visible exercise of the rights of the tribunicial authority. He was a constant attendant at the schools and lecture-rooms of the professors of philosophy, and once when a hot dispute had arisen among rival sophists, a fellow had the audacity to ply him with abuse when he took part and appeared to favour one side. Thereupon he gradually backed away to his house, and then suddenly coming out with his lictors and attendants, and bidding his crier to summon the foul-mouthed fellow before his tribunal, he had him taken off to prison.

Shortly after this he learned that his wife Julia had been banished because of her immorality and adulteries, and that a bill of divorce had been sent her in his name by authority of Augustus; but welcome as this news was, he yet considered it his duty to make every possible effort in numerous letters to reconcile the father to his daughter; and regardless of her deserts, to allow her to keep any gifts which he had himself made her at any time. Moreover, when the time of his tribunicial power was at an end, at last admitting that the sole object of his retirement had been to avoid the suspicion of rivalry with Gaius and Lucius, he asked that inasmuch as he was free from care in that regard, since they were now grown up and had an undisputed claim on the succession, he be allowed to visit his relatives, whom he sorely missed. But his request was denied and he was besides admonished to give up all thought of his kindred, whom he had so eagerly abandoned.

12.

Accordingly he remained in Rhodes against his will, having with difficulty through his mother's aid secured permission that, while away from Rome, he should have the title of envoy of Augustus, so as to conceal his disgrace.

Then in very truth he lived not only in private, but even in danger and fear, secluded in the country away from the sea, and shunning the attentions of those that sailed that way; these, however, were constantly thrust on him, since no

general or magistrate who was on his way to any province failed to put in at Rhodes. He had besides reasons for still greater anxiety; for when he had crossed to Samos to visit his stepson Gaius, who had been made governor of the Orient, he found him somewhat estranged through the slanders of Marcus Lollius, a member of Gaius' staff and his guardian. He also incurred the suspicion of having through some centurions of his appointment, who were returning to camp after a furlough, sent messages to several persons which were of an ambiguous character and apparently designed to incite them to revolution. On being informed by Augustus of this suspicion, he unceasingly demanded the appointment of someone, of any rank whatsoever, to keep watch over his actions and words.

13.

He also gave up his usual exercises with horses and arms, and laying aside the garb of his country, took to the cloak and slippers; and in this state he continued for upwards of two years, becoming daily an object of greater contempt and aversion. This went so far that the citizens of Nemausus threw down his statues and busts, and when mention was once made of him at a private dinner party, a man got up and assured Gaius that if he would say the word, he would at once take ship for Rhodes and bring back the head of "the exile," as he was commonly called. It was this act especially, which made his position no longer one of mere fear but of actual peril, that drove Tiberius to sue for his recall with most urgent prayers, in which his mother joined; and he obtained it, although partly owing to a fortunate chance. Augustus had resolved to come to no decision of the question which was not agreeable to his elder son, without, as it happened, was at the time somewhat at odds with Marcus Lollius, and accordingly ready to lend an ear to his stepfather's prayers. With his consent therefore Tiberius was recalled, but on the understanding that he should take no part or active interest in public affairs.

14.

So he returned in the eighth year after his retirement, with that strong and unwavering confidence in his destiny, which he had conceived from his early years because of omens and predictions.

When Livia was with child with him, and was trying to divine by various omens whether she would bring forth a male, she took an egg from under a setting-hen, and when she had warmed it in her own hand and those of her

attendants in turn, a cock with a fine crest was hatched. In his infancy the astrologer Scribonius promised him an illustrious career and even that he would one day be king, but without the crown of royalty; for at that time of course the rule of the Caesars was as yet unheard of. Again, on his first campaign, when he was leading an army through Macedonia into Syria, it chanced that at Philippi the altars consecrated in bygone days by the victorious legions gleamed of their own accord with sudden fires. When later, on his way to Illyricum, he visited the oracle of Geryon near Patavium, and drew a lot which advised him to seek an answer to his inquiries by throwing golden dice into the fount of Aponus, it came to pass that the dice which he threw showed the highest possible number; and those dice may be seen to-day under the water. A few days before his recall an eagle, a bird never before seen in Rhodes, perched upon the roof of his house; and the day before he was notified that he might return, his tunic seemed to blaze as he was changing his clothes. It was just at this time that he was convinced of the powers of the astrologer Thrasyllus, whom he had attached to his household as a learned man; for as soon as he caught sight of the ship, Thrasyllus declared that it brought good news — this too at the very moment when Tiberius had made up his mind to push the man off into the sea as they were strolling together, believing him a false prophet and too hastily made the confidant of his secrets, because things were turning out adversely and contrary to his predictions.

15.

On his return to Rome, after introducing his son Drusus to public life, he at once moved from the Carinae and the house of the Pompeys to the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline, where he led a very retired life, merely attending to his personal affairs and exercising no public functions.

When Gaius and Lucius died within three years, he was adopted by Augustus along with their brother Marcus Agrippa, being himself first compelled to adopt his nephew Germanicus. And from that time on he ceased to act as the head of a family, or to retain in any particular the privileges which he had given up. For he neither made gifts nor freed slaves, and he did not even accept an inheritance or any legacies, except to enter them as an addition to his personal property. From this time on nothing was left undone which could add to his prestige, especially after the disowning and banishment of Agrippa made it clear that the hope of the succession lay in him alone.

16.

He was given the tribunician power for a second term of three years, the duty of subjugating Germany was assigned him, and the envoys of the Parthians, after presenting their instructions to Augustus in Rome, were bidden to appear also before him in his province. But when the revolt of Illyricum was reported, he was transferred to the charge of a new war, the most serious of all foreign wars since those with Carthage, which he carried on for three years with fifteen legions and a corresponding force of auxiliaries, amid great difficulties of every kind and the utmost scarcity of supplies. But though he was often recalled, he none the less kept on, for fear that the enemy, who were close at hand and very strong, might assume the offensive if the Romans gave ground. He reaped an ample reward for his perseverance, for he completely subdued and reduced to submission the whole of Illyricum, which is bounded by Italy and the kingdom of Noricum, by Thrace and Macedonia, by the Danube, and by the Adriatic sea.

17.

Circumstances gave this exploit a larger and crowning glory; for it was at just about that time that Quintilius Varus perished with three legions in Germany, and no one doubted that the victorious Germans would have united with the Pannonians, had not Illyricum been subdued first. Consequently a triumph was voted him and many high honours. Some also recommended that he be given the surname of Pannonicus, others of Invictus, others of Pius. Augustus however vetoed the surname, reiterating the promise that Tiberius would be satisfied with one which he would receive at his father's death. Tiberius himself put off the triumph, because the country was in mourning for the disaster to Varus; but he entered the city clad in the purple-bordered toga and crowned with laurel, and mounting a tribunal which had been set up in the Saepta, while the senate stood alongside, he took his seat beside Augustus between the two consuls. Having greeted the people from this position, he was escorted to the various temples.

18.

The next year he returned to Germany, and realising that the disaster to Varus was due to that general's rashness and lack of care, he took no step without the approval of a council; while he had always before been a man of independent judgment and self-reliance, then contrary to his habit he consulted with many advisers about the conduct of the campaign. He also observed more scrupulous care than usual. When on the point of crossing the Rhine, he reduced all the baggage to a prescribed limit, and would not start without standing on the bank

and inspecting the loads of the wagons, to make sure that nothing was taken except what was allowed or necessary. Once on the other side, he adopted the following manner of life: he took his meals sitting on the bare turf, often passed the night without a tent, and gave all his orders for the following day, as well as notice of any sudden emergency, in writing; adding the injunction that if anyone was in doubt about any matter, he was to consult him personally at any hour whatsoever, even of the night.

19.

He required the strictest discipline, reviving bygone methods of punishment and ignominy, and even degrading the commander of a legion for sending a few soldiers across the river to accompany one of his freedmen on a hunting expedition. Although he left very little to fortune and chance, he entered battles with considerably greater confidence whenever it happened that, as he was working at night, his lamp suddenly and without human agency died down and went out; trusting, as used to say, to an omen in which he had great confidence, since both he and his ancestors had found it trustworthy in all of their campaigns. Yet in the very hour of victory he narrowly escaped assassination by one of the Bructeri, who got access to him among his attendants, but was detected through his nervousness; whereupon a confession of his intended crime was wrung from him by torture.

20.

After two years he returned to the city from Germany and celebrated the triumph which he had postponed, accompanied also by his generals, for whom he had obtained the triumphal regalia. And before turning to enter the Capitol, he dismounted from his chariot and fell at the knees of his father, who was presiding over the ceremonies. He sent Bato, the leader of the Pannonians, to Ravenna, after presenting him with rich gifts; thus showing his gratitude to him for allowing him to escape when he was trapped with his army in a dangerous place. Then he gave a banquet to the people at a thousand tables, and a largess of three hundred sesterces to every man. With the proceeds of his spoils he restored and dedicated the temple of Concord, as well as that of Pollux and Castor, in his own name and that of his brother.

21.

Since the consuls caused a law to be passed soon after this that he should govern the provinces jointly with Augustus and hold the census with him, he set out for Illyricum on the conclusion of the lustral ceremonies; but he was at once recalled, and finding Augustus in his last illness but still alive, he spent an entire day with him in private.

I know that it is commonly believed, that when Tiberius left the room after this confidential talk, Augustus was overheard by his chamberlains to say: "Alas for the Roman people, to be ground by jaws that crunch so slowly!" I also am aware that some have written that Augustus so openly and unreservedly disapproved of his austere manners, that he sometimes broke off his freer and lighter conversation when Tiberius appeared; but that overcome by his wife's entreaties he did not reject his adoption, or perhaps was even led by selfish considerations, that with such a successor he himself might one day be more regretted. But after all I cannot be led to believe that an emperor of the utmost prudence and foresight acted without consideration, especially in a matter of so great moment. It is my opinion that after weighing the faults and the merits of Tiberius, he decided that the latter preponderated, especially since he took oath before the people that he was adopting Tiberius for the good of the country, and alludes to him in several letters as a most able general and the sole defence of the Roman people. In illustration of both these points, I append a few extracts from these letters.

"Fare thee well, Tiberius, most charming of men, and success go with you, as you war for me and for the Muses. Fare thee well, most charming and valiant of men and most conscientious of generals, or may I never know happiness."

"I have only praise for the conduct of your summer campaigns, dear Tiberius, and I am sure that no one could have acted with better judgment than you did amid so many difficulties and such apathy of your army. All who were with you agree that the well-known line could be applied to you:

" 'One man alone by his foresight has saved our dear country from ruin.' "

"If anything comes up that calls for careful thought, or if I am vexed at anything, I long mightily, so help me Heaven, for my dear Tiberius, and the lines of Homer come to my mind:

" 'Let him but follow and we too, though flames round about us be raging,

Both may return to our homes, since great are his wisdom and knowledge.' "

"When I hear and read that you are worn out by constant hardships, may the Gods confound me if my own body does not wince in sympathy; and I beseech you to spare yourself, that the news of your illness may not kill your mother and

me, and endanger the Roman people in the person of their future ruler.”

“It matters not whether I am well or not, if you are not well.”

“I pray the Gods to preserve you to us and to grant you good health now and forever, if they do not utterly hate the people of Rome.”

22.

Tiberius did not make the death of Augustus public until the young Agrippa had been disposed of. The latter was slain by a tribune of the soldiers appointed to guard him, who received a letter in which he was bidden to do the deed; but it is not known whether Augustus left this letter when he died, to remove a future source of discord, or whether Livia wrote it herself in the name of her husband; and in the latter case, whether it was with or without the connivance of Tiberius. At all events, when the tribune reported that he had done his bidding, Tiberius replied that he had given no such order, and that the man must render an account to the senate; apparently trying to avoid odium at the time, for later his silence consigned the matter to oblivion.

23.

When, however, by virtue of his tribunicial power, he had convened the senate and had begun to address it, he suddenly groaned aloud, as if overcome by grief, and with the wish that not only his voice, but his life as well might leave him, handed the written speech to his son Drusus to finish. Then bringing in the will of Augustus, he had it read by a freedman, admitting of the signers only such as were of the senatorial order, while the others acknowledged their seals outside the House. The will began thus: “Since a cruel fate has bereft me of my sons Gaius and Lucius, be Tiberius Caesar heir to two-thirds of my estate.” These words in themselves added to the suspicion of those who believed that he had named Tiberius his successor from necessity rather than from choice, since he allowed himself to write such a preamble.

24.

Though Tiberius did not hesitate at once to assume and to exercise the imperial authority, surrounding himself with a guard of soldiers, that is, with the actual power and the outward sign of sovereignty, yet he refused the title for a long time, with barefaced hypocrisy now upbraiding his friends who urged him to accept it, saying that they did not realise what a monster the empire was, and

now by evasive answers and calculating hesitancy keeping the senators in suspense when they implored him to yield, and fell at his feet. Finally, some lost patience, and one man cried out in the confusion: "Let him take it or leave it." Another openly voiced the taunt that others were slow in doing what they promised, but that he was slow to promise what he was already doing. At last, as though on compulsion, and complaining that a wretched and burdensome slavery was being forced upon him, he accepted the empire, but in such fashion as to suggest the hope that he would one day lay it down. His own words are: "Until I come to the time when it may seem right to you to grant an old man some repose."

25.

The cause of his hesitation was fear of the dangers which threatened him on every hand, and often led him to say that he was "holding a wolf by the ears." For a slave of Agrippa, Clemens by name, had collected a band of no mean size to avenge his master; Lucius Scribonius Libo, one of the nobles, was secretly plotting a revolution; and a mutiny of the soldiers broke out in two places, Illyricum and Germany. Both armies demanded numerous special privileges — above all, that they should receive the same pay as the praetorians. The army in Germany was, besides, reluctant to accept an emperor who was not its own choice, and with the greatest urgency besought Germanicus, their commander at the time, to assume the purple, in spite of his positive refusal. Fear of this possibility in particular led Tiberius to ask the senate for any part in the administration that it might please them to assign him, saying that no one man could bear the whole burden without a colleague, or even several colleagues. He also feigned ill-health, to induce Germanicus to wait with more patience for a speedy succession, or at least for a share in the sovereignty. The mutinies were put down, and he also got Clemens into his power, outwitting him by stratagem. Not until his second year did he finally arraign Libo in the senate, fearing to take any severe measures before his power was secure, and satisfied in the meantime merely to be on his guard. Thus when Libo was offering sacrifice with him among the pontiffs, he had a leaden knife substituted for the usual one, and when he asked for a private interview, Tiberius would not grant it except with his son Drusus present, and as long as the conference lasted he held fast to Libo's right arm, under pretence of leaning on it as they walked together.

26.

Once relieved of fear, he at first played a most unassuming part, almost humbler than that of a private citizen. Of many high honours he accepted only a few of the more modest. He barely consented to allow his birthday, which came at the time of the Plebeian games in the Circus, to be recognized by the addition of a single two-horse chariot. He forbade the voting of temples, flamens, and priests in his honour, and even the setting up of statues and busts without his permission; and this he gave only with the understanding that they were not to be placed among the likenesses of the gods, but among the adornments of the temples. He would not allow an oath to be taken ratifying his acts, nor the name Tiberius to be given to the month of September, or that of Livia to October. He also declined the forename Imperator, the surname of Father of his Country, and the placing of the civic crown at his door; and he did not even use the title of Augustus in any letters except those to kings and potentates, although it was his by inheritance. He held but three consulships after becoming emperor — one for a few days, a second for three months, and a third, during his absence from the city, until the Ides of May.

27.

He so loathed flattery that he would not allow any senator to approach his litter, either to pay his respects or on business, and when an ex-consul in apologizing to him attempted to embrace his knee, he drew back in such haste that he fell over backward. In fact, if anyone in conversation or in a set speech spoke of him in too flattering terms, he did not hesitate to interrupt him, to take him to task, and to correct his language on the spot. Being once called “Lord,” he warned the speaker not to address him again in an insulting fashion. When another spoke of his “sacred duties,” and still another said that he appeared before the senate “by the emperor’s authority,” he forced them to change their language, substituting “advice” for “authority” and “laborious” for “sacred.”

28.

More than that, he was self-contained and patient in the face of abuse and slander, and of lampoons on himself and his family, often asserting that in a free country there should be free speech and free thought. When the senate on one occasion demanded that cognizance be taken of such offences and those guilty of them, he said: “We have not enough spare time to warrant involving ourselves in more affairs; if you open this loophole you will find no time for any other business; it will be an excuse for laying everybody’s quarrels before you.” A

most unassuming remark of his in the senate is also a matter of record: "If so and so criticizes me I shall take care to render an account of my acts and words; if he persists, our enmity will be mutual."

29.

All this was the more noteworthy, because in addressing and in paying his respects to the senators individually and as a body he himself almost exceeded the requirements of courtesy. In a disagreement with Quintus Haterius in the house, he said: "I crave your pardon, if in my capacity as senator I use too free language in opposing you." Then addressing the whole body: "I say now and have often said before, Fathers of the Senate, that a well-disposed and helpful prince, to whom you have given such great and unrestrained power, ought to be the servant of the senate, often of the citizens as a whole, and sometimes even of individuals. I do not regret my words, but I have looked upon you as kind, just, and indulgent masters, and still so regard you."

30.

He even introduced a semblance of free government by maintaining the ancient dignity and powers of the senate and the magistrates; for there was no matter of public or private business so small or so great that he did not lay it out before the senators, consulting them about revenues and monopolies, constructing and restoring public buildings, and even about levying and disbanding the soldiers, and the disposal of the legionaries and auxiliaries; finally about the extension of military commands and appointments to the conduct of wars, and the form and content of his replies to the letters of kings. He forced the commander of a troop of horse, when charged with violence and robbery, to plead his cause before the senate. He always entered the House alone; and when he was brought in once in a litter because of illness, he dismissed his attendants.

31.

When certain decrees were passed contrary to his expressed opinion, he did not even remonstrate. Although he declared that those who were elected to office ought to remain in the city and give personal attention to their duties, a praetor elect obtained permission to travel abroad with the privileges of an ambassador. On another occasion when he recommended that the people of Trebia be allowed

to use, in making a road, a sum of money which had been left them for the construction of a new theatre, he could not prevent the wish of the testator from being carried out. When it happened that the senate passed a decree by division and he went over to the side of the minority, not a man followed him.

Other business as well was done solely through meetings and the ordinary process of law, while the importance of the consuls was such that certain envoys from Africa presented themselves before them with the complaint that their time was being wasted by Caesar, to whom they had been sent. And this was not surprising, for it was plain to all that he himself actually arose in the presence of the consuls, and made way for them on the street.

32.

He rebuked some ex-consuls in command of armies, because they did not write their reports to the senate, and for referring to him the award of some military prizes, as if they had not themselves the right to bestow everything of the kind. He highly complimented a praetor, because on entering upon his office he had revived the custom of eulogizing his ancestors before the people. He attended the obsequies of certain distinguished men, even going to the funeral-pyre.

He showed equal modesty towards persons of lower rank and in matters of less moment. When he had summoned the magistrates of Rhodes, because they had written him letters on public business without the concluding formula, he uttered not a word of censure, but merely dismissed them with orders to supply the omission. The grammarian Diogenes, who used to lecture every Sabbath at Rhodes, would not admit Tiberius when he came to hear him on a different day, but sent a message by a common slave of his, putting him off to the seventh day. When this man waited before the Emperor's door at Rome to pay his respects, Tiberius took no further revenge than to bid him return seven years later. To the governors who recommended burdensome taxes for his provinces, he wrote in answer that it was the part of a good shepherd to shear his flock, not skin it.

33.

Little by little he unmasked the ruler, and although for some time his conduct was variable, yet he more often showed himself kindly and devoted to the public weal. His intervention was at first limited to the prevention of abuses. Thus he revoked some regulations of the senate and sometimes offered the magistrates his services as adviser, when they sat in judgment on the tribunal, taking his

place beside them or opposite them at one end of the platform; and if it was rumoured that any of the accused were being acquitted through influence, he would suddenly appear, and either from the floor or from the judge's tribunal remind the jurors of the laws and of their oath, as well as of the nature of the crime on which they were sitting in judgment. Moreover, if the public morals were in any way affected by laziness or bad habits he undertook to reform them.

34.

He reduced the cost of the games and shows by cutting down the pay of the actors and limiting the pairs of gladiators to a fixed number. Complaining bitterly that the prices of Corinthian bronzes had risen to an immense figure and that three mullets had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces, he proposed that a limit be set to household furniture and that the prices in the market should be regulated each year at the discretion of the senate; while the aediles were instructed to put such restrictions on cook-shops and eating-houses as not to allow even pastry to be exposed for sale. Furthermore, to encourage general frugality by his personal example, he often served at formal dinners meats left over from the day before and partly consumed, or the half of a boar, declaring that it had all the qualities of a whole one.

He issued an edict forbidding general kissing, as well as the exchange of New Year's gifts after the Kalends of January. It was his custom to return a gift of four-fold value, and in person; but annoyed at being interrupted all through the month by those who did not have access to him on the holiday, he did not continue it.

35.

He revived the custom of our forefathers, that in the absence of a public prosecutor matrons of ill-repute be punished according to the decision of a council of their relatives. He absolved a Roman knight from his oath and allowed him to put away his wife, who was taken in adultery with her son-in-law, even though he had previously sworn that he would never divorce her. Notorious women had begun to make an open profession of prostitution, to avoid the punishment of the laws by giving up the privileges and rank of matrons, while the most profligate young men of both orders voluntarily incurred degradation from their rank, so as not to be prevented by the decree of the senate from appearing on the stage and in the arena. All such men and women he punished with exile, to prevent anyone from shielding himself by

such a device. He deprived a senator of his broad stripe on learning that he had moved to his gardens just before the Kalends of July, with the design of renting a house in the city at a lower figure after that date. He deposed another from his quaestorship, because he had taken a wife the day before casting lots and divorced her the day after.

36.

He abolished foreign cults, especially the Egyptian and the Jewish rites, compelling all who were addicted to such superstitions to burn their religious vestments and all their paraphernalia. Those of the Jews who were of military age he assigned to provinces of less healthy climate, ostensibly to serve in the army; the others of that same race or of similar beliefs he banished from the city, on pain of slavery for life if they did not obey. He banished the astrologers as well, but pardoned such as begged for indulgence and promised to give up their art.

37.

He gave special attention to securing safety from prowling brigands and lawless outbreaks. He stationed garrisons of soldiers nearer together than before throughout Italy, while at Rome he established a camp for the barracks of the praetorian cohorts, which before that time had been quartered in isolated groups in divers lodging houses.

He took great pains to prevent outbreaks of the populace and punished such as occurred with the utmost severity. When a quarrel in the theatre ended in bloodshed, he banished the leaders of the factions, as well as the actors who were the cause of the dissension; and no entreaties of the people could ever induce him to recall them. When the populace of Pollentia would not allow the body of a chief-centurion to be taken from the forum until their violence had extorted money from his heirs for a gladiatorial show, he dispatched one cohort from the city and another from the kingdom of Cottius, concealing the reason for the move, sent them into the city by different gates, suddenly revealing their arms and sounding their trumpets, and consigned the greater part of the populace and of the decurions to imprisonment. He abolished the customary right of asylum in all parts of the empire. Because the people of Cyzicus ventured to commit acts of special lawlessness against Roman citizens, he took from them the freedom which they had earned in the war with Mithridates.

He undertook no campaign after his accession, but quelled outbreaks of the

enemy through his generals; and even this he did only reluctantly and of necessity. Such kings as were disaffected and objects of his suspicion he held in check rather by threats and remonstrances than by force; some he lured to Rome by flattering promises and detained there, such as Marobodus the German, Rhascuporis the Thracian, and Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose realm he also reduced to the form of a province.

38.

For two whole years after becoming emperor he did not set foot outside the gates; after that he went nowhere except to the neighbouring towns, at farthest to Antium, and even that very seldom and for a few days at a time. Yet he often gave out that he would revisit the provinces too and the armies, and nearly every year he made preparations for a journey by chartering carriages and arranging for supplies in the free towns and colonies. Finally he allowed vows to be put up for his voyage and return, so that at last everybody jokingly gave him the name of Callippides, who was proverbial among the Greeks for running without getting ahead a cubit's length.

39.

But after being bereft of both his sons, — Germanicus had died in Syria and Drusus at Rome, — he retired to Campania, and almost everyone firmly believed and openly declared that he would never come back, but would soon die there. And both predictions were all but fulfilled; for he did not return again to Rome, and it chanced a few days later that as he was dining near Tarracina in a villa called the Grotto, many huge rocks fell from the ceiling and crushed a number of the guests and servants, while the emperor himself had a narrow escape.

40.

After traversing Campania and dedicating the Capitolium at Capua and a temple to Augustus at Nola, which was the pretext he had given for his journey, he went to Capreae, particularly attracted to that island because it was accessible by only one small beach, being everywhere girt with sheer cliffs of great height and by deep water. But he was at once recalled by the constant entreaties of the people, because of a disaster at Fidenae, where more than twenty thousand spectators had perished through the collapse of the amphitheatre during a gladiatorial show. So he crossed to the mainland and made himself accessible to

all, the more willingly because he had given orders on leaving the city that no one was to disturb him, and during the whole trip had repulsed those who tried to approach him.

41.

Then returning to the island, he utterly neglected the conduct of state affairs, from that time on never filling the vacancies in the decuries of the knights, nor changing the tribunes of the soldiers and prefects or the governors of any of his provinces. He left Spain and Syria without consular governors for several years, suffered Armenia to be overrun by the Parthians, Moesia to be laid waste by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and the Gallic provinces by the Germans, to the great dishonour of the empire and no less to its danger.

42.

Moreover, having gained the licence of privacy, and being as it were out of sight of the citizens, he at last gave free rein at once to all the vices which he had for a long time ill concealed; and of these I shall give a detailed account from the beginning. Even at the outset of his military career his excessive love of wine gave him the name of Biberius, instead of Tiberius, Caldius for Claudius, and Mero for Nero. Later, when emperor and at the very time that he was busy correcting the public morals, he spent a night and two whole days feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, immediately afterwards making the one governor of the province of Syria and the other prefect of the city, and even declaring in their commissions that they were the most agreeable of friends, who could always be counted on. He had a dinner given him by Cestius Gallus, a lustful and prodigal old man, who had once been degraded by Augustus and whom he had himself rebuked a few days before in the senate, making the condition that Cestius should change or omit none of his usual customs, and that nude girls should wait upon them at table. He gave a very obscure candidate for the quaestorship preference over men of the noblest families, because at the emperor's challenge he had drained an amphora of wine at a banquet. He paid Asellius Sabinus two hundred thousand sesterces for a dialogue, in which he had introduced a contest of a mushroom, a fig-pecker, an oyster and a thrush. He established a new office, master of the imperial pleasures, assigning it to Titus Caesonius Priscus, a Roman knight.

43.

On retiring to Capri he devised a pleasure for his secret orgies: teams of wantons of both sexes, selected as experts in deviant intercourse and dubbed analysts, copulated before him in triple unions to excite his flagging passions. His bedrooms were furnished with the most salacious paintings and sculptures, as well as with an erotic library, in case a performer should need an illustration of what was required. Then in Capri's woods and groves he arranged a number of nooks of venery where boys and girls got up as Pans and nymphs solicited outside bowers and grottoes: people openly called this "the old goat's garden," punning on the island's name.

44.

He acquired a reputation for still grosser depravities that one can hardly bear to tell or be told, let alone believe. For example, he trained little boys (whom he termed tiddlers) to crawl between his thighs when he went swimming and tease him with their licks and nibbles; and unweaned babies he would put to his organ as though to the breast, being by both nature and age rather fond of this form of satisfaction. Left a painting of Parrhasius's depicting Atalanta pleasuring Meleager with her lips on condition that if the theme displeased him he was to have a million sesterces instead, he chose to keep it and actually hung it in his bedroom. The story is also told that once at a sacrifice, attracted by the acolyte's beauty, he lost control of himself and, hardly waiting for the ceremony to end, rushed him off and debauched him and his brother, the flute-player, too; and subsequently, when they complained of the assault, he had their legs broken.

45.

How grossly he was in the habit of abusing women even of high birth is very clearly shown by the death of a certain Mallonia. When she was brought to his bed and refused most vigorously to submit to his lust, he turned her over to the informers, and even when she was on trial he did not cease to call out and ask her "whether she was sorry"; so that finally she left the court and went home, where she stabbed herself, openly upbraiding the ugly old man for his obscenity. Hence a stigma put upon him at the next plays in an Atellan farce was received with great applause and became current, that "the old goat was licking the does."

46.

In money matters he was frugal and close, never allowing the companions of

his foreign tours and campaigns a salary, but merely their keep. Only once did he treat them liberally, and then through the generosity of his stepfather, when he formed three classes according to each man's rank and gave to the first six hundred thousand sesterces, to the second four hundred thousand, and to the third, which he called one, not of his friends, but of his Greeks, two hundred thousand.

47.

While emperor he constructed no magnificent public works, for the only ones which he undertook, the temple of Augustus and the restoration of Pompey's theatre, he left unfinished after so many years. He gave no public shows at all, and very seldom attended those given by others, especially after he was forced to buy the freedom of a comic actor named Actius. Having relieved the neediness of a few senators, he avoided the necessity of further aid by declaring that he would help no others unless they proved to the senate that there were legitimate causes for their condition. Therefore diffidence and a sense of shame kept many from applying, among them Hortalus, grandson of Quintus Hortensius the orator, who though of very limited means had begotten four children with the encouragement of Augustus.

48.

He showed generosity to the public in but two instances, once when he offered to lend a hundred million sesterces without interest for a period of three years, and again when he made good the losses of some owners of blocks of houses on the Caelian mount, which had burned down. The former was forced upon him by the clamour of the people for help in a time of great financial stress, after he had failed to relieve the situation by a decree of the senate, providing that the money-lenders should invest two-thirds of their property in land, and that the debtors should at once pay the same proportion of their indebtedness; and the latter also was to relieve a condition of great hardship. Yet he made so much of his liberality in the latter case, that he had the name of the Caelian changed to the Augustan Mount. After he had doubled the legacies provided for in the will of Augustus, he never gave largess to the soldiers, with the exception of a thousand denarii to each of the praetorians, for not taking sides with Sejanus, and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had consecrated no image of Sejanus among their standards. He also very rarely allowed veteran soldiers their discharge, having an eye to their death from years, and a saving of money

through their death. He did not relieve the provinces either by any act of liberality, except Asia, when some cities were destroyed by an earthquake.

49.

Presently, as time went on, he even resorted to plunder. All the world knows that he drove Gnaeus Lentulus Augur, a man of great wealth, to take his own life through fear and mental anxiety, and to make the emperor his sole heir; that Lepida, too, a woman of very high birth, was condemned to banishment to gratify Quirinius, an opulent and childless ex-consul, who had divorced her, and twenty years later accused her of having attempted to poison him many years before; that besides this the leading men of the Spanish and Gallic provinces, as well as of Syria and Greece, had their property confiscated on trivial and shameless charges, some being accused of nothing more serious than having a part of their property in ready money; that many states and individuals were deprived of immunities of long standing, of the right of working mines and collecting revenues; that Vonones, king of the Parthians, who on being dethroned by his subjects had taken refuge at Antioch with a vast treasure, in the belief that he was putting himself under the protection of the Roman people, was treacherously despoiled and put to death.

50.

He first showed his hatred of his kindred in the case of his brother Drusus, producing a letter of his, in which Drusus discussed with him the question of compelling Augustus to restore the Republic; and then he turned against the rest. So far from showing any courtesy or kindness to his wife Julia, after her banishment, which is the least that one might expect, although her father's order had merely confined her to one town, he would not allow her even to leave her house or enjoy the society of mankind. Nay more, he even deprived her of the allowance granted her by her father and of her yearly income, under colour of observance of the common law, since Augustus had made no provision for these in his will. Vexed at his mother Livia, alleging that she claimed an equal share in the rule, he shunned frequent meetings with her and long and confidential conversations, to avoid the appearance of being guided by her advice; though in point of fact he was wont every now and then to need and to follow it. He was greatly offended too by a decree of the senate, providing that "son of Livia," as well as "son of Augustus" should be written in his honorary inscriptions. For this reason he would not suffer her to be named "Parent of her Country," nor to

receive any conspicuous public honour. More than that, he often warned her not to meddle with affairs of importance and unbecoming a woman, especially after he learned that at a fire near the temple of Vesta she had been present in person, and urged the people and soldiers to greater efforts, as had been her way while her husband was alive.

51.

Afterwards he reached the point of open enmity, and the reason, they say, was this. On her urging him again and again to appoint among the jurors a man who had been made a citizen, he declared that he would do it only on condition that she would allow an entry to be made in the official list that it was forced upon him by his mother. Then Livia, in a rage, drew from a secret place and read some old letters written to her by Augustus with regard to the austerity and stubbornness of Tiberius' disposition. He in turn was so put out that these had been preserved so long and were thrown up at him in such a spiteful spirit, that some think that this was the very strongest of the reasons for his retirement. At all events, during all the three years that she lived after he left Rome he saw her but once, and then only one day, for a very few hours; and when shortly after that she fell ill, he took no trouble to visit her. When she died, and after a delay of several days, during which he held out hope of his coming, had at last been buried because the condition of the corpse made it necessary, he forbade her deification, alleging that he was acting according to her own instructions. He further disregarded the provisions of her will, and within a short time caused the downfall of all her friends and intimates, even of those to whom she had on her deathbed entrusted the care of her obsequies, actually condemning one of them, and that a man of equestrian rank, to the treadmill.

52.

He had a father's affection neither for his own son Drusus nor his adopted son Germanicus, being exasperated at the former's vices; and, in fact, Drusus led a somewhat loose and dissolute life. Therefore, even when he died, Tiberius was not greatly affected, but almost immediately after the funeral returned to his usual routine, forbidding a longer period of mourning. Nay, more, when a deputation from Ilium offered him somewhat belated condolences, he replied with a smile, as if the memory of his bereavement had faded from his mind, that they, too, had his sympathy for the loss of their eminent fellow-citizen Hector. As to Germanicus, he was so far from appreciating him, that he made light of his

illustrious deeds as unimportant, and railed at his brilliant victories as ruinous to his country. He even made complaint in the senate when Germanicus, on the occasion of a sudden and terrible famine, went to Alexandria without consulting him. It is even believed that he caused his death at the hands of Gnaeus Piso, governor of Syria, and some think that when Piso was tried on that charge, he would have produced his instructions, had not Tiberius caused them to be taken from him when Piso privately showed them, and the man himself to be put to death. Because of this the words, "Give us back Germanicus," were posted in many places, and shouted at night all over the city. And Tiberius afterwards strengthened this suspicion by cruelly abusing the wife and children of Germanicus as well.

53.

When his daughter-in-law Agrippina was somewhat outspoken in her complaints after her husband's death, he took her by the hand and quoted a Greek verse, meaning, "Do you think a wrong is done you, dear daughter, if you are not empress?" After that he never deigned to hold any conversation with her. Indeed, after she showed fear of tasting an apple which he handed her at dinner, he even ceased to invite her to his table, alleging that he had been charged with an attempt to poison her; but as a matter of fact, the whole affair had been pre-arranged, that he should offer her the fruit to test her, and that she should refuse it as containing certain death. At last, falsely charging her with a desire to take refuge, now at the statue of Augustus and now with the armies, he exiled her to Pandataria, and when she loaded him with reproaches, he had her beaten by a centurion until one of her eyes was destroyed. Again, when she resolved to die of starvation, he had her mouth pried open and food crammed into it. Worst of all, when she persisted in her resolution and so perished, he assailed her memory with the basest slanders, persuading the senate to add her birthday to the days of ill omen, and actually taking credit to himself for not having had her strangled and her body cast out on the Stairs of Mourning. He even allowed a decree to be passed in recognition of this remarkable clemency, in which thanks were offered him and a golden gift was consecrated to Jupiter of the Capitol.

54.

By Germanicus he had three grandsons, Nero, Drusus, and Gaius, and by Drusus one, called Tiberius. Bereft of his own children, he recommended Nero and Drusus, the elder sons of Germanicus, to the senate, and celebrated the day

when each of them came to his majority by giving largess to the commons. But as soon as he learned that at the beginning of the year vows were being put up for their safety also, he referred the matter to the senate, saying that such honours ought to be conferred only on those of tried character and mature years. By revealing his true feelings towards them from that time on, he exposed them to accusations from all quarters, and after resorting to various tricks to rouse them to rail at him, and seeing to it that they were betrayed when they did so, he brought most bitter charges against them both in writing; and when they had in consequence been pronounced public enemies, he starved them to death, Nero on the island of Pontia and Drusus in a lower room of the Palace. It is thought that Nero was forced to take his own life, since an executioner, who pretended that he came by authority of the senate, showed him the noose and hooks, but that Drusus was so tortured by hunger that he tried to eat the stuffing of his mattress; while the remains of both were so scattered that it was with difficulty that they could ever be collected.

55.

In addition to his old friends and intimates, he had asked for twenty of the leading men of the State as advisers on public affairs. Of all these he spared hardly two or three; the others he destroyed on one pretext or another, including Aelius Sejanus, whose downfall involved the death of many others. This man he had advanced to the highest power, not so much from regard for him, as that he might through his services and wiles destroy the children of Germanicus and secure the succession for his own grandson, the child of his son Drusus.

56.

He was not a whit milder towards his Greek companions, in whose society he took special pleasure. When one Xeno was holding forth in somewhat far-fetched phrases, he asked him what dialect that was which was so affected, and on Xeno's replying that it was Doric, he banished him to Cinaria, believing that he was being taunted with his old-time exile, inasmuch as the Rhodians spoke Doric. He had the habit, too, of putting questions at dinner suggested by his daily reading, and learning that the grammarian Seleucus inquired of the imperial attendants what authors Tiberius was reading and so came primed, he at first banished the offender from his society, and later even forced him to commit suicide.

57.

His cruel and cold-blooded character was not completely hidden even in his boyhood. His teacher of rhetoric, Theodorus of Gadara, seems first to have had the insight to detect it, and to have characterized it very aptly, since in taking him to task he would now and then call him *πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον*, that is to say, “mud kneaded with blood.” But it grew still more noticeable after he became emperor, even at the beginning, when he was still courting popularity by a show of moderation. When a funeral was passing by and a jester called aloud to the corpse to let Augustus know that the legacies which he had left to the people were not yet being paid, Tiberius had the man haled before him, ordered that he be given his due and put to death, and bade him go tell the truth to his father. Shortly afterwards, when a Roman knight called Pompeius stoutly opposed some action in the senate, Tiberius threatened him with imprisonment, declaring that from a Pompeius he would make of him a Pompeian, punning cruelly on the man’s name and the fate of the old party.

58.

It was at about this time that a praetor asked him whether he should have the courts convened to consider cases of lese-majesty; to which he replied that the laws must be enforced, and he did enforce them most rigorously. One man had removed the head from a statue of Augustus, to substitute that of another; the case was tried in the senate, and since the evidence was conflicting, the witnesses were examined by torture. After the defendant had been condemned, this kind of accusation gradually went so far that even such acts as these were regarded as capital crimes: to beat a slave near a statue of Augustus, or to change one’s clothes there; to carry a ring or coin stamped with his image into a privy or a brothel, or to criticize any word or act of his. Finally, a man was put to death merely for allowing an honour to be voted him in his native town on the same day that honours had previously been voted to Augustus.

59.

He did so many other cruel and savage deeds under the guise of strictness and improvement of the public morals, but in reality rather to gratify his natural instincts, that some resorted to verses to express their detestation of the present ills and a warning against those to come:

“Cruel and merciless man, shall I briefly say all I would utter?

Hang me if even your dam for you affection can feel.

You are no knight. Why so? The hundred thousands are lacking;
If you ask the whole tale, you were an exile at Rhodes.

You, O Caesar, have altered the golden ages of Saturn;
For while you are alive, iron they ever will be.

Nothing for wine cares this fellow, since now 'tis for blood he is
thirsting;

This he as greedily quaffs as before wine without water.

Look, son of Rome, upon Sulla, for himself not for you blest and
happy,

Marius too, if you will, but after capturing Rome;

Hands of an Antony see, rousing the strife of the people,

Hands stained with blood not once, dripping again and again;

Then say: Rome is no more! He ever has reigned with great bloodshed,

Whoso made himself king, coming from banishment home.”

These at first he wished to be taken as the work of those who were impatient
of his reforms, voicing not so much their real feelings as their anger and
vexation; and he used to say from time to time: “Let them hate me, provided
they respect my conduct.” Later he himself proved them only too true and
unerring.

60.

A few days after he reached Capreae and was by himself, a fisherman
appeared unexpectedly and offered him a huge mullet; whereupon in his alarm
that the man had clambered up to him from the back of the island over rough and
pathless rocks, he had the poor fellow's face scrubbed with the fish. And because
in the midst of his torture the man thanked his stars that he had not given the
emperor an enormous crab that he had caught, Tiberius had his face torn with the
crab also. He punished a soldier of the praetorian guard with death for having
stolen a peacock from his preserves. When the litter in which he was making a
trip was stopped by brambles, he had the man who went ahead to clear the way,
a centurion of the first cohorts, stretched out on the ground and flogged half to
death.

61.

Presently he broke out into every form of cruelty, for which he never lacked
occasion, venting it on the friends and even the acquaintances, first of his

mother, then of his grandsons and daughter-in-law, and finally of Sejanus. After the death of Sejanus he was more cruel than ever, which showed that his favourite was not wont to egg him on, but on the contrary gave him the opportunities which he himself desired. Yet in a brief and sketchy autobiography which he composed he had the assurance to write that he had punished Sejanus because he found him venting his hatred on the children of his son Germanicus. Whereas in fact he had himself put one of them to death after he had begun to suspect Sejanus and the other after the latter's downfall.

It is a long story to run through his acts of cruelty in detail; it will be enough to mention the forms which they took, as samples of his barbarity. Not a day passed without an execution, not even those that were sacred and holy; for he put some to death even on New Year's day. Many were accused and condemned with their children and even by their children. The relatives of the victims were forbidden to mourn for them. Special rewards were voted the accusers and sometimes even the witnesses. The word of no informer was doubted. Every crime was treated as capital, even the utterance of a few simple words. A poet was charged with having slandered Agamemnon in a tragedy, and a writer of history of having called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans. The writers were at once put to death and their works destroyed, although they had been read with approval in public some years before in the presence of Augustus himself. Some of those who were consigned to prison were denied not only the consolation of reading, but even the privilege of conversing and talking together. Of those who were cited to plead their causes some opened their veins at home, feeling sure of being condemned and wishing to avoid annoyance and humiliation, while others drank poison in full view of the senate; yet the wounds of the former were bandaged and they were hurried half-dead, but still quivering, to the prison. Every one of those who were executed was thrown out up the Stairs of Mourning and dragged to the Tiber with hooks, as many as twenty being so treated in a single day, including women and children. Since ancient usage made it impious to strangle maidens, young girls were first violated by the executioner and then strangled. Those who wished to die were forced to live; for he thought death so light a punishment that when he heard that one of the accused, Carnulus by name, had anticipated his execution, he cried: "Carnulus has given me the slip"; and when he was inspecting the prisons and a man begged for a speedy death, he replied: "I have not yet become your friend." An ex-consul has recorded in his Annals that once at a large dinner-party, at which the writer himself was present, Tiberius was suddenly asked in a loud voice by one of the dwarfs that stood beside the table among the jesters why Paconius, who was charged with treason, remained so long alive; that the emperor at the

time chided him for his saucy tongue, but a few days later wrote to the senate to decide as soon as possible about the execution of Paconius.

62.

He increased his cruelty and carried it to greater lengths, exasperated by what he learned about the death of his son Drusus. At first supposing that he had died of disease, due to his bad habits, on finally learning that he had been poisoned by the treachery of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, there was no one whom Tiberius spared from torment and death. Indeed, he gave himself up so utterly for whole days to this investigation and was so wrapped up in it, that when he was told of the arrival of a host of his from Rhodes, whom he had invited to Rome in a friendly letter, he had him put to the torture at once, supposing that someone had come whose testimony was important for the case. On discovering his mistake, he even had the man put to death, to keep him from giving publicity to the wrong done him.

At Capreae they still point out the scene of his executions, from which he used to order that those who had been condemned after long and exquisite tortures be cast headlong into the sea before his eyes, while a band of marines waited below for the bodies and broke their bones with boathooks and oars, to prevent any breath of life from remaining in them. Among various forms of torture he had devised this one: he would trick men into loading themselves with copious draughts of wine, and then on a sudden tying up their private parts, would torment them at the same time by the torture of the cords and of the stoppage of their water. And had not death prevented him, and Thrasyllus, purposely it is said, induced him to put off some things through hope of a longer life, it is believed that still more would have perished, and that he would not even have spared the rest of his grandsons; for he had his suspicions of Gaius and detested Tiberius as the fruit of adultery. And this is highly probable, for he used at all times to call Priam happy, because he had outlived all his kindred.

63.

Many things go to show, not only how hated and execrable he was all this time, but also that he lived a life of extreme fear and was even exposed to insult. He forbade anyone to consult soothsayers secretly and without witnesses. Indeed, he even attempted to do away with the oracles near the city, but forbore through terror at the divine power of the Praenestine lots; for though he had them sealed up in a chest and brought to Rome, he could not find them until the box

was taken back to the temple. He had assigned provinces to one or two ex-consuls, of whom he did not dare to lose sight, but he detained them at Rome and finally appointed their successors several years later without their having left the city. In the meantime they retained their titles, and he even continued to assign them numerous commissions, to execute through their deputies and assistants.

64.

After the exile of his daughter-in-law and grandchildren he never moved them anywhere except in fetters and in a tightly closed litter, while a guard of soldiers kept any who met them on the road from looking at them or even from stopping as they went by.

65.

When Sejanus was plotting revolution, although he saw the man's birthday publicly celebrated and his golden statues honoured everywhere, yet it was with difficulty that he at last overthrew him, rather by craft and deceit than by his imperial authority. First of all, to remove him from his person under colour of showing him honour, he chose him as his colleague in a fifth consulship, which, with this very end in view, he assumed after a long interval while absent from the city. Then beguiling him with hope of marriage into the imperial family and of the tribunicial power, he accused him when he least expected it in a shameful and pitiable speech, begging the senators among other things to send one of the consuls to bring him, a lonely old man, into their presence under military protection. Even then distrustful and fearful of an outbreak, he had given orders that his grandson Drusus, whom he still kept imprisoned in Rome, should be set free, if occasion demanded, and made commander-in-chief. He even got ships ready and thought of flight to some of the legions, constantly watching from a high cliff for the signals which he had ordered to be raised afar off as each step was taken, for fear the messengers should be delayed. But even when the conspiracy of Sejanus was crushed, he was no whit more confident or courageous, but for the next nine months he did not leave the villa which is called Io's.

66.

His anxiety of mind became torture because of reproaches of all kinds from

every quarter, since every single one of those who were condemned to death heaped all kinds of abuse upon him, either to his face or by billets placed in the orchestra. By these, however, he was most diversely affected, now through a sense of shame desiring that they all be concealed and kept secret, sometimes scorning them and producing them of his own accord and giving them publicity. What, he was even attacked by Artabanus, king of the Parthians, who charged him in a letter with the murder of his kindred, with other bloody deeds, and with shameless and dissolute living, counselling him to gratify the intense and just hatred of the citizens as soon as possible by a voluntary death.

67.

At last in utter self-disgust he all but admitted to extremity of his wretchedness in a letter beginning as follows: "If I know what to write to you, Fathers of the Senate, or how to write it, or what to leave unwritten at present, may all gods and goddesses visit me with more destruction than I feel that I am daily suffering." Some think that through his knowledge of the future he foresaw this situation, and knew long beforehand what detestation and ill-repute one day awaited him; and that therefore when he became emperor, he positively refused the title of "Father of his Country" and to allow the senate to take oath to support his acts, for fear that he might presently be found undeserving of such honours and thus be the more shamed. In fact, this may be gathered from the speech which he made regarding these two matters; for example, when he says; "I shall always be consistent and never change my ways so long as I am in my sense; but for the sake of precedent the senate should beware of binding itself to support the acts of any man, since he might though some mischance suffer a change." Again: "If you ever come to feel any doubt," he says, "of my character or of my heartfelt devotion to you (and before that happens, I pray that my last day may save me from this altered opinion of me), the title of Father of my Country will give me no additional honour, but will be a reproach to you, either for your hasty action in conferring the appellation upon me, or for your inconsistency in changing your estimate of my character."

68.

He was large and strong of frame, and of a stature above the average; broad of shoulders and chest; well proportioned and symmetrical from head to foot. His left hand was the more nimble and stronger, and its joints were so powerful that he could bore through a fresh, sound apple with his finger, and break the head of

a boy, or even a young man, with a fillip. He was of fair complexion and wore his hair rather long at the back, so much so as even to cover the nape of his neck; which was apparently a family trait. His face was handsome, but would break out on a sudden with many pimples. His eyes were unusually large and, strange to say, had the power of seeing even at night and in the dark, but only for a short time when first opened after sleep; presently they grew dim-sighted again. He strode along with his neck stiff and bent forward, usually with a stern countenance and for the most part in silence, never or very rarely conversing with his companions, and then speaking with great deliberation and with a kind of supple movement of his fingers. All of these mannerisms of his, which were disagreeable and signs of arrogance, were remarked by Augustus, who often tried to excuse them to the senate and people by declaring that they were natural failings, and not intentional. He enjoyed excellent health, which was all but perfect during nearly the whole of his reign, although from the thirtieth year of his age he took care of it according to his own ideas, without the aid or advice of physicians.

69.

Although somewhat neglectful of the gods and of religious matters, being addicted to astrology and firmly convinced that everything was in the hands of fate, he was nevertheless immoderately afraid of thunder. Whenever the sky was lowering, he always wore a laurel wreath, because it is said that that kind of leaf is not blasted by lightning.

70.

He was greatly devoted to liberal studies in both languages. In his Latin oratory he followed Messala Corvinus, to whom he had given attention in his youth, when Messala was an old man. But he so obscured his style by excessive mannerisms and pedantry, that he was thought to speak much better offhand than in a prepared address. He also composed a lyric poem, entitled "A Lament for the Death of Lucius Caesar," and made Greek verses in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, poets of whom he was very fond, placing their busts in the public libraries among those of the eminent writers of old; and on that account many learned men vied with one another in issuing commentaries on their works and dedicating them to the emperor. Yet his special aim was a knowledge of mythology, which he carried to a silly and laughable extreme; for he used to test even the grammarians, a class of men in whom, as I have said, he

was especially interested, by questions something like this: “Who was Hecuba’s mother?” “What was the name of Achilles among the maidens?” “What were the Sirens in the habit of singing?” Moreover, on the first day that he entered the senate after the death of Augustus, to satisfy at once the demands of filial piety and religion, he offered sacrifice after the example of Minos with incense and wine, but without a fluteplayer, as Minos had done in ancient times on the death of his son.

71.

Though he spoke Greek readily and fluently, yet he would not use it on all occasions, and especially eschewed it in the senate; so much so that before using the word “monopolium,” he begged pardon for the necessity of employing a foreign term. Again, when the word *ἔμβλημα* was read in a decree of the senate, he recommended that it be changed and a native word substituted for the foreign one; and if one could not be found, that the idea be expressed by several words, if necessary, and by periphrasis. On another occasion, when a soldier was asked in Greek to give testimony, he forbade him to answer except in Latin.

72.

Twice only during the whole period of his retirement did he try to return to Rome, once sailing in a trireme as far as the gardens near the artificial lake, after first posting a guard along the banks of the Tiber to keep off those who came out to meet him; and again coming up the Appian Way as far as the seventh milestone. But he returned after merely having a distant view of the city walls, without approaching them; the first time for some unknown reason, the second through alarm at a portent. He had among his pets a serpent, and when he was going to feed it from his own hand, as his custom was, and discovered that it had been devoured by ants, he was warned to beware of the power of the multitude. So he went back in haste to Campania, fell ill at Astura, but recovering somewhat kept on to Circeii. To avoid giving any suspicion of his weak condition, he not only attended the games of the soldiers, but even threw down darts from his high seat at a boar which was let into the arena. Immediately he was taken with a pain in the side, and then being exposed to a draught when he was overheated, his illness increased. For all that, he kept up for some time, although he continued his journey as far as Misenum and made no change in his usual habits, not even giving up his banquets and other pleasures, partly from lack of self-denial and partly to conceal his condition. Indeed, when the

physician Charicles had taken his hand to kiss it as he left the dining-room, since he was going away on leave of absence, Tiberius, thinking that he was trying to feel his pulse, urged him to remain and take his place again, and prolonged the dinner to a late hour. Even then he did not give up his custom of standing in the middle of the dining-room with a lictor by his side and addressing all the guests by name as they said farewell.

73.

Meanwhile, having read in the proceedings of the senate that some of those under accusation, about whom he had written briefly, merely stating that they had been named by an informer, had been discharged without a hearing, he cried out in anger that he was held in contempt, and resolved to return to Capreae at any cost, since he would not risk any step except from his place of refuge. Detained, however, by bad weather and the increasing violence of his illness, he died a little later in the villa of Lucullus, in the seventy-eighth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign, on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of April, in the consulship of Gnaeus Acerronius Proculus and Gaius Pontius Nigrinus.

Some think that Gaius gave him a slow and wasting poison; others that during convalescence from an attack of fever food was refused him when he asked for it. Some say that a pillow was thrown upon his face, when he came to and asked for a ring which had been taken from him during a fainting fit. Seneca writes that conscious of his approaching end, he took off the ring, as if to give it to someone, but held fast to it for a time; then he put it back on his finger, and clenching his left hand, lay for a long time motionless; suddenly he called for his attendants, and on receiving no response, got up; but his strength failed him and he fell dead near the couch.

74.

On his last birthday he dreamt that the Apollo of Temenos, a statue of remarkable size and beauty, which he had brought from Syracuse to be set up in the library of the new temple, appeared to him in a dream, declaring that it could not be dedicated by Tiberius. A few days before his death the lighthouse at Capreae was wrecked by an earthquake. At Misenum the ashes from the glowing coals and embers which had been brought in to warm his dining-room, after they had died out and been for a long time cold, suddenly blazed up in the early evening and glowed without cessation until late at night.

75.

The people were so glad of his death, that at the first news of it some ran about shouting, "Tiberius to the Tiber," while others prayed to Mother Earth and the Manes to allow the dead man no abode except among the damned. Still others threatened his body with the hook and the Stairs of Mourning, especially embittered by a recent outrage, added to the memory of his former cruelty. It had been provided by decree of the senate that the execution of the condemned should in all cases be put off for ten days, and it chanced that the punishment of some fell due on the day when the news came about Tiberius. The poor wretches begged the public for protection; but since in the continued absence of Gaius there was no one who could be approached and appealed to, the jailers, fearing to act contrary to the law, strangled them and cast out their bodies on the Stairs of Mourning. Therefore hatred of the tyrant waxed greater, since his cruelty endured even after his death. When the funeral procession left Misenum, many cried out that the body ought rather to be carried to Atella, and half-burned in the amphitheatre; but it was taken to Rome by the soldiers and reduced to ashes with public ceremonies.

76.

Two years before his death he had made two copies of a will, one in his own hand and the other in that of a freedman, but of the same content, and had caused them to be signed and sealed by persons of the very lowest condition. In this will he named his grandsons, Gaius, son of Germanicus, and Tiberius, son of Drusus, heirs to equal shares of his estate, each to be sole heir in case of the other's death. Besides, he gave legacies to several, including the vestal virgins, as well as to each and every man of the soldiers and the commons of Rome, with separate ones to the masters of the city wards.

THE LIFE OF CALIGULA

1.

Germanicus, father of Gaius Caesar, son of Drusus and the younger Antonia, after being adopted by his paternal uncle Tiberius, held the quaestorship five years before the legal age and passed directly to the consulship. When the death of Augustus was announced, he was sent to the army in Germany, where it is hard to say whether his filial piety or his courage was more conspicuous; for although all the legions obstinately refused to accept Tiberius as emperor, and offered him the rule of the state, he held them to their allegiance. And later he won a victory over the enemy and celebrated a triumph. Then chosen consul for a second time, before he entered on his term he was hurried off to restore order in the Orient, and after vanquishing the king of Armenia and reducing Cappadocia to the form of a province, died of a lingering illness at Antioch, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. There was some suspicion that he was poisoned; for besides the dark spots which appeared all over his body and the froth which flowed from his mouth, after he had been reduced to ashes his heart was found entire among his bones; and it is supposed to be a characteristic of that organ that when steeped in poison it cannot be destroyed by fire.

2.

Now the belief was that he met his death through the wiles of Tiberius, aided and abetted by Gnaeus Piso. This man had been made governor of Syria at about that time, and realising that he must give offence either to the father or the son, as if there were no alternative, he never ceased to show the bitterest enmity towards Germanicus in word and deed, even after the latter fell ill. In consequence Piso narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the people on his return to Rome, and was condemned to death by the senate.

3.

It is the general opinion that Germanicus possessed all the highest qualities of body and mind, to a degree never equalled by anyone; a handsome person, unequalled valour, surpassing ability in the oratory and learning of Greece and Rome, unexampled kindness, and a remarkable desire and capacity for winning men's regard and inspiring their affection. His legs were too slender for the rest

of his figure, but he gradually brought them to proper proportions by constant horseback riding after meals. He often slew a foeman in hand-to-hand combat. He pleaded causes even after receiving the triumphal regalia; and among other fruits of his studies he left some Greek comedies. Unassuming at home and abroad, he always entered the free and federate towns without lictors. Wherever he came upon the tombs of distinguished men, he always offered sacrifice to their shades. Planning to bury in one mound the old and scattered relics of those who fell in the overthrow of Varus, he was the first to attempt to collect and assemble them with his own hand. Even towards his detractors, whosoever they were and whatever their motives, he was so mild and lenient, that when Piso was annulling his decrees and maltreating his dependents, he could not make up his mind to break with him, until he found himself assailed also by potions and spells. Even then he went no further than formally to renounce Piso's friendship in the old-time fashion, and to bid his household avenge him, in case anything should befall him.

4.

He reaped plentiful fruit from these virtues, for he was so respected and beloved by his kindred that Augustus (to say nothing of the rest of his relatives) after hesitating for a long time whether to appoint him his successor, had him adopted by Tiberius. He was so popular with the masses, that, according to many writers, whenever he came to any place or left one, he was sometimes in danger of his life from the crowds that met him or saw him off; in fact, when he returned from Germany after quelling the outbreak, all the cohorts of the praetorian guard went forth to meet him, although orders had been given that only two should go, and the whole populace, regardless of age, sex, or rank, poured out of Rome as far as the twentieth milestone.

5.

Yet far greater and stronger tokens of regard were shown at the time of his death and immediately afterwards. On the day when he passed away the temples were stoned and the altars of the gods thrown down, while some flung their household gods into the street and cast out their newly born children. Even barbarian peoples, so they say, who were engaged in war with us or with one another, unanimously consented to a truce, as if all in common had suffered a domestic tragedy. It is said that some princes put off their beards and had their wives' heads shaved, as a token of the deepest mourning; that even the king of

kings suspended his exercise at hunting and the banquets with his grandees, which among the Parthians is a sign of public mourning.

6.

At Rome when the community, in grief and consternation at the first report of his illness, was awaiting further news, and suddenly after nightfall a report at last spread abroad, on doubtful authority, that he had recovered, a general rush was made from every side to the Capitol with torches and victims, and the temple gates were all but torn off, that nothing might hinder them in their eagerness to pay their vows. Tiberius was roused from sleep by the cries of the rejoicing throng, who all united in singing:

“Safe is Rome, safe too our country, for Germanicus is safe.”

But when it was at last made known that he was no more, the public grief could be checked neither by any consolation nor edict, and it continued even during the festal days of the month of December.

The fame of the deceased and regret for his loss were increased by the horror of the times which followed, since all believed, and with good reason, that the cruelty of Tiberius, which soon burst forth, had been held in check through his respect and awe for Germanicus.

7.

He had to wife Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, who bore him nine children. Two of these were taken off when they were still in infancy, and one just as he was reaching the age of boyhood, a charming child, whose statue, in the guise of Cupid, Livia dedicated in the temple of the Capitoline Venus, while Augustus had another placed in his bed chamber and used to kiss it fondly whenever he entered the room. The other children survived their father, three girls, Agrippa, Drusilla, and Livilla, born in successive years, and three boys, Nero, Drusus, and Gaius Caesar. Nero and Drusus were adjudged public enemies by the senate on the accusation of Tiberius.

8.

Gaius Caesar was born the day before the Kalends of September in the consulship of his father and Gaius Fonteius Capito. Conflicting testimony makes his birthplace uncertain. Gnaeus Lentulus Gaetulicus writes that he was born at Tibur, Plinius Secundus among the Treveri, in a village called Ambitarvium

above the Confluence. Pliny adds as proof that altars are shown there, inscribed "For the Delivery of Agrippina." Verses which were in circulation soon after he became emperor indicate that he was begotten in the winter-quarters of the legions:

"He who was born in the camp and reared 'mid the arms of his country,
Gave at the outset a sign that he was fated to rule."

I myself find in the gazette that he first saw the light at Antium. Gaetulicus is shown to be wrong by Pliny, who says that he told a flattering lie, to add some lustre to the fame of a young and vainglorious prince from the city sacred to Hercules; and that he lied with the more assurance because Germanicus really did have a son born to him at Tibur, also called Gaius Caesar, of whose lovable disposition and untimely death I have already spoken. Pliny has erred in his chronology; for the historians of Augustus agree that Germanicus was not sent to Germany until the close of his consulship, when Gaius was already born. Moreover, the inscription on the altar adds no strength to Pliny's view, for Agrippina twice gave birth to daughters in that region, and any childbirth, regardless of sex, is called *puerperium*, since the men of old called girls *puerae*, just as they called boys *puelli*. Furthermore, we have a letter written by Augustus to his granddaughter Agrippina, a few months before he died, about the Gaius in question (for no other child of the name was still alive at that time), reading as follows: "Yesterday I arranged with Talarius and Asillius to bring your boy Gaius on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of June, if it be the will of the gods. I send with him besides one of my slaves who is a physician, and I have written Germanicus to keep him if he wishes. Farewell, my own Agrippina, and take care to come in good health to your Germanicus."

I think it is clear enough that Gaius could not have been born in a place to which he was first taken from Rome when he was nearly two years old. This letter also weakens our confidence in the verses, the more so because they are anonymous. We must then accept the only remaining testimony, that of the public record, particularly since Gaius loved Antium as if it were his native soil, always preferring it to all other places of retreat, and even thinking, it is said, of transferring there the seat and abode of the empire through weariness of Rome.

9.

His surname Caligula he derived from a joke of the troops, because he was brought up in their midst in the dress of a common soldier. To what extent besides he won their love and devotion by being reared in fellowship with them is especially evident from the fact that when they threatened mutiny after the

death of Augustus and were ready for any act of madness, the mere sight of Gaius unquestionably calmed them. For they did not become quiet until they saw that he was being spirited away because of the danger from their outbreak and taken for protection to the nearest town. Then at last they became contrite, and laying hold of the carriage and stopping it, begged to be spared the disgrace which was being put upon them.

10.

He attended his father also on his expedition to Syria. On his return from there he first lived with his mother and after her banishment, with his great-grandmother Livia; and when Livia died, though he was not yet of age, he spoke her eulogy from the rostra. Then he fell to the care of his grandmother Antonia and in the nineteenth year of his age he was called to Capreae by Tiberius, on the same day assuming the gown of manhood and shaving his first beard, but without any such ceremony as had attended the coming of age of his brothers. Although at Capreae every kind of wile was resorted to by those who tried to lure him or force him to utter complaints, he never gave them any satisfaction, ignoring the ruin of his kindred as if nothing at all had happened, passing over his own ill-treatment with an incredible pretence of indifference, and so obsequious towards his grandfather and his household, that it was well said of him that no one had ever been a better slave or a worse master.

11.

Yet even at that time he could not control his natural cruelty and viciousness, but he was a most eager witness of the tortures and executions of those who suffered punishment, revelling at night in gluttony and adultery, disguised in a wig and a long robe, passionately devoted besides to the theatrical arts of dancing and singing, in which Tiberius very willingly indulged him, in the hope that through these his savage nature might be softened. This last was so clearly evident to the shrewd old man, that he used to say now and then that to allow Gaius to live would prove the ruin of himself and of all men, and that he was rearing a viper for the Roman people and a Phaethon for the world.

12.

Not so very long afterward Gaius took to wife Junia Claudilla, daughter of Marcus Silanus, a man of noble rank. Then appointed augur in place of his

brother Drusus, before he was invested with the office he was advanced to that of pontiff, with strong commendation of his dutiful conduct and general character; for since the court was deserted and deprived of its other supports, after Sejanus had been suspected of hostile designs and presently put out of the way, he was little by little encouraged to look forward to the succession. To have a better chance of realising this, after losing Junia in childbirth, he seduced Ennia Naevia, wife of Macro, who at that time commanded the praetorian guard, even promising to marry her if he became emperor, and guaranteeing this promise by an oath and a written contract. Having through her wormed himself into Macro's favour, he poisoned Tiberius, as some think, and ordered that his ring be taken from him while he still breathed, and then suspecting that he was trying to hold fast to it, that a pillow be put over his face; or even strangled the old man with his own hand, immediately ordering the crucifixion of a freedman who cried out at the awful deed. And this is likely enough; for some writers say that Caligula himself later admitted, not it is true that he had committed parricide, but that he had at least meditated it at one time; for they say that he constantly boasted, in speaking of his filial piety, that he had entered the bedchamber of the sleeping Tiberius dagger in hand, to avenge the death of his mother and brothers; but that, seized with pity, he threw down the dagger and went out again; and that though Tiberius knew of this, he had never dared to make any inquiry or take any action.

13.

By thus gaining the throne he fulfilled the highest hopes of the Roman people, or I may say of all mankind, since he was the prince most earnestly desired by the great part of the provincials and soldiers, many of whom had known him in his infancy, as well as by the whole body of the city populace, because of the memory of his father Germanicus and pity for a family that was all but extinct. Accordingly, when he set out from Misenum, though he was in mourning garb and escorting the body of Tiberius, yet his progress was marked by altars, victims, and blazing torches, and he was met by a dense and joyful throng, who called him besides other propitious names their "star," their "chick," their "babe," and their "nursling."

14.

When he entered the city, full and absolute power was at once put into his hands by the unanimous consent of the senate and of the mob, which forced its

way into the House, and no attention was paid to the wish of Tiberius, who in his will had named his other grandson, still a boy, joint heir with Caligula. So great was the public rejoicing, that within the next three months, or less than that, more than a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been slain in sacrifice.

A few days after this, when he crossed to the islands near Campania, vows were put up for his safe return, while no one let slip even the slightest chance of giving testimony to his anxiety and regard for his safety. But when he fell ill, they all spent the whole night about the Palace; some even vowed to fight as gladiators, and others posted placards offering their lives, if the ailing prince were spared. To this unbounded love of his citizens was added marked devotion from foreigners. Artabanus, for example, king of the Parthians, who was always outspoken in his hatred and contempt for Tiberius, voluntarily sought Caligula's friendship and came to a conference with the consular governor; then crossing the Euphrates, he paid homage to the Roman eagles and standards and to the statues of the Caesars.

15.

Gaius himself tried to rouse men's devotion by courting popularity in every way. After eulogising Tiberius with many tears before the assembled people and giving him a magnificent funeral, he at once posted off to Pandateria and the Pontian islands, to remove the ashes of his mother and brother to Rome; and in stormy weather, too, to make his filial piety the more conspicuous. He approached them with reverence and placed them in the urn with his own hands. With no less theatrical effect he brought them to Ostia in a bireme with a banner set in the stern, and from there up the Tiber to Rome, where he had them carried to the Mausoleum on two biers by the most distinguished men of the order of knights, in the middle of the day, when the streets were crowded. He appointed funeral sacrifices, too, to be offered each year with due ceremony, as well as games in the Circus in honour of his mother, providing a carriage to carry her image in the procession. But in memory of his father he gave to the month of September the name of Germanicus. After this, by a decree of the senate, he heaped upon his grandmother Antonia whatever honours Livia Augusta had ever enjoyed; took his uncle Claudius, who up to that time had been a Roman knight, as his colleague in the consulship; adopted his brother Tiberius on the day that he assumed the gown of manhood, and gave him the title of Chief of the Youth. He caused the names of his sisters to be included in all oaths: "And I will not hold myself and my children dearer than I do Gaius and his sisters"; as well as in

the propositions of the consuls: "Favour and good fortune attend Gaius Caesar and his sisters."

With the same degree of popularity he recalled those who had been condemned to banishment; took no cognizance of any charges that remained untried from an earlier time; had all documents relating to the cases of his mother and brothers carried to the Forum and burned, to give no informer or witness occasion for further fear, having first loudly called the gods to witness that he had neither read nor touched any of them. He refused a note which was offered him regarding his own safety, maintaining that he had done nothing to make anyone hate him, and that he had no ears for informers.

16.

He banished from the city the sexual perverts called *spintriae*, barely persuaded not to sink them in the sea. The writings of Titus Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Cassius Severus, which had been suppressed by decrees of the senate, he allowed to be hunted up, circulated, and read, saying that it was wholly to his interest that everything which happened be handed down to posterity. He published the accounts of the empire, which had regularly been made public by Augustus, a practice discontinued by Tiberius. He allowed the magistrates unrestricted jurisdiction, without appeal to himself. He revised the lists of the Roman knights strictly and scrupulously, yet with due moderation, publicly taking their horses from those guilty of any wicked or scandalous act, but merely omitting to read the names of men convicted of lesser offences. To lighten the labour of the jurors, he added a fifth division to the previous four. He tried also to restore the suffrage to the people by reviving the custom of elections. He at once paid faithfully and without dispute the legacies named in the will of Tiberius, though this had been set aside, as well as in that of Julia Augusta, which Tiberius had suppressed. He remitted the tax of a two-hundredth on auction sales in Italy; made good to many their losses from fires; and whenever he restored kings to their thrones, he allowed them all the arrears of their taxes and their revenue for the meantime; for example, to Antiochus of Commagene, a hundred million sesterces that had accrued to the Treasury. To make it known that he encouraged every kind of noble action, he gave eight hundred thousand sesterces to a freedwoman, because she had kept silence about the guilt of her patron, though subjected to the utmost torture. Because of these acts, besides other honours, a golden shield was voted him, which was to be borne every year to the Capitol on an appointed day by the colleges of priests, escorted by the senate, while boys and girls of noble birth sang the praises of his

virtues in a choral ode. It was further decreed that the day on which he began to reign should be called the Parilia, as a token that the city had been founded a second time.

17.

He held four consulships, one from the Kalends of July for two months, a second from the Kalends of January for thirty days, a third up to the Ides of January, and the fourth until the seventh day before the Ides of the same month. Of all these only the last two were continuous. The third he assumed at Lugdunum without a colleague, not, as some think, through arrogance or disregard of precedent, but because at that distance from Rome he had been unable to get news of the death of the other consul just before the day of the Kalends. He twice gave the people a largess of three hundred sesterces each, and twice a lavish banquet to the senate and the equestrian order, together with their wives and children. At the former of these he also distributed togas to the men, and to the women and children scarves of red and scarlet. Furthermore, to make a permanent addition to the public gaiety, he added a day to the Saturnalia, and called it *Juvenalis*.

18.

He gave several gladiatorial shows, some in the amphitheatre of Taurus and some in the Saepta, in which he introduced pairs of African and Campanian boxers, the pick of both regions. He did not always preside at the games in person, but sometimes assigned the honour to the magistrates or to friends. He exhibited stage-plays continually, of various kinds and in many different places, sometimes even by night, lighting up the whole city. He also threw about gifts of various kinds, and gave each man a basket of victuals. During the feasting he sent his share to a Roman knight opposite him, who was eating with evident relish and appetite, while to a senator for the same reason he gave a commission naming him praetor out of the regular order. He also gave many games in the Circus, lasting from early morning until evening, introducing between the races now a baiting of panthers and now the manoeuvres of the game called Troy; some, too, of special splendour, in which the Circus was strewn with red and green, while the charioteers were all men of senatorial rank. He also started some games off-hand, when a few people called for them from the neighbouring balconies, as he was inspecting the outfit of the Circus from the Gelotian house.

19.

Besides this, he devised a novel and unheard of kind of pageant; for he bridged the gap between Baiae and the mole at Puteoli, a distance of about thirty-six hundred paces, by bringing together merchant ships from all sides and anchoring them in a double line, afterwards a mound of earth was heaped upon them and fashioned in the manner of the Appian Way. Over this bridge he rode back and forth for two successive days, the first day on a caparisoned horse, himself resplendent in a crown of oak leaves, a buckler, a sword, and a cloak of cloth of gold; on the second, in the dress of a charioteer in a car drawn by a pair of famous horses, carrying before him a boy named Dareus, one of the hostages from Parthia, and attended by the entire praetorian guard and a company of his friends in Gallic chariots. I know that many have supposed that Gaius devised this kind of bridge in rivalry of Xerxes, who excited no little admiration by bridging the much narrower Hellespont; others, that it was to inspire fear in Germany and Britain, on which he had gardens, by the fame of some stupendous work. But when I was a boy, I used to hear my grandfather say that the reason for the work, as revealed by the emperor's confidential courtiers, was that Thrasyllus the astrologer had declared to Tiberius, when he was worried about his successor and inclined towards his natural grandson, that Gaius had no more chance of becoming emperor than of riding about over the gulf of Baiae with horses.

20.

He also gave shows in foreign lands, Athenian games at Syracuse in Sicily, and miscellaneous games at Lugdunum in Gaul; at the latter place also a contest in Greek and Latin oratory, in which, they say, the losers gave prizes to the victors and were forced to compose eulogies upon them, while those who were least successful were ordered to erase their writings with a sponge or with their tongue, unless they elected rather to be beaten with rods or thrown into the neighbouring river.

21.

He completed the public works which had been half finished under Tiberius, namely the temple of Augustus and the theatre of Pompey. He likewise began an aqueduct in the region near Tibur and an amphitheatre beside the Saepta, the former finished by his successor Claudius, while the latter was abandoned. At

Syracuse he repaired the city walls, which had fallen into ruin though lapse of time, and the temples of the gods. He had planned, besides, to rebuild the palace of Polycrates at Samos, to finish the temple of Didymaeon Apollo at Ephesus, to found a city high up in the Alps, but, above all, to dig a canal through the Isthmus in Greece, and he had already sent a chief centurion to survey the work.

22.

So much for Caligula as emperor; we must now tell of his career as a monster.

After he had assumed various surnames (for he was called “Pious,” “Child of the Camp,” “Father of the Armies,” and “Greatest and Best of Caesars”), chancing to overhear some kings, who had come to Rome to pay their respects to him, disputing at dinner about the nobility of their descent, he cried:

“Let there be one Lord, one King.”

And he came near assuming a crown at once and changing the semblance of a principate into the form of a monarchy. But on being reminded that he had risen above the elevation both of princes and kings, he began from that time on to lay claim to divine majesty; for after giving orders that such statues of the gods as were especially famous for their sanctity or their artistic merit, including that of Jupiter of Olympia, should be brought from Greece, in order to remove their heads and put his own in their place, he built out a part of the Palace as far as the Forum, and making the temple of Castor and Pollux its vestibule, he often took his place between the divine brethren, and exhibited himself there to be worshipped by those who presented themselves; and some hailed him as Jupiter Latiaris. He also set up a special temple to his own godhead, with priests and with victims of the choicest kind. In this temple was a life-sized statue of the emperor in gold, which was dressed each day in clothing such as he wore himself. The richest citizens used all their influence to secure the priesthoods of his cult and bid high for the honour. The victims were flamingoes, peacocks, black grouse, guinea-hens and pheasants, offered day by day each after its own kind. At night he used constantly to invite the full and radiant moon to his embraces and his bed, while in the daytime he would talk confidentially with Jupiter Capitolinus, now whispering and then in turn his ear to the mouth of the god, now in louder and even angry language; for he was heard to make the threat: “Lift me up, or I’ll lift thee.” But finally won by entreaties, as he reported, and even invited to live with the god, he built a bridge over the temple to the Deified Augustus, and thus joined his Palace to the Capitol. Presently, to be nearer yet, he laid the foundations of a new house in the court of the Capitol.

23.

He did not wish to be thought the grandson of Agrippa, or called so, because of the latter's humble origin; and he grew very angry if anyone in a speech or a song included Agrippa among the ancestors of the Caesars. He even boasted that his own mother was born in incest, which Augustus had committed with his daughter Julia; and not content with this slur on the memory of Augustus, he forbade the celebration of his victories at Actium and off Sicily by annual festivals, on the ground that they were disastrous and ruinous to the Roman people. He often called his great-grandmother Livia Augusta "a Ulysses in petticoats," and he had the audacity to accuse her of low birth in a letter to the senate, alleging that her maternal grandfather had been nothing but a decurion of Fundi; whereas it is proved by public records that Aufidius Lurco held high offices at Rome. When his grandmother Antonia asked for a private interview, he refused it except in the presence of the praefect Macro, and by such indignities and annoyances he caused her death; although some think that he also gave her poison. After she was dead, he paid her no honour, but viewed her burning pyre from his dining-room. He had his brother Tiberius put to death without warning, suddenly sending a tribune of the soldiers to do the deed; besides driving his father-in-law Silanus to end his life by cutting his throat with a razor. His charge against the latter was that Silanus had not followed him when he put to sea in stormy weather, but had remained behind in the hope of taking possession of the city in case he should be lost in the storm; against Tiberius, that his breath smelled of an antidote, which he had taken to guard against being poisoned at his hand. Now as a matter of fact, Silanus was subject to seasickness and wished to avoid the discomforts of the voyage, while Tiberius had taken medicine for a chronic cough, which was growing worse. As for his uncle Claudius, he spared him merely as a laughing-stock.

24.

He lived in habitual incest with all his sisters, and at a large banquet he placed each of them in turn below him, while his wife reclined above. Of these he is believed to have violated Drusilla when he was still a minor, and even to have been caught lying with her by his grandmother Antonia, at whose house they were brought up in company. Afterwards, when she was the wife of Lucius Cassius Longinus, an ex-consul, he took her from him and openly treated her as his lawful wife; and when ill, he made her heir to his property and the throne. When she died, he appointed a season of public mourning, during which it was a

capital offence of laugh, bathe, or dine in company with one's parents, wife, or children. He was so beside himself with grief that suddenly fleeing the city by night and traversing Campania, he went to Syracuse and hurriedly returned from there without cutting his hair or shaving his beard. And he never afterwards took oath about matters of the highest moment, even before the assembly of the people or in the presence of the soldiers, except by the godhead of Drusilla. The rest of his sisters he did not love with so great affection, nor honour so highly, but often prostituted them to his favourites; so that he was the readier at the trial of Aemilius Lepidus to condemn them, as adulteresses and privy to the conspiracies against him; and he not only made public letters in the handwriting of all of them, procured by fraud and seduction, but also dedicated to Mars the Avenger, with an explanatory inscription, three swords designed to take his life.

25.

It is not easy to decide whether he acted more basely in contracting his marriages, in annulling them, or as a husband. At the marriage of Livia Orestilla to Gaius Piso, he attended the ceremony himself, gave orders that the bride be taken to his own house, and within a few days divorced her; two years later he banished her, because of a suspicion that in the meantime she had gone back to her former husband. Others write that being invited to the wedding banquet, he sent word to Piso, who reclined opposite to him: "Don't take liberties with my wife," and at once carried her off with him from the table, the next day issuing a proclamation that he had got himself a wife in the manner of Romulus and Augustus. When the statement was made that the grandmother of Lollia Paulina, who was married to Gaius Memmius, an ex-consul commanding armies, had once been a remarkably beautiful woman, he suddenly called Lollia from the province, separated her from her husband, and married her; then in a short time had her put away, with the command never to have intercourse with anyone. Though Caesonia was neither beautiful nor young, and was already mother of three daughters by another, besides being a woman of reckless extravagance and wantonness, he loved her not only more passionately but more faithfully, often exhibiting her to the soldiers riding by his side, decked with cloak, helmet and shield, and to his friends even in a state of nudity. He did not honour her with the title of wife until she had borne him a child, announcing on the selfsame day that he had married her and that he was the father of her babe. This babe, whom he named Julia Drusilla, he carried to the temples of all the goddesses, finally placing her in the lap of Minerva and commending to her the child's nurture and training. And no evidence convinced him so positively that she was sprung from

his own loins as her savage temper, which was even then so violent that she would try to scratch the faces and eyes of the little children who played with her.

26.

It would be trivial and pointless to add to this an account of his treatment of his relatives and friends, Ptolemy, son of king Juba, his cousin (for he was the grandson of Mark Antony by Antony's daughter Selene), and in particular Macro himself and even Ennia, who helped him to the throne; all these were rewarded for their kinship and their faithful services by a bloody death.

He was no whit more respectful or mild towards the senate, allowing some who had held the highest offices to run in their togas for several miles beside his chariot and to wait on him at table, standing napkin in hand either at the head of his couch, or at his feet. Others he secretly put to death, yet continued to send for them as if they were alive, after a few days falsely asserting that they had committed suicide. When the consuls forgot to make proclamation of his birthday, he deposed them, and left the state for three days without its highest magistrates. He flogged his quaestor, who was charged with conspiracy, stripping off the man's clothes and spreading them under the soldiers' feet, to give them a firm footing as they beat him.

He treated the other orders with like insolence and cruelty. Being disturbed by the noise made by those who came in the middle of the night to secure the free seats in the Circus, he drove them all out with cudgels; in the confusion more than twenty Roman knights were crushed to death, with as many matrons and a countless number of others. At the plays in the theatre, sowing discord between the commons and the knights, he scattered the gift tickets ahead of time, to induce the rabble to take the seats reserved for the equestrian order. At a gladiatorial show he would sometimes draw back the awnings when the sun was hottest and give orders that no one be allowed to leave; then removing the usual equipment, he would match worthless decrepit gladiators against mangy wild beasts, and have sham fights between householders who were of good repute, but conspicuous for some bodily infirmity. Sometimes too he would shut up the granaries and condemn the people to hunger.

27.

The following are special instances of his innate brutality. When cattle to feed the wild beasts which he had provided for a gladiatorial show were rather costly, he selected criminals to be devoured, and reviewing the line of prisoners without

examining the charges, but merely taking his place in the middle of a colonnade, he bade them be led away “from baldhead to baldhead.” A man who had made a vow to fight in the arena, if the emperor recovered, he compelled to keep his word, watched him as he fought sword in hand, and would not let him go until he was victorious, and then only after many entreaties. Another who had offered his life for the same reason, but delayed to kill himself, he turned over to his slaves, with orders to drive him through the streets decked with sacred boughs and fillets, calling for the fulfilment of his vow, and finally hurl him from the embankment. Many men of honourable rank were first disfigured with the marks of branding-irons and then condemned to the mines, to work at building roads, or to be thrown to the wild beasts; or else he shut them up in cages on all fours, like animals, or had them sawn asunder. Not all these punishments were for serious offences, but merely for criticising one of his shows, or for never having sworn by his Genius. He forced parents to attend the executions of their sons, sending a litter for one man who pleaded ill health, and inviting another to dinner immediately after witnessing the death, and trying to rouse him to gaiety and jesting by a great show of affability. He had the manager of his gladiatorial shows and beast-baitings beaten with chains in his presence for several successive days, and would not kill him until he was disgusted at the stench of his putrefied brain. He burned a writer of Atellan farces alive in the middle of the arena of the amphitheatre, because of a humorous line of double meaning. When a Roman knight on being thrown to the wild beasts loudly protested his innocence, he took him out, cut off his tongue, and put him back again.

28.

Having asked a man who had been recalled from an exile of long standing, how in the world he spent his time there, the man replied by way of flattery: “I constantly prayed the gods for what has come to pass, that Tiberius might die and you become emperor.” Thereupon Caligula, thinking that his exiles were likewise praying for his death, sent emissaries from island to island to butcher them all. Wishing to have one of the senators torn to pieces, he induced some of the members to assail him suddenly, on his entrance into the House, with the charge of being a public enemy, to stab him with their styles, and turn him over to the rest to be mangled; and his cruelty was not sated until he saw the man’s limbs, members, and bowels dragged through the streets and heaped up before him.

29.

He added to the enormity of his crimes by the brutality of his language. He used to say that there was nothing in his own character which he admired and approved more highly than what he called his ἀδιατρεψίαν, that is to say, his shameless impudence. When his grandmother Antonia gave him some advice, he was not satisfied merely to listen but replied: "Remember that I have the right to do anything to anybody." When he was on the point of killing his brother, and suspected that he had taken drugs as a precaution against poison, he cried: "What! an antidote against Caesar?" After banishing his sisters, he made the threat that he not only had islands, but swords as well. An ex-praetor who had retired to Anticyra for his health, sent frequent requests for an extension of his leave, but Caligula had him put to death, adding that a man who had not been helped by so long a course of hellebore needed to be bled. On signing the list of prisoners who were to be put to death later, he said that he was clearing his accounts. Having condemned several Gauls and Greeks to death in a body, he boasted that he had subdued Gallograecia.

30.

He seldom had anyone put to death except by numerous slight wounds, his constant order, which soon became well-known, being: "Strike so that he may feel that he is dying." When a different man than he had intended had been killed, through a mistake in the names, he said that the victim too had deserved the same fate. He often uttered the familiar line of the tragic poet:

"Let them hate me, so they but fear me."

He often inveighed against all the senators alike, as adherents of Sejanus and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the documents which he pretended to have burned, and upholding the cruelty of Tiberius as forced upon him, since he could not but believe so many accusers. He constantly tongue-lashed the equestrian order as devotees of the stage and the arena. Angered at the rabble for applauding a faction which he opposed, he cried: "I wish the Roman people had but a single neck," and when the brigand Tetrinius was demanded, he said that those who asked for him were Tetriniuses also. Once a band of five *retiarii* in tunics, matched against the same number of *secutores*, yielded without a struggle; but when their death was ordered, one of them caught up his trident and slew all the victors. Caligula bewailed this in a public proclamation as a most cruel murder, and expressed his horror of those who had had the heart to witness it.

31.

He even used openly to deplore the state of his times, because they had been marked by no public disasters, saying that the rule of Augustus had been made famous by the Varus massacre, and that of Tiberius by the collapse of the amphitheatre at Fidenae, while his own was threatened with oblivion because of its prosperity; and every now and then he wished for the destruction of his armies, for famine, pestilence, fires, or a great earthquake.

32.

His acts and words were equally cruel, even when he was indulging in relaxation and given up to amusement and feasting. While he was lunching or revelling capital examinations by torture were often made in his presence, and a soldier who was adept at decapitation cut off the heads of those who were brought from prison. At Puteoli, at the dedication of the bridge that he contrived, as has been said, after inviting a number to come to him from the shore, on a sudden he had them all thrown overboard; and when some caught hold of the rudders of the ships, he pushed them off into the sea with boathooks and oars. At a public banquet in Rome he immediately handed a slave over to the executioners for stealing a strip of silver from the couches, with orders that his hands be cut off and hung from his neck upon his breast, and that he then be led about among the guests, preceded by a placard giving the reason for his punishment. When a *murmillio* from the gladiatorial school fought with him with wooden swords and fell on purpose, he stabbed him a real dagger and then ran about with a palm-branch, as victors do. Once when he stood by the altar dressed as a *popa*, and a victim was brought up, he raised his mallet on high and slew the *cultrarius*. At one of his more sumptuous banquets he suddenly burst into a fit of laughter, and when the consuls, who were reclining next him, politely inquired at what he was laughing, he replied; "What do you suppose, except that a single nod of mine both of you could have your throats cut on the spot?"

33.

As a sample of his humour, he took his place beside a statue of Jupiter, and asked the tragic actor Apelles which of the two seemed to him the greater, and when he hesitated, Caligula had him flayed with whips, extolling his voice from time to time, when the wretch begged for mercy, as passing sweet even in his groans. Whenever he kissed the neck of his wife or sweetheart, he would say: "Off comes this beautiful head whenever I give the word." He even used to threaten now and then that he would resort to torture if necessary, to find out

from his dear Caesonia why he loved her so passionately.

34.

He assailed mankind of almost every epoch with no less envy and malice than insolence and cruelty. He threw down the statues of famous men, which for lack of room Augustus had moved from the court of the Capitol to the Campus Martius, and so utterly demolished them that they could not be set up again with their inscriptions entire; and thereafter he forbade the erection of the statue of any living man anywhere, without his knowledge and consent. He even thought of destroying the poems of Homer, asking why he should not have the same privilege as Plato, who excluded Homer from his ideal commonwealth. More than that, he all but removed the writings and the busts of Vergil and of Titus Livius from all the libraries, railing at the former as a man of no literary talent and very little learning, and the latter as a verbose and careless historian. With regard to lawyers too, as if intending to do away with any practice of their profession, he often threatened that he would see to it, by Heaven, that they could give no advice contrary to his wish.

35.

He took from all the noblest of the city the ancient devices of their families, from Torquatus his collar, from Cincinnatus his lock of hair, from Gnaeus Pompeius the surname Great belonging to his ancient race. After inviting Ptolemy, whom I have mentioned before, to come from his kingdom and receiving him with honour, he suddenly had him executed for no other reason than that when giving a gladiatorial show, he noticed that Ptolemy on entering the theatre attracted general attention by the splendour of his purple cloak. Whenever he ran across handsome men with fine heads of hair, he disfigured them by having the backs of their heads shaved. There was a certain Aesius Proculus, son of a chief centurion, called Colosseros because of his remarkable size and handsome appearance; this man Caligula ordered to be suddenly dragged from his seat in the amphitheatre and led into the arena, where he matched him first against a Thracian and then against a heavy-armed gladiator; when Proculus was victor in both contests, Caligula gave orders that he be bound at once, clad in rags, and then put to death, after first being led about the streets and exhibited to the women. In short, there was no one of such low condition or such abject fortune that he did not envy him such advantages as he possessed. Since the king of Nemi had now held his priesthood for many years, he hired a

stronger adversary to attack him. When an *essedarius* called Porius was vigorously applauded on the day of one of the games for setting his slave free after a victory, Caligula rushed from the amphitheatre in such haste that he trod on the fringe of his toga and went headlong down the steps, fuming and shouting: "The people that rule the world give more honour to a gladiator for a trifling act than to their deified emperors or to the one still present with them."

36.

He respected neither his own chastity nor that of anyone else. He is said to have had unnatural relations with Marcus Lepidus, the pantomimic actor Mnester, and certain hostages. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a consular family, publicly proclaimed that he had violated the emperor and worn himself out in commerce with him. To say nothing of his incest with his sisters and his notorious passion for the concubine Pyrrallis, there was scarcely any woman of rank whom he did not approach. These as a rule he invited to dinner with their husbands, and as they passed by the foot of his couch, he would inspect them critically and deliberately, as if buying slaves, even putting out his hand and lifting up the face of anyone who looked down in modesty; then as often as the fancy took him he would leave the room, sending for the one who pleased him best, and returning soon afterwards with evident signs of what had occurred, he would openly commend or criticise his partner, recounting her charms or defects and commenting on her conduct. To some he personally sent a bill of divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and had it entered in the public records.

37.

In reckless extravagance he outdid the prodigals of all times in ingenuity, inventing a new sort of baths and unnatural varieties of food and feasts; for he would bathe in hot or cold perfumed oils, drink pearls of great price dissolved in vinegar, and set before his guests loaves and meats of gold, declaring that a man ought either to be frugal or Caesar. He even scattered large sums of money among the commons from the roof of the basilica Julia for several days in succession. He also built Liburnian galleys with ten banks of oars, with sterns set with gems, particoloured sails, huge spacious baths, colonnades, and banquet-halls, and even a great variety of vines and fruit trees; that on board of them he might recline at table from an early hour, and coast along the shores of Campania amid songs and choruses. He built villas and country houses with utter disregard of expense, caring for nothing so much as to do what men said

was impossible. So he built moles out into the deep and stormy sea, tunnelled rocks of hardest flint, built up plains to the height of mountains and razed mountains to the level of the plain; all with incredible dispatch, since the penalty for delay was death. To make a long story short, vast sums of money, including the 2,700,000,000 sesterces which Tiberius Caesar had amassed, were squandered by him in less than the revolution of a year.

38.

Having thus impoverished himself, from very need he turned his attention to pillage through a complicated and cunningly devised system of false accusations, auction sales, and imposts. He ruled that Roman citizenship could not lawfully be enjoyed by those whose forefathers had obtained it for themselves and their descendants, except in the case of sons, since “descendants” ought not to be understood as going beyond that degree; and when certificates of the deified Julius and Augustus were presented to him, he waved them aside as old and out of date. He also charged that those estates had been falsely returned, to which any addition had later been made from any cause whatever. If any chief centurions since the beginning of Tiberius’ reign had not named that emperor or himself among their heirs, he set aside their wills on the ground of ingratitude; also the testaments of all others, as null and void, if anyone had said that they had intended to make Caesar their heir when they died. When he had roused such fear in this way that he came to be named openly as heir by strangers among their intimates and by parents among their children, he accused them of making game of him by continuing to live after such a declaration, and to many of them he sent poisoned dainties. He used further to conduct the trial of such cases in person, naming in advance the sum which he proposed to raise at each sitting, and not rising until it was made up. Impatient of the slightest delay, he once condemned in a single sentence more than forty who were accused on different counts, boasting to Caesonia, when she woke after a nap, of the great amount of business he had done while she was taking her siesta.

Appointing an auction, he put up and sold what was left from all the shows, personally soliciting bids and running them up so high, that some who were forced to buy articles at an enormous price and were thus stripped of their possessions, opened their veins. A well-known incident is that of Aponius Saturninus; he fell asleep on one of the benches, and as the auctioneer was warned by Gaius not to overlook praetorian gentleman who kept nodding to him, the bidding was not stopped until thirteen gladiators were knocked down to the unconscious sleeper at nine million sesterces.

39.

When he was in Gaul and had sold at immense figures the jewels, furniture, slaves, and even the freedmen of his sisters who had been condemned to death, finding the business so profitable, he sent to the city for all the paraphernalia of the old palace, seizing for its transportation even public carriages and animals from the bakeries; with the result that bread was often scarce at Rome and many who had cases in court lost them from inability to appear and meet their bail. To get rid of this furniture, he resorted to every kind of trickery and wheedling, now railing at the bidders for avarice and because they were not ashamed to be richer than he, and now feigning regret for allowing common men to acquire the property of princes. Having learned that a rich provincial had paid those who issued the emperor's invitations two hundred thousand sesterces, to be smuggled in among the guests at one of his dinner-parties, he was not in the least displeased that the honour of dining with him was rated so high; but when next day the man appeared at his auction, he sent a messenger to hand him some trifle or other at the price of two hundred thousand sesterces and say that he should dine with Caesar on his personal invitation.

40.

He levied new and unheard of taxes, at first through the publicans and then, because their profit was so great, through the centurions and tribunes of the praetorian guard; and there was no class of commodities or men on which he did not impose some form of tariff. On all eatables sold in any part of the city he levied a fixed and definite charge; on lawsuits and legal processes begun anywhere, a fortieth part of the sum involved, providing a penalty in case anyone was found guilty of compromising or abandoning a suit; on the daily wages of porters, an eighth; on the earnings of prostitutes, as much as each received for one embrace; and a clause was added to this chapter of the law, providing that those who had ever been prostitutes or acted as panders should be liable to this public tax, and that even matrimony should not be exempt.

41.

When taxes of this kind had been proclaimed, but not published in writing, inasmuch as many offences were committed through ignorance of the letter of the law, he at last, on the urgent demand of the people, had the law posted up, but in a very narrow place and in excessively small letters, to prevent the making

of a copy. To leave no kind of plunder untried, he opened a brothel in his palace, setting apart a number of rooms and furnishing them to suit the grandeur of the place, where matrons and freeborn youths should stand exposed. Then he sent his pages about the fora and basilicas, to invite young men and old to enjoy themselves, lending money on interest to those who came and having clerks openly take down their names, as contributors to Caesar's revenues. He did not even disdain to make money from play, and to increase his gains by falsehood and even by perjury. Having on one occasion given up his place to the player next to him and gone into the courtyard, he spied two wealthy Roman knights passing by; he ordered them to be seized at once and their property confiscated and came back exultant, boasting that he had never played in better luck.

42.

But when his daughter was born, complaining of his narrow means, and no longer merely of the burdens of a ruler but of those of a father as well, he took up contributions for the girl's maintenance and dowry. He also made proclamation that he would receive New Year's gifts, and on the Kalends of January took his place in the entrance to the Palace, to clutch the coins which a throng of people of all classes showered on him by handfuls and lapfuls. Finally, seized with a mania for feeling the touch of money, he would often pour out huge piles of goldpieces in some open place, walk over them barefooted, and wallow in them for a long time with his whole body.

43.

He had but one experience with military affairs or war, and then on a sudden impulse; for having gone to Mevania to visit the river Clitumnus and its grove, he was reminded of the necessity of recruiting his body-guard of Batavians and was seized with the idea of an expedition to Germany. So without delay he assembled legions and auxiliaries from all quarters, holding levies everywhere with the utmost strictness, and collecting provisions of every kind on an unheard of scale. Then he began his march and made it now so hurriedly and rapidly, that the praetorian cohorts were forced, contrary to all precedent, to lay their standards on the pack-animals and thus to follow him; again he was so lazy and luxurious that he was carried in a litter by eight bearers, requiring the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed to sweep the roads for him and sprinkle them to lay the dust.

44.

On reaching his camp, to show his vigilance and strictness as a commander, he dismissed in disgrace the generals who were late in bringing in the auxiliaries from various places, and in reviewing his troops he deprived many of the chief centurions who were well on in years of their rank, in some cases only a few days before they would have served their time, giving as a reason their age and infirmity; then railing at the rest for their avarice, he reduced the rewards given on completion of full military service to six thousand sesterces.

All that he accomplished was to receive the surrender of Adminius, son of Cynobellinus king of the Britons, who had been banished by his father and had deserted to the Romans with a small force; yet as if the entire island had submitted to him, he sent a grandiloquent letter to Rome, commanding the couriers who carried it to ride in their post-chaise all the way to the Forum and the House, and not to deliver it to anyone except the consuls, in the temple of Mars the Avenger, before a full meeting of the senate.

45.

Presently, finding no one to fight with, he had a few Germans of his body-guard taken across the river and concealed there, and word brought him after luncheon with great bustle and confusion that the enemy were close at hand. Upon this he rushed out with his friends and a part of the praetorian cavalry to the woods close by, and after cutting the branches from some trees and adorning them like trophies, he returned by torchlight, taunting those who had not followed him as timorous and cowardly, and presenting his companions and the partners in his victory with crowns of a new kind and of a new name, ornamented with figures of the sun, moon and stars, and called *exploratoriae*. Another time some hostages were taken from a common school and secretly sent on ahead of him, when he suddenly left a banquet and pursued them with the cavalry as if they were runaways, caught them, and brought them back in fetters, in this farce too showing immoderate extravagance. On coming back to the table, when some announced that the army was assembled, he urged them to take their places just as they were, in their coats of mail. He also admonished them in the familiar line of Vergil to “bear up and save themselves for better days.”

Meanwhile he rebuked the absent senate and people in a stern edict because “while Caesar was fighting and exposed to such dangers they were indulging in revels and frequenting the theatres and their pleasant villas.”

46.

Finally, as if he intended to bring the war to an end, he drew up a line of battle on the shore of the Ocean, arranging his ballistas and other artillery; and when no one knew or could imagine what he was going to do, he suddenly bade them gather shells and fill their helmets and the folds of their gowns, calling them “spoils from the Ocean, due to the Capitol and Palatine.” As a monument of his victory he erected a lofty tower, from which lights were to shine at night to guide the course of ships, as from the Pharos. Then promising the soldiers a gratuity of a hundred denarii each, as if he had shown unprecedented liberality, he said, “Go your way happy; go your way rich.”

47.

Then turning his attention to his triumph, in addition to a few captives and deserters from the barbarians he chose all the tallest of the Gauls, and as he expressed it, those who were “worthy of a triumph,” as well as some of the chiefs. These he reserved for his parade, compelling them not only to dye their hair red and to let it grow long, but also to learn the language of the Germans and assume barbarian names. He also had the triremes in which he had entered the Ocean carried overland to Rome for the greater part of the way. He wrote besides to his financial agents to prepare for a triumph at the smallest possible cost, but on a grander scale than had ever before been known, since the goods of all were at their disposal.

48.

Before leaving the province he formed a design of unspeakable cruelty, that of butchering the legions that had begun the mutiny years before just after the death of Augustus, because they had beleaguered his father Germanicus, their leader, and himself, at the time an infant; and though he was with difficulty turned from this mad purpose, he could by no means be prevented from persisting in his desire to decimate them. Accordingly he summoned them to an assembly without their arms, not even wearing their swords, and surrounded them with armed horsemen. But seeing that some of the legionaries, suspecting his purpose, were stealing off to resume their arms, in case any violence should be offered them, he fled from the assembly and set out for the city in a hurry, turning all his ferocity upon senate, against which he uttered open threats, in order to divert the gossip about his own dishonour. He complained among other things that he had

been cheated of his fairly earned triumph; whereas a short time before he had himself given orders that on pain of death no action should be taken about his honours.

49.

Therefore when he was met on the road by envoys from that distinguished body, begging him to hasten his return, he roared, "I will come, and this will be with me," frequently smiting the hilt of the sword which he wore at his side. He also made proclamation that he was returning, not only to those who desired his presence, the equestrian order and the people, for to the senate he would never more be fellow-citizen nor prince. He even forbade anyone of the senators to meet him. Then giving up or postponing his triumph, he entered the city on his birthday in an ovation; and within four months he perished, having dared great crimes and meditating still greater ones. For he had made up his mind to move to Antium, and later to Alexandria, after first slaying the noblest members of the two orders. That no one may doubt this, let me say that among his private papers two notebooks were found with different titles, one called "The Sword" and the other "The Dagger," and both containing the names and marks of identification of those whom he had doomed to death. There was found besides a great chest full of divers kinds of poisons, which they say were later thrown into the sea by Claudius and so infected it as to kill the fish, which were thrown up by the tide upon the neighbouring shores.

50.

He was very tall and extremely pale, with an unshapely body, but very thin neck and legs. His eyes and temples were hollow, his forehead broad and grim, his hair thin and entirely gone on the top of his head, though his body was hairy. Because of this to look upon him from a higher place as he passed by, or for any reason whatever to mention a goat, was treated as a capital offence. While his face was naturally forbidding and ugly, he purposely made it even more savage, practising all kinds of terrible and fearsome expressions before a mirror.

He was sound neither of body nor mind. As a boy he was troubled with the falling sickness, and while in his youth he had some endurance, yet at times because of sudden faintness he was hardly able to walk, to stand up, to collect his thoughts, or to hold up his head. He himself realised his mental infirmity, and thought at times of going into retirement and clearing his brain. It is thought that his wife Caesonia gave him a drug intended for a love potion, which however

had the effect of driving him mad. He was especially tormented with sleeplessness; for he never rested more than three hours at night, and even for that length of time he did not sleep quietly, but was terrified by strange apparitions, once for example dreaming that the spirit of the Ocean talked with him. Therefore weary of lying in bed wide awake during the greater part of the night, he would now sit upon his couch, and now wander through the long colonnades, crying out from time to time for daylight and longing for its coming.

51.

I think I may fairly attribute to mental weakness the existence of two exactly opposite faults in the same person, extreme assurance and, on the other hand, excessive timorousness. For this man, who so utterly despised the gods, was wont at the slightest thunder and lightning to shut his eyes, to muffle up his head, and if they increased, to leap from his bed and hide under it. In his journey through Sicily, though he made all manner of fun of the miracles in various places, he suddenly fled from Messina by night, panic-stricken by the smoke and roaring from Aetna's crater. Full of threats as he was also against the barbarians, when he was riding in a chariot through a narrow defile on the far side of the Rhine, and someone said that there would be no slight panic if the enemy should appear anywhere, he immediately mounted a horse and hastily returned to the bridges. Finding them crowded with camp servants and baggage, in his impatience of any delay he was passed along from hand to hand over the men's heads. Soon after, hearing of an uprising in Germany, he made preparations to flee from the city and equipped fleets for the purpose, finding comfort only in the thought that the provinces across the sea would at any rate be left him, in case the enemy should be victorious and take possession of the summits of the Alps, as the Cimbri, or even of the city, as the Senones had once done. And it was this, I think, that later inspired his assassins with the idea of pretending to the riotous soldiers that he had laid hands on himself in terror at the report of a defeat.

52.

In his clothing, his shoes, and the rest of his attire he did not follow the usage of his country and his fellow-citizens; not always even that of his sex; or in fact, that of an ordinary mortal. He often appeared in public in embroidered cloaks covered with precious stones, with a long-sleeved tunic and bracelets; sometimes in silk and in a woman's robe; now in slippers or buskins, again in boots, such as

the emperor's body-guard wear, and at times in the low shoes which are used by females. But oftentimes he exhibited himself with a golden beard, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, emblems of the gods, and even in the garb of Venus. He frequently wore the dress of a triumphing general, even before his campaign, and sometimes the breastplate of Alexander the Great, which he had taken from his sarcophagus.

53.

As regards liberal studies, he gave little attention to literature but a great deal to oratory, and he was as ready of speech and eloquent as you please, especially if he had occasion to make a charge against anyone. For when he was angry, he had an abundant flow of words and thoughts, and his voice and delivery were such that for very excitement he could not stand still and he was clearly heard by those at a distance. When about to begin an harangue, he threatened to draw the sword of his nightly labours, and he had such scorn of a polished and elegant style that he used to say that Seneca, who was very popular just then, composed "mere school exercises," and that he was "sand without lime." He had the habit of writing replies to the successful pleas of orators and composing accusations and defences of important personages who were brought to trial before the senate; and according as his pen had run most easily, he brought ruin or relief to each of them by his speech, while he would also invite the equestrian order by proclamation to come in and hear him.

54.

Moreover he devoted himself with much enthusiasm to arts of other kinds and of great variety, appearing as a Thracian gladiator, as a charioteer, and even as a singer and dancer, fighting with the weapons of actual warfare, and driving in circuses built in various places; so carried away by his interest in singing and dancing that even at the public performances he could not refrain from singing with the tragic actor as he delivered his lines, or from openly imitating his gestures by way of praise or correction. Indeed, on the day when he was slain he seems to have ordered an all-night vigil for the sole purpose of taking advantage of the licence of the occasion to make his first appearance on the stage. Sometimes he danced even at night, and once he summoned three consulars to the Palace at the close of the second watch, and when they arrived in great and deathly fear, he seated them on a stage and then on a sudden burst out with a great din of flutes and clogs, dressed in a cloak and a tunic reaching to his heels,

and after dancing a number went off again. And yet varied as were his accomplishments, the man could not swim.

55.

Toward those to whom he was devoted his partiality became madness. He used to kiss Mnester, an actor of pantomimes, even in the theatre, and if anyone made even the slightest sound while his favourite was dancing, he had him dragged from his seat and scourged him with his own hand. When a Roman knight created a disturbance, he sent a centurion to bid him go without delay to Ostia and carry a message for him to king Ptolemy in Mauretania; and its purport was this: "Do neither good nor ill to the man whom I have sent you." He gave some Thracian gladiators command of his German body-guard. He reduced the amount of armour of the *murmillones*. When one Columbus had won a victory, but had suffered from a slight wound, he had the place rubbed with a poison which he henceforth called "Columbinum"; at least that name was found included in his list of poisons. He was so passionately devoted to the green faction that he constantly dined and spent the night in their stable, and in one of his revels with them he gave the driver Eutychus two million sesterces in gifts. He used to send his soldiers on the day before the games and order silence in the neighbourhood, to prevent the horse Incitatus from being disturbed. Besides a stall of marble, a manger of ivory, purple blankets and a collar of precious stones, he even gave this horse a house, a troop of slaves and furniture, for the more elegant entertainment of the guests invited in his name; and it is also said that he planned to make him consul.

56.

During this frantic and riotous career several thought of attempting his life. But when one or two conspiracies had been detected and the rest were waiting for a favourable opportunity, two men made common cause and succeeded, with the connivance of his most influential freedmen and the officers of the praetorian guard; for although the charge that these last were privy to one of the former conspiracies was false, they realised that Caligula hated and feared them. In fact, he exposed them to great odium by at once taking them aside and declaring, drawn sword in hand, that he would kill himself, if they too thought he deserved death; and from that time on he never ceased accusing them one to the other and setting them all at odds.

When they had decided to attempt his life at the exhibition of the Palatine

games, as he went out at noon, Cassius Chaerea, tribune of a cohort of the praetorian guard, claimed for himself the principal part; for Gaius used to taunt him, a man already well on in years, with voluptuousness and effeminacy by every form of insult. When he asked for the watchword Gaius would give him “Priapus” or “Venus,” and when Chaerea had occasion to thank him for anything, he would hold out his hand to kiss, forming and moving it in an obscene fashion.

57.

His approaching murder was foretold by many prodigies. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken to pieces and moved to Rome, suddenly uttered such a peal of laughter that the scaffoldings collapsed and the workmen took to their heels; and at once a man called Cassius turned up, who declared that he had been bidden in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The Capitol at Capua was struck by lightning on the Ides of March, and also the room of the doorkeeper of the Palace at Rome. Some inferred from the latter omen that danger was threatened to the owner at the hands of his guards; and from the former, the murder of a second distinguished personage, such as had taken place long before on that same day. The soothsayer Sulla too, when Gaius consulted him about his horoscope, declared that inevitable death was close at hand. The lots of Fortune at Antium warned him to beware of Cassius, and he accordingly ordered the death of Cassius Longinus, who was at the time proconsul of Asia, forgetting that the family name of Chaerea was Cassius. The day before he was killed he dreamt that he stood in heaven beside the throne of Jupiter and that the god struck him with the toe of his right foot and hurled him to earth. Some things which had happened on that very day shortly before he was killed were also regarded as portents. As he was sacrificing, he was sprinkled with the blood of a flamingo, and the pantomimic actor Mnester danced a tragedy which the tragedian Neoptolemus had acted years before during the games at which Philip king of the Macedonians was assassinated. In a farce called “Laureolus,” in which the chief actor falls as he is making his escape and vomits blood, several understudies so vied with one another in giving evidence of their proficiency that the stage swam in blood. A nocturnal performance besides was rehearsing, in which scenes from the lower world were represented by Egyptians and Aethiopians.

58.

On the ninth day before the Kalends of February at about the seventh hour he hesitated whether or not to get up for luncheon, since his stomach was still disordered from excess of food on the day before, but at length he came out at the persuasion of his friends. In the covered passage through which he had to pass, some boys of good birth, who had been summoned from Asia to appear on the stage, were rehearsing their parts, and he stopped to watch and to encourage them; and had not the leader of the troop complained that he had a chill, he would have returned and had the performance given at once. From this point there are two versions of the story: some say that as he was talking with the boys, Chaerea came up behind, and gave him a deep cut in the neck, having first cried, "Take that," and that then the tribune Cornelius Sabinus, who was the other conspirator and faced Gaius, stabbed him in the breast. Others say that Sabinus, after getting rid of the crowd through centurions who were in the plot, asked for the watchword, as soldiers do, and that when Gaius gave him "Jupiter," he cried "So be it," and as Gaius looked around, he split his jawbone with a blow of his sword. As he lay upon the ground and with writhing limbs called out that he still lived, the others dispatched him with thirty wounds; for the general signal was "Strike again." Some even thrust their swords through his privates. At the beginning of the disturbance his bearers ran to his aid with their poles, and presently the Germans of his body-guard, and they slew several of his assassins, as well as some inoffensive senators.

59.

He lived twenty-nine years and ruled three years, ten months and eight days. His body was conveyed secretly to the gardens of the Lamian family, where it was partly consumed on a hastily erected pyre and buried beneath a light covering of turf; later his sisters on their return from exile dug it up, cremated it, and consigned it to the tomb. Before this was done, it is well known that the caretakers of the gardens were disturbed by ghosts, and that in the house where he was slain not a night passed without some fearsome apparition, until at last the house itself was destroyed by fire. With him died his wife Caesonia, stabbed with a sword by a centurion, while his daughter's brains were dashed out against a wall.

60.

One may form an idea of the state of those times by what followed. Not even after the murder was made known was it at once believed that he was dead, but it

was suspected that Gaius himself had made up and circulated the report, to find out by that means how men felt towards him. The conspirators too had not agreed on a successor, and the senate was so unanimously in favour of re-establishing the republic that the consuls called the first meeting, not in the senate house, because it had the name Julia, but in the Capitol; while some in expressing their views proposed that the memory of the Caesars be done away with and their temples destroyed. Men further observed and commented on the fact that all the Caesars whose forename was Gaius perished by the sword, beginning with the one who was slain in the times of Cinna.

THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS

1.

The father of Claudius Caesar, Drusus, who at first had the forename Decimus and later that of Nero, was born of Livia within three months after her marriage to Augustus (for she was with child at the time) and there was a suspicion that he was begotten by his stepfather in adulterous intercourse. Certain it is that this verse at once became current:

“In three months’ time come children to the great.”

This Drusus, while holding the offices of quaestor and praetor, was in charge of the war in Raetia and later of that in Germany. He was the first of Roman generals to sail the northern Ocean, and beyond the Rhine with prodigious labour he constructed the huge canals which to this very day are called by his name. Even after he had defeated the enemy in many battles and driven them far into the wilds of the interior, he did not cease his pursuit until the apparition of a barbarian woman of greater than human size, speaking in the Latin tongue, forbade him to push his victory further. For these exploits he received the honour of an ovation with the triumphal regalia; and immediately after his praetorship he became consul and resumed his campaign, but died in his summer camp, which for that reason was given the name of “Accursed.” The body was carried by the leading men of the free towns and colonies to Rome, where it was met and received by the decuries of scribes, and buried in the campus Martius. But the army reared a monument in his honour, about which the soldiers should make a ceremonial run each year thereafter on a stated day, which the cities of Gaul were to observe with prayers and sacrifices. The senate, in addition to many other honours, voted him a marble arch adorned with trophies on the Appian Way, and the surname Germanicus for himself and his descendants. It is the general belief that he was as eager for glory as he was democratic by nature; for in addition to victories over the enemy he greatly desired to win the “noble trophies,” often pursuing the leaders of the Germans all over the field at great personal risk; and he made no secret of his intention of restoring the old-time form of government, whenever he should have the power. It is because of this, I think, that some have made bold to write that he was an object of suspicion to Augustus; that the emperor recalled him from his province, and when he did not obey at once, took him off by poison. This I have mentioned, rather not to pass it by, than that I think it true or even probable; for as a matter of fact Augustus loved him so dearly while he lived that he always named him joint-heir along

with his sons, as he once declared in the senate; and when he was dead, he eulogized him warmly before the people, praying the gods to make his Caesars like Drusus, and to grant him, when his time came, as glorious a death as they had given that hero. And not content with carving a laudatory inscription on his tomb in verses of his own composition, Augustus also wrote a memoir of his life in prose.

Drusus had several children by the younger Antonia, but was survived by only three, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

2.

Claudius was born at Lugdunum on the Kalends of Augustus in the consulship of Iullus Antonius and Fabius Africanus, the very day when an altar was first dedicated to Augustus in that town, and he received the name of Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Later, on the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he took the surname Germanicus. He lost his father when he was still an infant, and throughout almost the whole course of his childhood and youth he suffered so severely from various obstinate disorders that the vigour of both his mind and his body was dulled, and even when he reached the proper age he was not thought capable of any public or private business. For a long time, even after he reached the age of independence, he was in a state of pupillage and under a guardian, of whom he himself makes complaint in a book of his, saying that he was a barbarian and a former chief of muleteers, put in charge of him for the express purpose of punishing him with all possible severity for any cause whatever. It was also because of his weak health that contrary to all precedent he wore a cloak when he presided at the gladiatorial games which he and his brother gave in honour of their father; and on the day when he assumed the gown of manhood he was taken in a litter to the Capitol about midnight without the usual escort.

3.

Yet he gave no slight attention to liberal studies from his earliest youth, and even published frequent specimens of his attainments in each line. But even so he could not attain any public position or inspire more favourable hope of his future.

His mother Antonia often called him “a monster of a man, not finished but merely begun by Dame Nature”; and if she accused anyone of dulness, she used to say that he was “a bigger fool than her son Claudius.” He grandmother

Augusta always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely speaking to him; and when she admonished him, she did so in short, harsh letters, or through messengers. When his sister Livilla heard that he would one day be emperor, she openly and loudly prayed that the Roman people might be spared so cruel and undeserved a fortune. Finally to make it clearer what opinions, favourable and otherwise, his great uncle Augustus had of him, I have appended extracts from his own letters:

4.

“I have talked with Tiberius, my dear Livia, as you requested, with regard to what is to be done with your grandson Tiberius at the games of Mars. Now we are both agreed that we must decide once for all what plan we are to adopt in his case. For if he be sound and so to say complete, what reason have we for doubting that he ought to be advanced through the same grades and steps through which his brother has been advanced? But if we realize that he is wanting and defective in soundness of body and mind, we must not furnish the means of ridiculing both him and us to a public which is wont to scoff at and deride such things. Surely we shall always be in a stew, if we deliberate about each separate occasion and do not make up our minds in advance whether we think he can hold public offices or not. However, as to the matters about which you ask my present advice, I do not object to his having charge of the banquet of the priests at the games of Mars, if he will allow himself to be advised by his kinsman the son of Silvanus, so as not to do anything to make himself conspicuous or ridiculous. That he should view the games in the Circus from the Imperial box does not meet with my approval; for he will be conspicuous if exposed to full view in front of the auditorium. I am opposed to his going to the Alban Mount or being in Rome on the days of the Latin festival; for why should he not be made prefect of the city, if he is able to attend his brother to the Mount? You have my views, my dear Livia, to wit that I desire that something be decided once for all about the whole matter, to save us from constantly wavering between hope and fear. Moreover, you may, if you wish, give this part of my letter to our kinswoman Antonia also to read.” Again in another letter:

“I certainly shall invite the young Tiberius to dinner every day during your absence, to keep him from dining alone with his friends Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I do wish that he would choose more carefully and in a less scatter-brained fashion someone to imitate in his movements, bearing, and gait. The poor fellow is unlucky; for in important matters, where his mind does not wander, the nobility of his character is apparent enough.” Also in a third letter:

“Confound me, dear Livia, if I am not surprised that your grandson Tiberius could please me with his declaiming. How in the world anyone who is so unclear in his conversation can speak with clearness and propriety when he declaims, is more than I can see.”

There is no doubt at all what Augustus later decided, and that he left him invested with no office other than the augural priesthood, not even naming him as one of his heirs, save in the third degree and to a sixth part of his estate, among those who were all but strangers; while the legacy that he left him was not more than eight hundred thousand sesterces.

5.

His paternal uncle Tiberius gave him the consular regalia, when he asked for office; but when he urgently requested the actual position, Tiberius merely replied by a note in these words: “I have sent you forty gold-pieces for the Saturnalia and the Sigillaria.” Then at last Claudius abandoned all hope of advancement and gave himself up to idleness, living in obscurity now in his house and gardens in the suburbs, and sometimes at a villa in Campania; moreover from his intimacy with the lowest of men he incurred the reproach of drunkenness and gambling, in addition to his former reputation for dulness. Yet all this time, despite his conduct, he never lacked attention from individuals or respect from the public.

6.

The equestrian order twice chose him as their patron, to head a deputation on their behalf: once when they asked from the consuls the privilege of carrying the body of Augustus to Rome on their shoulders, and again when they offered them their congratulations on the downfall of Sejanus. They even used to rise when he appeared at the public shows and put off their cloaks. The senate too voted that he be made a special member of the priests of Augustus, who were usually chosen by lot; when he later lost his house by fire, that it should be rebuilt at the public expense, and that he should have the honour of giving his opinion among the consulars. This second decree was however repealed, since Tiberius urged Claudius’s infirmity as a reason, and promised that he would make the loss good through his own generosity. Yet when Tiberius died, he named Claudius only among his heirs in the third degree, to a third part of his estate, although he gave him in addition a legacy of about two million sesterces, and expressly commended him besides to the armies and to the senate and people of Rome

with the rest of his kinsfolk.

7.

It was only under his nephew Gaius, who in the early part of his reign tried to gain popularity by every device, that he at last began his official career, holding the consulship as his colleague for two months; and it chanced that as he entered the Forum for the first time with the fasces, an eagle that was flying by lit upon his shoulder. He was also allotted a second consulship, to be held four years later, and several times he presided at the shows in place of Gaius, and was greeted by the people now with "Success to the emperor's uncle!" and now with "All hail to the brother of Germanicus!"

8.

But all this did not save him from constant insults; for if he came to dinner a little after the appointed time, he took his place with difficulty and only after making the round of the dining-room. Whenever he went to sleep after dinner, which was a habit of his, he was pelted with the stones of olives and dates, and sometimes he was awakened by the jesters with a whip or cane, in pretended sport. They used also to put slippers on his hands as he lay snoring, so that when he was suddenly aroused he might rub his face with them.

9.

But he was exposed also to actual dangers. First in his very consulship, when he was all but deposed, because he had been somewhat slow in contracting for and setting up the statues of Nero and Drusus, the emperor's brothers. Afterwards he was continually harassed by all kinds of accusations, brought against him by strangers or even by the members of his household. Finally, when the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gaetulicus was detected and he was sent to Germany as one of the envoys to congratulate the emperor, he was really in peril of his life, since Gaius raged and fumed because his uncle of all men had been sent to him, as if to a child in need of a guardian. So great, indeed, was his wrath that some have written that Claudius was even thrown into the river clothes and all, just as he had come. Moreover, from that time on he always gave his opinion in the senate among the consulars, having the question put to him after all the rest by way of humiliation. A case involving the forgery of a will was even admitted, in which Claudius himself was one of the signers. At last he was

forced to pay eight million sesterces to enter a new priesthood, which reduced him to such straitened circumstances that he was unable to meet the obligation incurred to the treasury; whereupon by edict of the prefects his property was advertised for sale to meet the deficiency, in accordance with the law regulating confiscations.

10.

Having spent the greater part of his life under these and like circumstances, he became emperor in his fiftieth year by a remarkable freak of fortune. When the assassins of Gaius shut out the crowd under pretence that the emperor wished to be alone, Claudius was ousted with the rest and withdrew to an apartment called the Hermaeum; and a little later, in great terror at the news of the murder, he stole away to a balcony hard by and hid among the curtains which hung before the door. As he cowered there, a common soldier, who was prowling about at random, saw his feet, intending to ask who he was, pulled him out and recognized him; and when Claudius fell at his feet in terror, he hailed him as emperor. Then he took him to the rest of his comrades, who were as yet in a condition of uncertainty and purposeless rage. These placed him in a litter, took turns in carrying it, since his own bearers had made off, and bore him to the Camp in a state of despair and terror, while the throng that met him pitied him, as an innocent man who was being hurried off to execution. Received within the rampart, he spent the night among the sentries with much less hope than confidence; for the consuls with the senate and the city cohorts had taken possession of the Forum and the Capitol, resolved on maintaining the public liberty. When he too was summoned to the House by the tribunes of the commons, to give his advice on the situation, he sent word that "he was detained by force and compulsion." But the next day, since the senate was dilatory in putting through its plans because of the tiresome bickering of those who held divergent views, while the populace, who stood about the hall, called for one ruler and expressly named Claudius, he allowed the armed assembly of the soldiers to swear allegiance to him, and promised each man fifteen thousand sesterces; being the first of the Caesars who resorted to bribery to secure the fidelity of the troops.

11.

As soon as his power was firmly established, he considered it of foremost importance to obliterate the memory of the two days when men had thought of

changing the form of government. Accordingly he made a decree that all that had been done and said during that period should be pardoned and forever forgotten; he kept his word too, save only that a few of the tribunes and centurions who had conspired against Gaius were put to death, both to make an example of them and because he knew that they had also demanded his own death. Then turning to the duties of family loyalty, he adopted as his most sacred and frequent oath "By Augustus." He had divine honours voted his grandmother Livia and a chariot drawn by elephants in the procession at the Circus, like that of Augustus; also public offerings to the shades of his parents and in addition annual games in the Circus on his father's birthday and for his mother a carriage to bear her image through the Circus and the surname of Augusta, which she had declined during her lifetime. In memory of his brother, whom he took every opportunity of honouring, he brought out a Greek comedy in the contest at Naples and awarded it the crown in accordance with the decision of the judges. He did not leave even Mark Antony unhonoured or without grateful mention, declaring once in a proclamation that he requested the more earnestly that the birthday of his father Drusus be celebrated because it was the same as that of his grandfather Antony. He completed the marble arch to Tiberius near Pompey's theatre, which had been voted some time before by the senate, but left unfinished. Even in the case of Gaius, while he annulled all his acts, yet he would not allow the day of his death to be added to the festivals, although it was also the beginning of his own reign.

12.

But in adding to his own dignity he was modest and unassuming, refraining from taking the forename Imperator, refusing excessive honours, and passing over the betrothal of his daughter and the birthday of a grandson in silence and with merely private ceremonies. He recalled no one from exile except with the approval of the senate. He obtained from the members as a favour the privilege of bringing into the House with him the prefect of the praetorian guard and the tribunes of the soldiers, and the ratification of the judicial acts of his agents in the provinces. He asked the consuls for permission to hold fairs on his private estates. He often appeared as one of the advisers at cases tried before the magistrates; and when they gave games, he also arose with the rest of the audience and showed his respect by acclamations and applause. When the tribunes of the commons appeared before him as he sat upon the tribunal, he apologised to them because for lack of room he could not hear them unless they stood up.

By such conduct he won so much love and devotion in a short time, that when it was reported that he had been waylaid and killed on a journey to Ostia, the people were horror stricken and with dreadful execrations continued to assail the soldiers as traitors, and the senate as murderers, until finally one or two men, and later several, were brought forward upon the rostra by the magistrates and assured the people that Claudius was safe and on his way to the city.

13.

Yet he did not remain throughout without experience of treachery, but he was attacked by individuals, by a conspiracy, and finally by a civil war. A man of the commons was caught near his bed-chamber in the middle of the night, dagger in hand; and two members of the equestrian order were found lying in wait for him in public places, one ready to attack him with a sword-cane as he came out of the theatre, the other with a hunting knife as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Asinius Gallus and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the orators Pollio and Messala, conspired to overthrow him, aided by a number of his own freedmen and slaves. The civil war was set on foot by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia; but his rebellion was put down within five days, since the legions which had changed their allegiance were turned from their purpose by superstitious fear; for when the order was given to march to their new commander, by some providential chance the eagles could not be adorned nor the standards pulled up and moved.

14.

He held four consulships in addition to his original one. Of these the first two were in successive years, while the other two followed at intervals of four years each, the last for six months, the others for two; and in his third he was substituted for one of the consuls who had died, a thing which was without precedent in the case of an emperor. He administered justice most conscientiously both as consul and when out of office, even on his own anniversaries and those of his family, and sometimes even on festivals of ancient date and days of ill-omen. He did not always follow the letter of the laws, but modified their severity or lenity in many cases according to his own notions of equity and justice; for he allowed a new trial to those who had lost their cases before private judges by demanding more than the law prescribed, while, overstepping the lawful penalty, he condemned to the wild beasts those who were convicted of especially heinous crimes.

But in hearing and deciding cases he showed strange inconsistency of temper, for he was now careful and shrewd, sometimes hasty and inconsiderate, occasionally silly and like a crazy man. In revising the lists of the divisions of jurors he disqualified a man who had presented himself without mentioning that he was immune because of the number of his children, on the ground that he had a passion for jury-duty. Another, who was challenged by his opponents about a suit of his own, said that it did not come before Caesar's tribunal, but the ordinary courts; whereupon Claudius compelled him at once to bring the case before him, saying that the man would show in a case affecting his own interests how just a juror he would be in the affairs of others. When a woman refused to recognise her son, the evidence on both sides was conflicting, he forced her to admit the truth by ordering her to marry the young man. Whenever one party to a suit was absent, he was prone to decide in favour of the one who was present, without considering whether his opponent had failed to appear through his own fault or from a necessary cause. On a man's being convicted of forgery, some one cried out that his hands ought to be cut off; whereupon Claudius insisted that an executioner be summoned at once with knife and block. In a case involving citizenship a fruitless dispute arose among the advocates as to whether the defendant ought to make his appearance in the toga or in a Greek mantle, and the emperor, with the idea of showing absolute impartiality, made him change his garb several times, according as he was accused or defended. In one case he is credited with having rendered the following decision, which he had actually written out beforehand: "I decide in favour of those who have told the truth." By such acts as these he so discredited himself that he was held in general and open contempt. One man in making excuses for a witness that the emperor had summoned from one of the provinces, said that he could not appear, but for a long time would give no reason; at last, after a long series of questions, he said: "He's dead; I think the excuse is a lawful one." Another in thanking the emperor for allowing him to defend his client added "After all, it is usual." I myself used to hear older men say that the pleaders took such advantage of his good-nature, that they would not only call him back when he left the tribunal, but would catch hold of the fringe of his robe, and sometimes of his foot, and thus detain him. To prevent any surprise at this, I may add that a common Greek pettifogger let slip this remark in a hot debate: "You are both an old man and a fool." All the world knows that a Roman knight who was tried for improper conduct towards women, but on a false charge trumped up by unscrupulous enemies, seeing common strumpets called as witnesses against him and their testimony admitted, hurled

the stylus and tablets which he held in his hand into the emperor's face with such force as to cut his cheek badly, at the same time loudly reviling his cruelty and stupidity.

16.

He also assumed the censorship, which had long been discontinued, ever since the term of Plancus and Paulus, but in this office too he was variable, and both his theory and his practice were inconsistent. In his review of the knights he left off a young man of evil character, whose father said that he was perfectly satisfied with him, without any public censure, saying "He has a censor of his own." Another who was notorious for corruption and adultery he merely admonished to be more restrained in his indulgence, or at any rate more circumspect, adding, "For why should I know what mistress you keep?" When he had removed the mark of censure affixed to one man's name, yielding to the entreaties of the latter's friends, he said: "But let the erasure be seen." He not only struck from the list of jurors a man of high birth, a leading citizen of the province of Greece, because he did not know Latin, but even deprived him of the rights of citizenship; and he would not allow anyone to render an account of his life save in his own words, as well as he could, without the help of an advocate. And he degraded many, some contrary to their expectation and on the novel charge that they had left Italy without consulting him and obtaining leave of absence; one man merely because he had been companion to a king in his province, citing the case of Rabirius Postumus, who in bygone days had been tried for treason because he had followed Ptolemy to Alexandria, to recover a loan. When he attempted to degrade still more, he found them in most cases blameless; for owing to the great carelessness of his agents, but to his own greater shame, those whom he accused of celibacy, childlessness, or lack of means proved that they were married, or fathers, or well-to-do. In fact, one man, who charged with having stabbed himself, stripped off his clothing and showed a body without a scar. Other noteworthy acts of his censorship were the following: he had a silver chariot of costly workmanship, which was offered in the Sigillaria, bought and cut to pieces in his presence; in one single day he made twenty proclamations, including these two: "As the yield of the vineyards is bountiful, the wine jars should be well pitched"; and "Nothing is so effective a cure for snake-bite as the juice of the yew tree."

17.

He made but one campaign and that of little importance. When the senate voted him the triumphal regalia, thinking the honour beneath the imperial dignity and desiring the glory of a legitimate triumph, he chose Britain as the best place for gaining it, a land that had been attempted by no one since the Deified Julius and was just at that time in a state of rebellion because of the refusal to return certain deserters. On the voyage thither from Ostia he was nearly cast away twice in furious north-westers, off Liguria and near the Stoechades islands. Therefore he made the journey from Massilia all the way to Gesoriacum by land, crossed from there, and without any battle or bloodshed received the submission of a part of the island, returned to Rome within six months after leaving the city, and celebrated a triumph of great splendour. To witness the sight he allowed not only the governors of the provinces to come to Rome, but even some of the exiles; and among the tokens of his victory he set a naval crown on the gable of the Palace beside the civic crown, as a sign that he had crossed and, as it were, subdued the Ocean. His wife Messalina followed his chariot in a carriage, as did also those who had won the triumphal regalia in the same war; the rest marched on foot in purple-bordered togas, except Marcus Crassus Frugi, who rode a caparisoned horse and wore a tunic embroidered with palms, because he was receiving the honour for the second time.

18.

He always gave scrupulous attention to the care of the city and the supply of grain. On the occasion of a stubborn fire in the Aemiliana he remained in the Diribitorium for two nights, and when a body of soldiers and of his own slaves could not give sufficient help, he summoned the commons from all parts of the city through the magistrates, and placing bags full of money before them, urged them to the rescue, paying each man on the spot a suitable reward for his services. When there was a scarcity of grain because of long-continued droughts, he was once stopped in the middle of the Forum by a mob and so pelted with abuse and at the same time with pieces of bread, that he was barely able to make his escape to the Palace by a back door; and after this experience he resorted to every possible means to bring grain to Rome, even in the winter season. To the merchants he held out the certainty of profit by assuming the expense of any loss that they might suffer from storms, and offered to those who would build merchant ships large bounties, adapted to the condition of each: 19 to a citizen exemption from the *lex Papia Poppaea*; to a Latin the rights of Roman citizenship; to women the privileges allowed the mothers of four children. And all these provisions are in force to-day.

20.

The public works which he completed were great and essential rather than numerous; they were in particular the following: an aqueduct begun by Gaius; also the outlet of Lake Fucinus and the harbour at Ostia, although in the case of the last two he knew that Augustus had refused the former to the Marsians in spite of their frequent requests, and that the latter had often been thought of by the Deified Julius, but given up because of its difficulty. He brought to the city on stone arches the cool and abundant founts of the Claudian aqueduct, one of which is called Caeruleus and the other Curtius and Albudignus, and at the same time the spring of the new Anio, distributing them into many beautifully ornamented pools. He made the attempt on the Fucine lake as much in the hope of gain as of glory, inasmuch as there were some who agreed to drain it at their own cost, provided the land that was uncovered be given to them. He finished the outlet, which was three miles in length, partly by levelling and partly by tunnelling a mountain, a work of great difficulty and requiring eleven years, although he had thirty thousand men at work all the time without interruption. He constructed the harbour at Ostia by building curving breakwaters on the right and left, while before the entrance he placed a mole in deep water. To give this mole a firmer foundation, he first sank the ship in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt, and then securing it by piles, built upon it a very lofty tower after the model of the Pharos at Alexandria, to be lighted at night and guide the course of ships.

21.

He very often distributed largess to the people. He also gave several splendid shows, not merely the usual ones in the customary places, but some of a new kind and some revived from ancient times, and in places where no one had ever given them before. He opened the games at the dedication of Pompey's theatre, which he had restored when it was damaged by a fire, from a raised seat in the orchestra, after first offering sacrifice at the temples in the upper part of the auditorium and coming down through the tiers of seats while all sat in silence. He also celebrated secular games, alleging that they had been given too early by Augustus and not reserved for the regular time; although he himself writes in his own History that when they had been discontinued for a long time, Augustus restored them to their proper place after a very careful calculation of the intervals. Therefore the herald's proclamation was greeted with laughter, when he invited the people in the usual formula to games "which no one had ever seen

or would ever see again”; for some were still living who had seen them before, and some actors who had appeared at the former performance appeared at that time as well. He often gave games in the Vatican Circus also, at times with a beast-baiting between every five races. But the Great Circus he adorned with barriers of marble and gilded goals, whereas before they had been of tufa and wood, and assigned special seats to the senators, who had been in the habit of viewing the games with the rest of the people. In addition to the chariot races he exhibited the game called Troy and also panthers, which were hunted down by a squadron of the praetorian cavalry under the lead of the tribunes and the prefect himself; likewise Thessalian horsemen, who drive wild bulls all over the arena, leaping upon them when they are tired out and throwing them to the ground by the horns.

He gave many gladiatorial shows and in many places: one in yearly celebration of his accession, in the Praetorian Camp without wild beasts and fine equipment, and one in the Saepta of the regular and usual kind; another in the same place not in the regular list, short and lasting but a few days, to which he was the first to apply the name of *sportula*, because before giving it for the first time he made proclamation that he invited the people “as it were to an extempore meal, hastily prepared.” Now there was no form of entertainment at which he was more familiar and free, even thrusting out his left hand, as the commons did, and counting aloud on his fingers the gold pieces which were paid to the victors; and ever and anon he would address the audience, and invite and urge them to merriment, calling them “masters” from time to time, and interspersing feeble and far-fetched jokes. For example, when they called for Palumbus he promised that they should have him, “if he could be caught.” The following, however, was both exceedingly timely and salutary; when he had granted the wooden sword to an *essedarius*, for whose discharge four sons begged, and the act was received with loud and general applause, he at once circulated a note, pointing out to the people how greatly they ought to desire children, since they saw that they brought favour and protection even to a gladiator. He gave representations in the Campus Martius of the storming and sacking of a town in the manner of real warfare, as well as of the surrender of the kings of the Britons, and presided clad in a general’s cloak. Even when he was on the point of letting out the water from Lake Fucinus he gave a sham sea-fight first. But when the combatants cried out: “Hail, emperor, they who are about to die salute thee,” he replied, “Or not,” and after that all of them refused to fight, maintaining that they had been pardoned. Upon this he hesitated for some time about destroying them all with fire and sword, but at last leaping from his throne and running along the edge of the lake with his ridiculous tottering gait, he induced them to fight, partly by threats and

partly by promises. At this performance a Sicilian and a Rhodian fleet engaged, each numbering twelve triremes, and the signal was sounded on a horn by a silver Triton, which was raised from the middle of the lake by a mechanical device.

22.

Touching religious ceremonies and civil and military customs, as well as the condition of all classes at home and abroad, he corrected various abuses, revived some old customs or even established new ones. In admitting priests into the various colleges he never named anyone until he had first taken oath, and he scrupulously observed the custom of having the praetor call an assembly and proclaim a holiday, whenever there was an earthquake within the city; as well as that of offering up a supplication whenever a bird of ill-omen was seen on the Capitol. This last he himself conducted in his capacity of chief priest, first reciting the form of words to the people from the rostra, after all mechanics and slaves had been ordered to withdraw.

23.

The season for holding court, formerly divided into a winter and a summer term, he made continuous. Jurisdiction in cases of trust, which it had been usual to assign each year and only to magistrates in the city, he delegated for all time and extended to the governors of the provinces. He annulled a clause added to the *lex Papia Poppaea* by Tiberius, implying that men of sixty could not beget children. He made a law that guardians might be appointed for orphans by the consuls, contrary to the usual procedure, and that those who were banished from a province by its magistrates should also be debarred from the city and from Italy. He himself imposed upon some a new kind of punishment, by forbidding them go more than three miles outside of the city.

When about to conduct business of special importance in the House, he took his seat between the two consuls or on the tribunes' bench. He reserved to himself the granting of permission to travel, which had formerly been requested of the senate.

24.

He gave the consular regalia even to the second grade of stewards. If any refused senatorial rank, he took from them that of knight also. Though he had

declared at the beginning of his reign that he would choose no one as a senator who did not have a Roman citizen for a great-great-grandfather, he gave the broad stripe even to a freedman's son, but only on condition that he should first be adopted by a Roman knight. Even then, fearful of criticism, he declared that the censor Appius Caecus, the ancient founder of his family, had chosen the sons of freedmen into the senate; but he did not know that in the days of Appius and for some time afterwards the term *libertini* designated, not those who were themselves manumitted, but their freeborn sons. He obliged the college of quaestors to give a gladiatorial show in place of paving the roads; then depriving them of their official duties at Ostia and in Gaul, he restored to them the charge of the treasury of Saturn, which had in the meantime been administered by praetors, or by ex-praetors, as in our time.

He gave the triumphal regalia to Silanus, his daughter's affianced husband, who was still a boy, and conferred them on older men so often and so readily, that a joint petition was circulated in the name of the legions, praying that those emblems be given the consular governors at the same time with their armies, to prevent their seeking all sorts of pretexts for war. To Aulus Plautius he also granted an ovation, going out to meet him when he entered the city, and walking on his left as he went to the Capitol and returned again. He allowed Gabinius Secundus to assume the surname of Cauchius because of his conquest of the Cauchi, a German nation.

25.

He rearranged the military career of the knights, assigning a division of cavalry after a cohort, and next the tribunate of a legion. He also instituted a series of military positions and a kind of fictitious service, which is called "supernumerary" and could be performed in absentia and in name only. He even had the Fathers pass a decree forbidding soldiers to enter the houses of senators to pay their respects. He confiscated the property of those freedmen who passed as Roman knights, and reduced to slavery again such as were ungrateful and a cause of complaint to their patrons, declaring to their advocates that he would not entertain a suit against their own freedmen. When certain men were exposing their sick and worn out slaves on the Island of Aesculapius because of the trouble of treating them, Claudius decreed that all such slaves were free, and that if they recovered, they should not return to the control of their master; but if anyone preferred to kill such a slave rather than to abandon him, he was liable to the charge of murder. He provided by an edict that travellers should not pass through the towns of Italy except on foot, or in a chair or litter. He stationed a

cohort at Puteoli and one at Ostia, to guard against the danger of fires.

He forbade men of foreign birth to use the Roman names so far as those of the clans were concerned. Those who usurped the privileges of Roman citizenship he executed in the Esquiline field. He restored to the senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had taken into his own charge. He deprived the Lycians of their independence because of deadly intestine feuds, and restored theirs to the Rhodians, since they had given up their former faults. He allowed the people of Ilium perpetual exemption from tribute, on the ground that they were the founders of the Roman race, reading an ancient letter of the senate and people of Rome written in Greek to king Seleucus, in which they promised him their friendship and alliance only on condition that he should keep their kinsfolk of Ilium free from every burden. Since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome. He allowed the envoys of the Germans to sit in the orchestra, led by their naïve self-confidence; for when they had been taken to the seats occupied by the common people and saw the Parthian and Armenian envoys sitting with the senate, they moved of their own accord to the same part of the theatre, protesting that their merits and rank were no whit inferior. He utterly abolished the cruel and inhuman religion of the Druids among the Gauls, which under Augustus had merely been prohibited to Roman citizens; on the other hand he even attempted to transfer the Eleusinian rites from Attica to Rome, and had the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which had fallen to ruin through age, restored at the expense of the treasury of the Roman people. He struck his treaties with foreign princes in the Forum, sacrificing a pig and reciting the ancient formula of the fetial priests. But these and other acts, and in fact almost the whole conduct of his reign, were dictated not so much by his own judgment as that of his wives and freedmen, since he nearly always acted in accordance with their interests and desires.

26.

He was betrothed twice at an early age: to Aemilia Lepida, great-granddaughter of Augustus, and to Livia Medullina, who also had the surname of Camilla and was descended from the ancient family of Camillus the dictator. He put away the former before their marriage, because her parents had offended Augustus; the latter was taken ill and died on the very day which had been set for the wedding. He then married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had been honoured with a triumph, and later Aelia Paetina, daughter of an ex-consul. He divorced both these, Paetina for trivial offences, but Urgulanilla because of scandalous lewdness and the suspicion of murder. Then he married Valeria

Messalina, daughter of his cousin Messala Barbatus. But when he learned that besides other shameful and wicked deeds she had actually married Gaius Silius, and that a formal contract had been signed in the presence of witnesses, he put her to death and declared before the assembled praetorian guard that inasmuch as his marriages did not turn out well, he would remain a widower, and if he did not keep his word, he would not refuse death at their hands. Yet he could not refrain from at once planning another match, even with Paetina, whom he had formerly discarded, and with Lollia Paulina, who had been the wife of Gaius Caesar. But his affections were ensnared by the wiles of Agrippina, daughter of his brother Germanicus, aided by the right of exchanging kisses and the opportunities for endearments offered by their relationship; and at the next meeting of the senate he induced some of the members to propose that he be compelled to marry Agrippina, on the ground that it was for the interest of the State; also that others be allowed to contract similar marriages, which up to that time had been regarded as incestuous. And he married her with hardly a single day's delay; but none were found to follow his example save a freedman and a chief centurion, whose marriage ceremony he himself attended with Agrippina.

27.

He had children by three of his wives: by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia; by Paetina, Antonia; by Messalina, Octavia and a son, at first called Germanicus and later Britannicus. He lost Drusus just before he came to manhood, for he was strangled by a pear which he had thrown into the air in play and caught in his open mouth. A few days before this he had betrothed him to the daughter of Sejanus, which makes me wonder all the more that some say that Drusus was treacherously slain by Sejanus. Claudia was the offspring of his freedman Boter, and although she was born within five months after the divorce and he had begun to rear her, yet he ordered her to be cast out naked at her mother's door and disowned. He gave Antonia in marriage to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, and later to Faustus Sulla, both young men of high birth, and Octavia to his stepson Nero, after she had previously been betrothed to Silanus. Britannicus was born on the twenty-second day of his reign and in his second consulship. When he was still very small, Claudius would often take him in his arms and commend him to the assembled soldiers, and to the people at the games, holding him in his lap or in his outstretched hands, and he would wish him happy auspices, joined by the applauding throng. Of his sons-in-law he adopted Nero; Pompeius and Silanus he not only declined to adopt, but even put to death.

28.

Of his freedmen he had special regard for the eunuch Posides, whom he even presented with the headless spear at his British triumph, along with those who had served as soldiers. He was equally fond of Felix, giving him the command of cohorts and of troops of horse, as well as of the province of Judaea; and he became the husband of three queens. Also of Harpocras, to whom he granted the privilege of riding through the city in a litter and of giving public entertainments. Still higher was his regard for Polybius, his literary adviser, who often walked between the two consuls. But most of all he was devoted to his secretary Narcissus and his treasurer Pallas, and he gladly allowed them to be honoured in addition by a decree of the senate, not only with immense gifts, but even with the insignia of quaestors and praetors. Besides this he permitted them to amass such wealth by plunder, that when he once complained of the low state of his funds, the witty answer was made that he would have enough and to spare, if he were taken into partnership by his two freedmen.

29.

Wholly under the control of these and of his wives, as I have said, he played the part, not of a prince, but of a servant lavishing honours, the command of armies, pardons or punishments, according to the interests of each of them, or even their wish or whim; and that too for the most part in ignorance and blindly. Not to go into details about less important matters (such as revoking his grants, rescinding his decisions, substituting false letters patent, or even openly changing those which he had issued), he put to death his father-in-law Appius Silanus and the two Julias, daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, on an unsupported charge and giving them no opportunity for defence; also Gnaeus Pompeius, the husband of his elder daughter, and Lucius Silanus who was betrothed to his younger one. Of these Pompey was stabbed in the embraces of a favourite youth, while Silanus was compelled to abdicate his praetorship four days before the Kalends of January and to take his own life at the beginning of the year, the very day of the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina. He inflicted the death penalty on thirty-five senators and more than three hundred Roman knights with such easy indifference, that when a centurion in reporting the death of an ex-consul said that his order had been carried out, he replied that he had given no order; but he nevertheless approved the act, since his freedmen declared that the soldiers had done their duty in hastening to avenge their emperor without instructions. But it is beyond all belief, that at the marriage

which Messalina had contracted with her paramour Silius he signed the contract for the dowry with his own hand, being induced to do so on the ground that the marriage was a feigned one, designed to avert and turn upon another a danger which was inferred from certain portents to threaten the emperor himself.

30.

He possessed majesty and dignity of appearance, but only when he was standing still or sitting, and especially when he was lying down; for he was tall but not slender, with an attractive face, becoming white hair, and a full neck. But when he walked, his weak knees gave way under him and he had many disagreeable traits both in his lighter moments and when he was engaged in business; his laughter was unseemly and his anger still more disgusting, for he would foam at the mouth and trickle at the nose; he stammered besides and his head was very shaky at all times, but especially when he made the least exertion.

31.

Though previously his health was bad, it was excellent while he was emperor except for attacks of heartburn, which he said all but drove him to suicide.

32.

He gave frequent and grand dinner parties, as a rule in spacious places, where six hundred guests were often entertained at one time. He even gave a banquet close to the outlet of the Fucine Lake and was well-nigh drowned, when the water was let out with a rush and deluged the place. He always invited his own children to dinner along with the sons and daughters of distinguished men, having them sit at the arms of the couches as they ate, after the old time custom. When a guest was suspected of having stolen a golden bowl the day before, he invited him again the next day, but set before him an earthenware cup. He is even said to have thought of an edict allowing the privilege of breaking wind quietly or noisily at table, having learned of a man who ran some risk by restraining himself through modesty.

33.

He was eager for food and drink at all times and in all places. Once when he was holding court in the forum of Augustus and had caught the savour of a meal which was preparing for the Salii in the temple of Mars hard by, he left the

tribunal, went up where the priests were, and took his place at their table. He hardly ever left the dining-room until he was stuffed and soaked; then he went to sleep at once, lying on his back with his mouth open, and a feather was put down his throat to relieve his stomach. He slept but little at a time, for he was usually awake before midnight; but he would sometimes drop off in the daytime while holding court and could hardly be roused when the advocates raised their voices for the purpose. He was immoderate in his passion for women, but wholly free from unnatural vice. He was greatly devoted to gaming, even publishing a book on the art, and he actually used to play while driving, having the board so fitted to his carriage as to prevent his game from being disturbed.

34.

That he was of a cruel and bloodthirsty disposition was shown in matters great and small. He always exacted examination by torture and the punishment of parricides at once and in his presence. When he was at Tibur and wished to see an execution in the ancient fashion, no executioner could be found after the criminals were bound to the stake. Whereupon he sent to fetch one from the city and continued to wait for him until nightfall. At any gladiatorial show, either his own or another's, he gave orders that even those who fell accidentally should be slain, in particular the net-fighters, so that he could watch their faces as they died. When a pair of gladiators had fallen by mutually inflicted wounds, he at once had some little knives made from both their swords for his use. He took such pleasure in the combats with wild beasts and of those who fought at noonday, that he would go down to the arena at daybreak and after dismissing the people for luncheon at midday, he would keep his seat and in addition to the appointed combatants, he would for trivial and hasty reasons match others, even of the carpenters, the assistants, and men of that class, if any automatic device, or pageant, or anything else of the kind, had not worked well. He even forced one of his pages to enter the arena just as he was, in his toga.

35.

But there was nothing for which he was so notorious as timidity and suspicion. Although in the early days of his reign, as we have said, he made a display of simplicity, he never ventured to go to a banquet without being surrounded by guards with lances and having his soldiers wait upon him in place of the servants; and he never visited a man who was ill without having the patient's room examined beforehand and his pillows and bed-clothing felt over

and shaken out. Afterwards he even subjected those who came to pay their morning calls to search, sparing none the strictest examination. Indeed, it was not until late, and then reluctantly, that he gave up having women and young boys and girls grossly mishandled, and the cases for pens and styles taken from every man's attendant or scribe. When Camillus began his revolution, he felt sure that Claudius could be intimidated without resorting to war; and in fact when he ordered the emperor in an insulting, threatening, and impudent letter to give up his throne and betake himself to a life of privacy and retirement, Claudius called together the leading men and asked their advice about complying.

36.

He was so terror-stricken by unfounded reports of conspiracies that he had tried to abdicate. When, as I have mentioned before, a man with a dagger was caught near him as he was sacrificing, he summoned the senate in haste by criers and loudly and tearfully bewailed his lot, saying that there was no safety for him anywhere; and for a long time he would not appear in public. His ardent love for Messalina too was cooled, not so much by her unseemly and insulting conduct, as through fear of danger, since he believed that her paramour Silius aspired to the throne. On that occasion he made a shameful and cowardly flight to the camp, doing nothing all the way but ask whether his throne was secure.

37.

No suspicion was too trivial, nor the inspirer of it too insignificant, to drive him on to precaution and vengeance, once a slight uneasiness entered his mind. One of two parties to a suit, when he made his morning call, took Claudius aside, and said that he had dreamed that he was murdered by someone; then a little later pretending to recognize the assassin, he pointed out his opponent, as he was handing in his petition. The latter was immediately seized, as if caught red-handed, and hurried off to execution. It was in a similar way, they say, that Appius Silanus met his downfall. When Messalina and Narcissus had put their heads together to destroy him, they agreed on their parts and the latter rushed into his patron's bed-chamber before daybreak in pretended consternation, declaring that he had dreamed that Appius had made an attack on the emperor. Then Messalina, with assumed surprise, declared that she had had the same dream for several successive nights. A little later, as had been arranged, Appius, who had received orders the day before to come at that time, was reported to be

forcing his way in, and as if were proof positive of the truth of the dream, his immediate accusation and death were ordered. And Claudius did not hesitate to recount the whole affair to the senate next day and to thank the freedman for watching over his emperor's safety even in his sleep.

38.

He was conscious of his tendency to wrath and resentment and excused both in an edict; he also drew a distinction between them, promising that the former would be short and harmless and the latter not without cause. After sharply rebuking the people of Ostia, because they had sent no boats to meet him when he entered the Tiber, and in such bitter terms that he wrote that they had reduced him to the rank of a commoner, he suddenly forgave them and all but apologised. He repulsed with his own hand men who approached him in public at unseasonable times. He also banished a quaestor's clerk without a hearing, as well as a senator of praetorian rank, although they were blameless: the former for going too far in pleading a suit against him before he became emperor; the latter, because, when aedile, he had fined the tenants of Claudius's estates for violating the law forbidding the selling of cooked victuals, and had whipped his bailiff when he remonstrated. And with the same motive he took from the aediles the regulation of the cook-shops.

He did not even keep quiet about his own stupidity, but in certain brief speeches he declared that he had purposely feigned it under Gaius, because otherwise he could not have escaped alive and attained his present station. But he convinced no one, and within a short time a book was published, the title of which was "The Elevation of Fools" and its thesis, that no one feigned folly.

39.

Among other things men have marvelled at his absent-mindedness and blindness, or to use the Greek terms, his *μετεωρίαν* and *ἀβλεψίαν*. When he had put Messalina to death, he asked shortly after taking his place at the table why the empress did not come. He caused many of those whom he had condemned to death to be summoned the very next day to consult with him or game with him, and sent a messenger to upbraid them for sleepy-heads when they delayed to appear. When he was planning his unlawful marriage with Agrippina, in every speech that he made he constantly called her his daughter and nursling, born and brought up in his arms. Just before his adoption of Nero, as if it were not bad enough to adopt a stepson when he had a grown-up son of his own, he publicly

declared more than once that no one had ever been taken into the Claudian family by adoption.

40.

In short, he often showed such heedlessness in word and act that one would suppose that he did not know or care to whom, with whom, when, or where he was speaking. When a debate was going on about the butchers and vintners, he cried out in the house: "Now, pray, who can live without a snack," and then went on to describe the abundance of the old taverns to whom he himself used to go for wine in earlier days. He gave us one of his reasons for supporting a candidate for the quaestorship, that the man's father had once given him cold water when he was ill and needed it. Once when a witness had been brought before the senate, he said: "This woman was my mother's freedwoman and tire-woman, but she always regarded me as her patron; I mention this because there are still some in my household now who do not look on me as patron." When the people of Ostia made a public petition to him, he flew into a rage on the very tribunal and bawled out that he had no reason for obliging them; that he was surely free if anyone was. In fact every day, and almost every hour and minute, he would make such remarks as these; "What! do you take me for a Telegenius?" "Scold me, but hands off!" and many others of the same kind which would be unbecoming even in private citizens, not to mention a prince who lacked neither eloquence nor culture, but on the contrary constantly devoted himself to liberal pursuits.

41.

He began to write a history in his youth with the encouragement of Titus Livius and the direct help of Sulpicius Flavius. But when he gave his first reading to a large audience, he had difficulty in finishing, since he more than once threw cold water on his own performance. For at the beginning of the reading the breaking down of several benches by a fat man raised a laugh, and even after the disturbance was quieted, Claudius could not keep from recalling the incident and renewing his guffaws. Even while he was emperor he wrote a good deal and gave constant recitals through a professional reader. He began his history with the death of the dictator Caesar, but passed to a later period and took a fresh start at the end of the civil war, realising that he was not allowed to give a frank or true account of the earlier times, since he was often taken to task both by his mother and his grandmother. He left two books of the earlier history, but

forty-one of the later. He also composed an autobiography in eight books, lacking rather in good taste than in style, as well as a "Defence of Cicero against the Writings of Asinius Gallus," a work of no little learning. Besides this he invented three new letters and added them to the alphabet, maintaining that they were greatly needed; he published a book on their theory when he was still in private life, and when he became emperor had no difficulty in bringing about their general use. These characters may still be seen in numerous books, in the daily gazette, and in inscriptions on public buildings.

42.

He gave no less attention to Greek studies, taking every occasion to declare his regard for that language and its superiority. To a foreigner who held forth both in Greek and in Latin he said: "Since you are ready with both our tongues"; and in commending Achaia to the senators he declared that it was a province dear to him through the association of kindred studies; while he often replied to Greek envoys in the senate in a set speech. Indeed he quoted many Homeric lines from the tribunal, and whenever he had punished an enemy or a conspirator, he commonly gave the tribune of the guard this verse when he asked for the usual watchword:

"Ward off stoutly the man whosoever is first to assail you."

At last he even wrote historical works in Greek, twenty books of Etruscan History and eight of Carthaginian. Because of these works there was added to the old Museum at Alexandria a new one called after his name, and it was provided that in the one his Etruscan History should be read each year from beginning to end, and in the other his Carthaginian, by various readers in turn, in the manner of public recitations.

Towards the end of his life he had shown some plain signs of repentance for his marriage with Agrippina and his adoption of Nero; for when his freedmen expressed their approval of a trial in which he had the day before condemned a woman for adultery, he declared that it had been his destiny also to have wives who were all unchaste, but not unpunished; and shortly afterwards meeting Britannicus, he hugged him close and urged him to grow up and receive from his father an account of all that he had done, adding in Greek, "He who dealt the wound will heal it." When he expressed his intention of giving Britannicus the gown of manhood, since his stature justified it though he was still young and immature, he added: "That the Roman people may at last have a genuine Caesar."

44.

Not long afterwards he also made his will and sealed it with the seals of all the magistrates. But before he could go any farther, he was cut short by Agrippina, who was being accused besides of many other crimes both by her own conscience and by informers.

That Claudius was poisoned is the general belief, but when it was done and by whom is disputed. Some say that it was his taster, the eunuch Halotus, as he was banqueting on the Citadel with the priests; others that at a family dinner Agrippina served the drug to him with her own hand in mushrooms, a dish of which he was extravagantly fond. Reports also differ as to what followed. Many say that as soon as he swallowed the poison he became speechless, and after suffering excruciating pain all night, died just before dawn. Some say that he first fell into a stupor, then vomited up the whole contents of his overloaded stomach, and was given a second dose, perhaps in a gruel, under pretence that he must be refreshed with food after his exhaustion, or administered in a syringe, as if he were suffering from a surfeit and required relief by that form of evacuation as well.

45.

His death was kept quiet until all the arrangements were made about the succession. Accordingly vows were offered for his safety, as if he were still ill, and the farce was kept up by bringing in comic actors, under pretence that he had asked to be entertained in that way. He died on the third day before the Ides of October in the consulship of Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Aviola, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. He was buried with regal pomp and enrolled among the gods, an honour neglected and finally annulled by Nero, but later restored to him by Vespasian.

46.

The principal omens of his death were the following: the rise of a long-haired star, commonly called a comet; the striking of his father Drusus's tomb by lightning; and the fact that many magistrates of all ranks had died that same year. There are besides some indications that he himself was not unaware of his approaching end, and that he made no secret of it; for when he was appointing the consuls, he made no appointment beyond the month when he died, and on his last appearance in the senate, after earnestly exhorting his children to harmony,

he begged the members to watch over the tender years of both; and in his last sitting on the tribunal he declared more than once that he had reached the end of a mortal career, although all who heard him prayed that the omen might be averted.

THE LIFE OF NERO

1.

Of the Domitian family two branches have acquired distinction, the Calvini and the Ahenobarbi. The latter have as the founder of their race and the origin of their surname Lucius Domitius, to whom, as he was returning from the country, there once appeared twin youths of more than mortal majesty, so it is said, and bade him carry to the senate and people the news of a victory, which was as yet unknown. And as a token of their divinity it is said that they stroked his cheeks and turned his black beard to a ruddy hue, like that of bronze. This sign was perpetuated in his descendants, a great part of whom had red beards. After they had attained seven consulships, a triumph, and two censorships, and were enrolled among the patricians, they all continued to use the same surname. They confined their forenames to Gnaeus and Lucius, and used even these with a noteworthy variation, now conferring each one on three members of the family in succession, and now giving them to individual members in turn. Thus the first, second, and third of the Ahenobarbi, we are told, were called Lucius, the next three in order Gnaeus, while all those that followed were called in turn first Lucius and then Gnaeus. It seems to me worth while to give an account of several members of this family, to show more clearly that though Nero degenerated from the good qualities of his ancestors, he yet reproduced the vices of each of them, as if transmitted to him by natural inheritance.

2.

To begin then somewhat far back, his great-grandfather's grandfather, Gnaeus Domitius, when tribune of the commons, was enraged at the pontiffs for choosing another than himself in his father's place among them, and transferred the right of filling vacancies in the priesthoods from the colleges themselves to the people. Then having vanquished the Allobroges and the Arverni in his consulship, he rode through the province on an elephant, attended by a throng of soldiers, in a kind of triumphal procession. He it was of whom the orator Licinius Crassus said that it was not surprising that he had a brazen beard, since he had a face of iron and a heart of lead. His son, who was praetor at the time, summoned Gaius Caesar to an investigation before the senate at the close of his consulship, because it was thought that his administration had been in violation of the auspices and the laws. Afterwards in his own consulship he tried to

deprive Caesar of the command of the armies in Gaul, and being named Caesar's successor by his party, was taken prisoner at Corfinium at the beginning of the civil war. Granted his freedom, he at first gave courage by his presence to the people of Massilia, who were hard pressed by their besiegers, but suddenly abandoned them and at last fell in the battle at Pharsalus. He was a man of no great resolution, though he had a violent temper, and when he once attempted to kill himself in a fit of despair and terror, he so shrank from the thought of death that he changed his mind and vomited up the poison, conferring freedom on his physician, since, knowing his master, he had purposely given him what was not a fatal dose. When Gnaeus Pompeius brought forward the question of the treatment of those who were neutral and sided with neither party, he alone was for regarding them as hostile.

3.

He left a son, who was beyond all question better than the rest of the family. He was condemned to death by the Pedian law among those implicated in Caesar's death, though he was guiltless, and accordingly joined Brutus and Cassius, who were his near relatives. After the death of both leaders he retained the fleet of which he had previously been made commander, and even added to it, and it was not until his party had been everywhere routed that he surrendered it to Mark Antony, of his own free will and as if it were a great favour. He too was the only one of those who were condemned by that same law who was allowed to return to his native land, where he successively held all the highest offices. When the civil strife was subsequently renewed, and he was appointed one of Antony's lieutenants, he did not venture, owing to a sudden attack of illness, to accept the chief command when it was offered by those who were ashamed of Cleopatra, nor yet positively to decline it; but he went over to Augustus and a few days later died. Even he did not escape with an unblemished reputation, for Antony openly declared that he had changed sides from desire for the company of his mistress, Servilia Nais.

4.

He was the father of the Domitius who was later well known from being named in Augustus' will as the purchaser of his goods and chattels, a man no less famous in his youth for his skill in driving than he was later for winning the insignia of a triumph in the war in Germany. But he was haughty, extravagant, and cruel, and when he was only an aedile, forced the censor Lucius Plancus to

make way for him on the street. While holding the offices of praetor and consul, he brought Roman knights and matrons on the stage to act a farce. He gave beast-baitings both in the Circus and in all the regions of the city; also a gladiatorial show, but with such inhuman cruelty that Augustus, after his private warning was disregarded, was forced to restrain him by an edict.

5.

He had by the elder Antonia a son Domitius who became the father of Nero, a man hateful in every walk of life; for when he had gone to the East on the staff of the young Gaius Caesar, he slew one of his own freedmen for refusing to drink as much as he ordered, and when he was in consequence dismissed from the number of Gaius' friends, he lived not a whit less lawlessly. On the contrary, in a village on the Appian Way, suddenly whipping up his team, he purposely ran over and killed a boy; and right in the Roman Forum he gouged out the eye of a Roman knight for being too outspoken in chiding him. He was moreover so dishonest that he not only cheated some bankers of the prices of wares which he had bought, but in his praetorship he even defrauded the victors in the chariot races of the amount of their prizes. When for this reason he was held up to scorn by the jests of his own sister, and the managers of the troupes made complaint, he issued an edict that the prizes should thereafter be paid on the spot. Just before the death of Tiberius he was also charged with treason, as well as with acts of adultery and incest with his sister Lepida, but escaped owing to the change of rulers and died of dropsy at Pyrgi, after acknowledging Nero son of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus.

6.

Nero was born at Antium nine months after the death of Tiberius, on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of January, just as the sun rose, so that he was touched by its rays almost before he could be laid upon the ground. Many people at once made many direful predictions from his horoscope, and a remark of his father Domitius was also regarded as an omen; for while receiving the congratulations of his friends, he said that "nothing that was not abominable and a public bane could be born of Agrippina and himself." Another manifest indication of Nero's future unhappiness occurred on the day of his purification; for when Gaius Caesar was asked by his sister to give the child whatever name he liked, he looked at his uncle Claudius, who later became emperor and adopted Nero, and said that he gave him his name. This he did, not seriously, but in jest,

and Agrippina scorned the proposal, because at that time Claudius was one of the laughing-stocks of the court.

At the age of three he lost his father, being left heir to a third of his estate; but even this he did not receive in full, since his fellow heir Gaius seized all the property. Then his mother was banished too, and he was brought up at the house of his aunt Lepida almost in actual want, under two tutors, a dancer and a barber. But when Claudius became emperor, Nero not only recovered his father's property, but was also enriched by an inheritance from his stepfather, Passienus Crispus. When his mother was recalled from banishment and reinstated, he became so prominent through her influence that it leaked out that Messalina, wife of Claudius, had sent emissaries to strangle him as he was taking his noonday nap, regarding him as a rival of Britannicus. An addition to this bit of gossip is, that the would-be assassins were frightened away by a snake which darted out from under his pillow. The only foundation for this tale was, that there was found in his bed near the pillow the slough of a serpent; but nevertheless at his mother's desire he had the skin enclosed in a golden bracelet, and wore it for a long time on his right arm. But when at least at memory of his mother grew hateful to him, he threw it away, and afterwards in the time of his extremity sought it again in vain.

7.

While he was still a young, half-grown boy he took part in the game of Troy at a performance in the Circus with great self-possession and success. In the eleventh year of his age he was adopted by Claudius and consigned to the training of Annaeus Seneca, who was then already a senator. They say that on the following night Seneca dreamed that he was teaching Gaius Caesar, and Nero soon proved the dream prophetic by revealing the cruelty of his disposition at the earliest possible opportunity. For merely because his brother Britannicus had, after his adoption, greeted him as usual as Ahenobarbus, he tried to convince his father that Britannicus was a changeling. Also when his aunt Lepida was accused, he publicly gave testimony against her, to gratify his mother, who was using every effort to ruin Lepida.

At his formal introduction into public life he announced a largess to the people and a gift of money to the soldiers, ordered a drill of the praetorians and headed them shield in hand; and thereafter returned thanks to his father in the senate. In the latter's consulship he pleaded the cause of the people of Bononia before him in Latin, and of those of Rhodes and Ilium in Greek. His first appearance as judge was when he was prefect of the city during the Latin Festival, when the

most celebrated pleaders vied with one another in bringing before him, not trifling and brief cases according to the usual custom, but many of the highest importance, though this had been forbidden by Claudius. Shortly afterwards he took Octavia to wife and gave games and a beast-baiting in the Circus, that health might be vouchsafed Claudius.

8.

When the death of Claudius was made public, Nero, who was seventeen years old, went forth to the watch between the sixth and the seventh hour, since no earlier time for the formal beginning of his reign seemed suitable because of bad omens throughout the day. Hailed emperor on the steps of the Palace, he was carried in a litter to the praetorian camp, and after a brief address to the soldiers was taken from there to the House, which he did not leave until evening, of the unbounded honours that were heaped upon him refusing but one, the title of father of his country, and that because of his youth.

9.

Then beginning with a display of filial piety, he gave Claudius a magnificent funeral, spoke his eulogy, and deified him. He paid the highest honours to the memory of his father Domitius. He left to his mother the management of all public and private business. Indeed, on the first day of his rule he gave to the tribune on guard the watchword "The Best of Mothers," and afterwards he often rode with her through the streets in her litter. He established a colony at Antium, enrolling the veterans of the praetorian guard and joining with them the wealthiest of the chief centurions, whom he compelled to change their residence; and he also made a harbour there at great expense.

10.

To make his good intentions still more evident, he declared that he would rule according to the principles of Augustus, and he let slip no opportunity for acts of generosity and mercy, or even for displaying his affability. The more oppressive sources of revenue he either abolished or moderated. He reduced the rewards paid to informers against violators of the Papian law to one fourth of the former amount. He distributed four hundred sesterces to each man of the people, and granted to the most distinguished of the senators who were without means an annual salary, to some as much as five hundred thousand sesterces; and to the

praetorian cohorts he gave a monthly allowance of grain free of cost. When he was asked according to custom to sign the warrant for the execution of a man who had been condemned to death, he said: "How I wish I had never learned to write!" He greeted men of all orders off-hand and from memory. When the senate returned thanks to him, he replied, "When I shall have deserved them." He admitted even the commons to witness his exercises in the Campus, and often declaimed in public. He read his poems too, not only at home but in the theatre as well, so greatly to the delight of all that a thanksgiving was voted because of his recital, while that part of his poems was inscribed in letters of gold and dedicated to Jupiter of the Capitol.

11.

He gave many entertainments of different kinds: the *Juvenales*, chariot races in the Circus, stage-plays, and a gladiatorial show. At the first mentioned he had even old men of consular rank and aged matrons take part. For the games in the Circus he assigned places to the knights apart from the rest, and even matched chariots drawn by four camels. At the plays which he gave for the "Eternity of the Empire," which by his order were called the *Ludi Maximi*, parts were taken by several men and women of both the orders; a well known Roman knight mounted an elephant and rode down a rope; a Roman play of Afranius, too, was staged, entitled "The Fire," and the actors were allowed to carry off the furniture of the burning house and keep it. Every day all kinds of presents were thrown to the people; these included a thousand birds of every kind each day, various kinds of food, tickets for grain, clothing, gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, paintings, slaves, beasts of burden, and even trained wild animals; finally, ships, blocks of houses, and farms.

12.

These plays he viewed from the top of the proscenium. At the gladiatorial show, which he gave in a wooden amphitheatre, erected in the district of the Campus Martius within the space of a single year, he had no one put to death, not even criminals. But he compelled four hundred senators and six hundred Roman knights, some of whom were well to do and of unblemished reputation, to fight in the arena. Even those who fought with the wild beasts and performed the various services in the arena were of the same orders. He also exhibited a naval battle in salt water with sea monsters swimming about in it; besides pyrrhic dances by some Greek youths, handing each of them certificates of

Roman citizenship at the close of his performance. The pyrrhic dances represented various scenes. In one a bull mounted Pasiphae, who was concealed in a wooden image of a heifer; at least many of the spectators thought so. Icarus at his very first attempt fell close by the imperial couch and bespattered the emperor with his blood; for Nero very seldom presided at the games, but used to view them while reclining on a couch, at first through small openings, and then with the entire balcony uncovered.

He was likewise the first to establish at Rome a quinquennial contest in three parts, after the Greek fashion, that is in music, gymnastics, and riding, which he called the *Neronia*; at the same time he dedicated his baths and gymnasium, supplying every member of the senatorial and equestrian orders with oil. To preside over the whole contest he appointed ex-consuls, chosen by lot, who occupied the seats of the praetors. Then he went down into the orchestra among the senators and accepted the prize for Latin oratory and verse, for which all the most eminent men had contended but which was given to him with their unanimous consent; but when that for lyre-playing was also offered him by the judges, he knelt before it and ordered that it be laid at the feet of Augustus' statue. At the gymnastic contest, which he gave in the Saepta, he shaved his first beard to the accompaniment of a splendid sacrifice of bullocks, put it in a golden box adorned with pearls of great price, and dedicated it in the Capitol. He invited the Vestal virgins also to witness the contests of the athletes, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the same privilege.

13.

I may fairly include among his shows the entrance of Tiridates into the city. He was a king of Armenia, whom Nero induced by great promises to come to Rome; and since he was prevented by bad weather from exhibiting him to the people on the day appointed by proclamation, he produced him at the first favourable opportunity, with the praetorian cohorts drawn up in full armour about the temples in the Forum, while he himself sat in a curule chair on the rostra in the attire of a triumphing general, surrounded by military ensigns and standards. As the king approached along a sloping platform, the emperor at first let him fall at his feet, but raised him with his right hand and kissed him. Then, while the king made supplication, Nero took the turban from his head and replaced it with a diadem, while a man of praetorian rank translated the words of the suppliant and proclaimed them to the throng. From there the king was taken to the theatre, and when he had again done obeisance, Nero gave him a seat at his right hand. Because of all this Nero was hailed as Imperator, and after

depositing a laurel wreath in the Capitol, he closed the two doors of the temple of Janus, as a sign that no war was left anywhere.

14.

He held four consulships, the first for two months, the second and the last for six months each, the third for four months. The second and third were in successive years, while a year intervened between these and each of the others.

15.

In the administration of justice he was reluctant to render a decision to those who presented cases, except on the following day and in writing. The procedure was, instead of continuous pleadings, to have each point presented separately by the parties in turn. Furthermore, whenever he withdrew for consultation, he did not discuss any matter with all his advisers in a body, but had each of them give his opinion in written form; these he read silently and in private and then gave a verdict according to his own inclination, as if it were the view of the majority.

For a long time he would not admit the sons of freedmen to the senate and he refused office to those who had been admitted by his predecessors. Candidates who were in excess of the number of vacancies received the command of a legion as compensation for the postponement and delay. He commonly appointed consuls for a period of six months. When one of them died just before the Kalends of January, he appointed no one in his place, expressing his disapproval of the old-time case of Caninius Rebilus, the twenty-four hour consul. He conferred the triumphal regalia even on men of the rank of quaestor, as well as on some of the knights, and sometimes for other than military services. As regards the speeches which he sent to the senate on various matters, he passed over the quaestors, whose duty it was to read them, and usually had them presented by one of the consuls.

16.

He devised a new form for the buildings of the city and in front of the houses and apartments he erected porches, from the flat roofs of which fires could be fought; and these he put up at his own cost. He had also planned to extend the walls as far as Ostia and to bring the sea from there to Rome by a canal.

During his reign many abuses were severely punished and put down, and no fewer new laws were made: a limit was set to expenditures; the public banquets

were confined to a distribution of food; the sale of any kind of cooked viands in the taverns was forbidden, with the exception of pulse and vegetables, whereas before every sort of dainty was exposed for sale. Punishment was inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition. He put an end to the diversions of the chariot drivers, who from immunity of long standing claimed the right of ranging at large and amusing themselves by cheating and robbing the people. The pantomimic actors and their partisans were banished from the city.

17.

It was in his reign that a protection against forgers was first devised, by having no tablets signed that were not bored with holes through which a cord was thrice passed. In the case of wills it was provided that the first two leaves should be presented to the signatories with only the name of the testator written upon them, and that no one who wrote a will for another should put down a legacy for himself; further, that clients should pay a fixed and reasonable fee for the services of their advocates, but nothing at all for benches, which were to be furnished free of charge by the public treasury; finally as regarded the pleading of cases, that those connected with the treasury should be transferred to the Forum and a board of arbiters, and that any appeal from the juries should be made to the senate.

18.

So far from being actuated by any wish or hope of increasing or extending the empire, he even thought of withdrawing the army from Britain and changed his purpose only because he was ashamed to seem to belittle the glory of his father. He increased the provinces only by the realm of Pontus, when it was given up by Polemon, and that of Cottius in the Alps on the latter's death.

19.

He planned but two foreign tours, to Alexandria and Achaia; and he gave up the former on the very day when he was to have started, disturbed by a threatening portent. For as he was making the round of the temples and had sat down in the shrine of Vesta, first the fringe of his garment caught when he attempted to get up, and then such darkness overspread his eyes that he could see nothing. In Achaia he attempted to cut through the Isthmus and called together

the praetorians and urged them to begin the work; then at a signal given on a trumpet he was first to break ground with a mattock and to carry off a basketful of earth upon his shoulders. He also prepared for an expedition to the Caspian Gates, after enrolling a new legion of raw recruits of Italian birth, each six feet tall, which he called the “phalanx of Alexander the Great.”

I have brought together these acts of his, some of which are beyond criticism, while others are even deserving of no slight praise, to separate them from his shameful and criminal deeds, of which I shall proceed now to give an account.

20.

Having gained some knowledge of music in addition to the rest of his early education, as soon as he became emperor he sent for Terpnus, the greatest master of the lyre in those days, and after listening to him sing after dinner for many successive days until late at night, he little by little began to practise himself, neglecting none of the exercises which artists of that kind are in the habit of following, to preserve or strengthen their voices. For he used to lie upon his back and hold a leaden plate on his chest, purge himself by the syringe and by vomiting, and deny himself fruits and all foods injurious to the voice. Finally encouraged by his progress, although his voice was weak and husky, he began to long to appear on the stage, and every now and then in the presence of his intimate friends he would quote a Greek proverb meaning “Hidden music counts for nothing.” And he made his début at Naples, where he did not cease singing until he had finished the number which he had begun, even though the theatre was shaken by a sudden earthquake shock. In the same city he sang frequently and for several days. Even when he took a short time to rest his voice, he could not keep out of sight but went to the theatre after bathing and dined in the orchestra with the people all about him, promising them in Greek, that when he had wetted his whistle a bit, he would ring out something good and loud. He was greatly taken too with the rhythmic applause of some Alexandrians, who had flocked to Naples from a fleet that had lately arrived, and summoned more men from Alexandria. Not content with that, he selected some young men of the order of knights and more than five thousand sturdy young commoners, to be divided into groups and learn the Alexandrian styles of applause (they called them “the bees,” “the roof-tiles,” and “the bricks”), and to ply them vigorously whenever he sang. These men were noticeable for their thick hair and fine apparel; their left hands were bare and without rings, and the leaders were paid four hundred thousand sesterces each.

21.

Considering it of great importance to appear in Rome as well, he repeated the contest of the Neronia before the appointed time, and when there was a general call for his “divine voice,” he replied that if any wished to hear him, he would favour them in the gardens; but when the guard of soldiers which was then on duty seconded the entreaties of the people, he gladly agreed to appear at once. So without delay he had his name added to the list of the lyre-players who entered the contest, and casting his own lot into the urn with the rest, he came forward in his turn, attended by the prefects of the Guard carrying his lyre, and followed by the tribunes of the soldiers and his intimate friends. Having taken his place and finished his preliminary speech, he announced through the ex-consul Cluvius Rufus that “he would sing Niobe”; and he kept at it until late in the afternoon, putting off the award of the prize for that event and postponing the rest of the contest to the next year, to have an excuse for singing oftener. But since even that seemed too long to wait, he did not cease to appear in public from time to time. He even thought of taking part in private performances among the professional actors, when one of the praetors offered him a million sesterces. He also put on the mask and sang tragedies representing gods and heroes and even heroines and goddesses, having the masks fashioned in the likeness of his own features or those of the women of whom he chanced to be enamoured. Among other themes he sang “Canace in Labor,” “Orestes the Matricide,” “The Blinding of Oedipus” and the “Frenzy of Hercules.” At the last named performance they say that a young recruit, seeing the emperor in mean attire and bound with chains, as the subject required, rushed forward to lend him aid.

22.

From his earliest years he had a special passion for horses and talked constantly about the games in the Circus, though he was forbidden to do so. Once when he was lamenting with his fellow pupils the fate of a charioteer of the “Greens,” who was dragged by his horses, and his preceptor scolded him, he told a lie and pretended that he was talking of Hector. At the beginning of his reign he used to play every day with ivory chariots on a board, and he came from the country to all the games, even the most insignificant, at first secretly, and then so openly that no one doubted that he would be in Rome on that particular day. He made no secret of his wish to have the number of prizes increased, and in consequence more races were added and the performance was continued to a late hour, while the managers of the troupes no longer thought it worth while to

produce their drivers at all except for a full day's racing. He soon longed to drive a chariot himself and even to show himself frequently to the public; so after a trial exhibition in his gardens before his slaves and the dregs of the populace, he gave all an opportunity of seeing him in the Circus Maximus, one of his freedmen dropping the napkin from the place usually occupied by the magistrates.

Not content with showing his proficiency in these arts at Rome, he went to Achaia, as I have said, influenced especially by the following consideration. The cities in which it was the custom to hold contests in music had adopted the rule of sending all the lyric prizes to him. These he received with the greatest delight, not only giving audience before all others to the envoys who brought them, but even inviting them to his private table. When some of them begged him to sing after dinner and greeted his performance with extravagant applause, he declared that "the Greeks were the only ones who had an ear for music and that they alone were worthy of his efforts." So he took ship without delay and immediately on arriving at Cassiope made a preliminary appearance as a singer at the altar of Jupiter Cassius, and then went the round of all the contests.

23.

To make this possible, he gave orders that even those which were widely separated in time should be brought together in a single year, so that some had even to be given twice, and he introduced a musical competition at Olympia also, contrary to custom. To avoid being distracted or hindered in any way while busy with these contests, he replied to his freedman Helius, who reminded him that the affairs of the city required his presence, in these words: "However much it may be your advice and your wish that I should return speedily, yet you ought rather to counsel me and to hope that I may return worthy of Nero."

While he was singing no one was allowed to leave the theatre even for the most urgent reasons. And so it is said that some women gave birth to children there, while many who were worn out with listening and applauding, secretly leaped from the wall, since the gates at the entrance were closed, or feigned death and were carried out as if for burial. The trepidation and anxiety with which he took part in the contests, his keen rivalry of his opponents and his awe of the judges, can hardly be credited. As his rivals were of quite the same station as himself, he used to show respect to them and try to gain their favour, while he slandered them behind their backs, sometimes assailed them with abuse when he met them, and even bribed those who were especially proficient.

Before beginning, he would address the judges in the most deferential terms,

saying that he had done all that could be done, but the issue was in the hands of Fortune; they however, being men of wisdom and experience, ought to exclude what was fortuitous. When they bade him take heart, he withdrew with greater confidence, but not even then without anxiety, interpreting the silence and modesty of some as sullenness and ill-nature, and declaring that he had his suspicions of them.

24.

In competition he observed the rules most scrupulously, never daring to clear his throat and even wiping the sweat from his brow with his arm. Once indeed, during the performance of a tragedy, when he had dropped his sceptre but quickly recovered it, he was terribly afraid that he might be excluded from the competition because of his slip, and his confidence was restored only when his accompanist swore that it had passed unnoticed amid the delight and applause of the people. When the victory was won, he made the announcement himself; and for that reason he always took part in the contests of the heralds. To obliterate the memory of all other victors in games and leave no trace of them, their statues and busts were all thrown down by his order, dragged off with hooks, and cast into privies.

He also drove a chariot in many places, at Olympia even a ten-horse team, although in one of his own poems he had criticised Mithridates for just that thing. But after he had been thrown from the car and put back in it, he was unable to hold out and gave up before the end of the course; but he received the crown just the same. On his departure he presented the entire province with freedom and at the same time gave the judges Roman citizenship and a large sum of money. These favours he announced in person on the day of the Isthmian Games, standing in the middle of the stadium.

25.

Returning from Greece, since it was at Naples that he had made his first appearance, he entered that city with white horses through a part of the wall which had been thrown down, as is customary with victors in the sacred games. In like manner he entered Antium, then Albanum, and finally Rome; but at Rome he rode in the chariot which Augustus had used in his triumphs in days gone by, and wore a purple robe and a Greek cloak adorned with stars of gold, bearing on his head the Olympic crown and in his right hand the Pythian, while the rest were carried before him with inscriptions telling where he had won them

and against what competitors, and giving the titles of the songs or of the subject of the plays. His car was followed by his claque as by the escort of a triumphal procession, who shouted that they were the attendants of Augustus and the soldiers of his triumph. Then through the arch of the Circus Maximus, which was thrown down, he made his way across the Velabrum and the Forum to the Palatine and the temple of Apollo. All along the route victims were slain, the streets were sprinkled from time to time with perfume, while birds, ribbons, and sweetmeats were showered upon him. He placed the sacred crowns in his bed-chambers around the couches, as well as statues representing him in the guise of a lyre-player; and he had a coin too struck with the same device. So far from neglecting or relaxing his practice of the art after this, he never addressed the soldiers except by letter or in a speech delivered by another, to save his voice; and he never did anything for amusement or in earnest without an elocutionist by his side, to warn him to spare his vocal organs and hold a handkerchief to his mouth. To many men he offered his friendship or announced his hostility, according as they had applauded him lavishly or grudgingly.

26.

Although at first his acts of wantonness, lust, extravagance, avarice and cruelty were gradual and secret, and might be condoned as follies of youth, yet even then their nature was such that no one doubted that they were defects of his character and not due to his time of life. No sooner was twilight over than he would catch up a cap or a wig and go to the taverns or range about the streets playing pranks, which however were very far from harmless; for he used to beat men as they came home from dinner, stabbing any who resisted him and throwing them into the sewers. He would even break into shops and rob them, setting up a market in the Palace, where he divided the booty which he took, sold it at auction, and then squandered the proceeds. In the strife which resulted he often ran the risk of losing his eyes or even his life, for he was beaten almost to death by a man of the senatorial order, whose wife he had maltreated. Warned by this, he never afterwards ventured to appear in public at that hour without having tribunes follow him at a distance and unobserved. Even in the daytime he would be carried privately to the theatre in a sedan, and from the upper part of the proscenium would watch the brawls of the pantomimic actors and egg them on; and when they came to blows and fought with stones and broken benches, he himself threw many missiles at the people and even broke a praetor's head.

27.

Little by little, however, as his vices grew stronger, he dropped jesting and secrecy and with no attempt at disguise openly broke out into worse crime. He prolonged his revels from midday to midnight, often livening himself by a warm plunge, or, if it were summer, into water cooled with snow. Sometimes too he closed the inlets and banqueted in public in the great tank, in the Campus Martius, or in the Circus Maximus, waited on by harlots and dancing girls from all over the city. Whenever he drifted down the Tiber to Ostia, or sailed about the Gulf of Baiae, booths were set up at intervals along the banks and shores, fitted out for debauchery, while bartering matrons played the part of inn-keepers and from every hand solicited him to come ashore. He also levied dinners on his friends, one of whom spent four million sesterces for a banquet at which turbans were distributed, and another a considerably larger sum for a rose dinner.

28.

Besides abusing freeborn boys and seducing married women, he debauched the vestal virgin Rubria. The freedwoman Acte he all but made his lawful wife, after bribing some ex-consuls to perjure themselves by swearing that she was of royal birth. He castrated the boy Sporus and actually tried to make a woman of him; and he married him with all the usual ceremonies, including a dowry and a bridal veil, took him to his house attended by a great throng, and treated him as his wife. And the witty jest that someone made is still current, that it would have been well for the world if Nero's father Domitius had had that kind of wife. This Sporus, decked out with the finery of the empresses and riding in a litter, he took with him to the assizes and marts of Greece, and later at Rome through the Street of the Images, fondly kissing him from time to time. That he even desired illicit relations with his own mother, and was kept from it by her enemies, who feared that such a help might give the reckless and insolent woman too great influence, was notorious, especially after he added to his concubines a courtesan who was said to look very like Agrippina. Even before that, so they say, whenever he rode in a litter with his mother, he had incestuous relations with her, which were betrayed by the stains on his clothing.

29.

He so prostituted his own chastity that after defiling almost every part of his body, he at last devised a kind of game, in which, covered with the skin of some wild animal, he was let loose from a cage and attacked the private parts of men and women, who were bound to stakes, and when he had sated his mad lust, was

dispatched by his freedman Doryphorus; for he was even married to this man in the same way that he himself had married Sporus, going so far as to imitate the cries and lamentations of a maiden being deflowered. I have heard from some men that it was his unshaken conviction that no man was chaste or pure in any part of his body, but that most of them concealed their vices and cleverly drew a veil over them; and that therefore he pardoned all other faults in those who confessed to him their lewdness.

30.

He thought that there was no other way of enjoying riches and money than by riotous extravagance, declaring that only stingy and niggardly fellows kept a correct account of what they spent, while fine and genuinely magnificent gentlemen wasted and squandered. Nothing in his uncle Gaius so excited his envy and admiration as the fact that he had in so short a time run through the vast wealth which Tiberius had left him. Accordingly he made presents and wasted money without stint. On Tiridates, though it would seem hardly within belief, he spent eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, and on his departure presented him with more than a hundred millions. He gave the lyre-player Menecrates and the gladiator Spiculus properties and residences equal to those of men who had celebrated triumphs. He enriched the monkey-faced usurer Paneros with estates in the country and in the city and had him buried with almost regal splendour. He never wore the same garment twice. He played at dice for four hundred thousand sesterces a point. He fished with a golden net drawn by cords woven of purple and scarlet threads. It is said that he never made a journey with less than a thousand carriages, his mules shod with silver and their drivers clad in wool of Canusium, attended by a train of Mazaces and couriers with bracelets and trappings.

31.

There was nothing however in which he was more ruinously prodigal than in building. He made a palace extending all the way from the Palatine to the Esquiline, which at first he called the House of Passage, but when it was burned shortly after its completion and rebuilt, the Golden House. Its size and splendour will be sufficiently indicated by the following details. Its vestibule was large enough to contain a colossal statue of the emperor a hundred and twenty feet high; and it was so extensive that it had a triple colonnade a mile long. There was a pond too, like a sea, surrounded with buildings to represent cities, besides

tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic animals. In the rest of the house all parts were overlaid with gold and adorned with gems and mother-of-pearl. There were dining-rooms with fretted ceils of ivory, whose panels could turn and shower down flowers and were fitted with pipes for sprinkling the guests with perfumes. The main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens. He had baths supplied with sea water and sulphur water. When the edifice was finished in this style and he dedicated it, he deigned to say nothing more in the way of approval than that he was at least a beginning to be housed like a human being.

He also began a pool, extending from Misenum to the lake of Avernus, roofed over and enclosed in colonnades, into which he planned to turn all the hot springs in every part of Baiae; a canal from Avernus all the way to Ostia, to enable the journey to be made by ship yet not by sea; its length was to be a hundred and sixty miles and its breadth sufficient to allow ships with five banks of oars to pass each other. For the execution of these projects he had given orders that the prisoners all over the empire should be transported to Italy, and that those who were convicted even of capital crimes should be punished in no other way than by sentence to this work.

He was led to such mad extravagance, in addition to his confidence in the resources of the empire, by the hope of a vast hidden treasure, suddenly inspired by the assurance of a Roman knight, who declared positively that the enormous wealth which queen Dido had taken with her of old in her flight from Tyre was hidden away in huge caves in Africa and could be recovered with but trifling labour.

32.

When this hope proved false, he resorted to false accusations and robbery, being at the end of his resources and so utterly impoverished that he was obliged to postpone and defer even the pay of the soldiers and the rewards due to the veterans.

First of all he made a law, that instead of one-half, five-sixths of the property of deceased freedmen should be made over to him, if without good and sufficient reason they bore the name of any family with which he himself was connected; further, that the estates of those who were ungrateful to their emperor should belong to the privy purse, and that the advocates who had written or dictated such wills should not go unpunished. Finally, that any word or deed on which an informer could base an action should be liable to the law against lese-majesty.

He demanded the return of the rewards which he had given in recognition of the prizes conferred on him by any city in competition. Having forbidden the use of amethystine or Tyrian purple dyes, he secretly sent a man to sell a few ounces on a market day and then closed the shops of all the dealers. It is even said that when he saw a matron in the audience at one of his recitals clad in the forbidden colour he pointed her out to his agents, who dragged her out and stripped her on the spot, not only of her garment, but also of her property. He never appointed anyone to an office without adding: "You know what my needs are," and "Let us see to it that no one possess anything." At last he stripped many temples of their gifts and melted down the images of gold and silver, including those of the Penates, which however Galba soon afterwards restored.

33.

He began his career of parricide and murder with Claudius, for even if he was not the instigator of the emperor's death, he was at least privy to it, as he openly admitted; for he used afterwards to laud mushrooms, the vehicle in which the poison was administered to Claudius, as "the food of the gods," as the Greek proverb has it. At any rate, after Claudius's death he vented on him every kind of insult, in act and word, charging him now with folly and now with cruelty; for it was a favourite joke of his to say that Claudius had ceased "to play the fool" among mortals, lengthening the first syllable of the word *morari*, and he disregarded many of his decrees and acts as the work of a madman and a dotard. Finally, he neglected to enclose the place where his body was burned except with a low and mean wall.

He attempted the life of Britannicus by poison, not less from jealousy of his voice (for it was more agreeable than his own) than from fear that he might sometime win a higher place than himself in the people's regard because of the memory of his father. He procured the potion from an archpoisoner, one Locusta, and when the effect was slower than he anticipated, merely physicing Britannicus, he called the woman to him and flogged her with his own hand, charging that she had administered a medicine instead of a poison; and when she said in excuse that she had given a smaller dose to shield him from the odium of the crime, he replied: "It's likely that I am afraid of the Julian law;" and he forced her to mix as swift and instant a potion as she knew how in his own room before his very eyes. Then he tried it on a kid, and as the animal lingered for five hours, had the mixture steeped again and again and threw some of it before a pig. The beast instantly fell dead, whereupon he ordered that the poison be taken to the dining-room and given to Britannicus. The boy dropped dead at the very

first taste, but Nero lied to his guests and declared that he was seized with the falling sickness, to which he was subject, and the next day had him hastily and unceremoniously buried in a pouring rain. He rewarded Locusta for her eminent services with a full pardon and large estates in the country, and actually sent her pupils.

34.

His mother offended him by too strict surveillance and criticism of his words and acts, but at first he confined his resentment to frequent endeavours to bring upon her a burden of unpopularity by pretending that he would abdicate the throne and go off to Rhodes. Then depriving her of all her honours and of her guard of Roman and German soldiers, he even forbade her to live with him and drove her from the Palace. After that he passed all bounds in harrying her, bribing men to annoy her with lawsuits while she remained in the city, and after she had retired to the country, to pass her house by land and sea and break her rest with abuse and mockery. At last terrified by her violence and threats, he determined to have her life, and after thrice attempting it by poison and finding that she had made herself immune by antidotes, he tampered with the ceiling of her bedroom, contriving a mechanical device for loosening its panels and dropping them upon her while she slept. When this leaked out through some of those connected with the plot, he devised a collapsible boat, to destroy her by shipwreck or by the falling in of its cabin. Then he pretended a reconciliation and invited her in a most cordial letter to come to Baiae and celebrate the feast of Minerva with him. On her arrival, instructing his captains to wreck the galley in which she had come, by running into it as if by accident, he detained her at a banquet, and when she would return to Bauli, offered her his contrivance in place of the craft which had been damaged, escorting her to it in high spirits and even kissing her breasts as they parted. The rest of the night he passed sleepless in intense anxiety, awaiting the outcome of his design. On learning that everything had gone wrong and that she had escaped by swimming, driven to desperation he secretly had a dagger thrown down beside her freedman Lucius Agermus, when he joyfully brought word that she was safe and sound, and then ordered that the freedman be seized and bound, on the charge of being hired to kill the emperor; that his mother be put to death, and the pretence made that she had escaped the consequences of her detected guilt by suicide. Trustworthy authorities add still more gruesome details: that he hurried off to view the corpse, handled her limbs, criticising some and commending others, and that becoming thirsty meanwhile, he took a drink. Yet he could not either then or ever

afterwards endure the stings of conscience, though soldiers, senate and people tried to hearten him with their congratulations; for he often owned that he was hounded by his mother's ghost and by the whips and blazing torches of the Furies. He even had rites performed by the Magi, in the effort to summon her shade and entreat it for forgiveness. Moreover, in his journey through Greece he did not venture to take part in the Eleusinian mysteries, since at the beginning the godless and wicked are warned by the herald's proclamation to go hence.

To matricide he added the murder of his aunt. When he once visited her as she was confined to her bed from costiveness, and she, as old ladies will, stroking his downy beard (for he was already well grown) happened to say fondly: "As soon as I receive this, I shall gladly die," he turned to those with him and said as if in jest: "I'll take it off at once." Then he bade the doctors give the sick woman an overdose of physic and seized her property before she was cold, suppressing her will, that nothing might escape him.

35.

Besides Octavia he later took two wives, Poppaea Sabina, daughter of an ex-quaestor and previously married to a Roman knight, and then Statilia Messalina, daughter of the great-granddaughter of Taurus, who had been twice consul and awarded a triumph. To possess the latter he slew her husband Atticus Vestinus while he held the office of consul. He soon grew tired of living with Octavia, and when his friends took him to task, replied that "she ought to be content with the insignia of wifehood." Presently after several vain attempts to strangle her, he divorced her on the ground of barrenness, and when the people took it ill and openly reproached him, he banished her besides; and finally he had her put to death on a charge of adultery that was so shameless and unfounded, that when all who were put to the torture maintained her innocence, he bribed his former preceptor Anicetus to make a pretended confession that he had violated her chastity by a stratagem. He dearly loved Poppaea, whom he married twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, yet he caused her death too by kicking her when she was pregnant and ill, because she had scolded him for coming home late from the races. By her he had a daughter, Claudia Augusta, but lost her when she was still an infant.

Indeed there is no kind of relationship that he did not violate in his career of crime. He put to death Antonia, daughter of Claudius, for refusing to marry him after Poppaea's death, charging her with an attempt at revolution; and he treated in the same way all others who were in any way connected with him by blood or by marriage. Among these was the young Aulus Plautius, whom he forcibly

defiled before his death, saying "Let my mother come now and kiss my successor," openly charging that Agrippina had loved Plautius and that this had roused him to hopes of the throne. Rufrius Crispinus, a mere boy, his stepson and the child of Poppaea, he ordered to be drowned by the child's own slaves while he was fishing, be it was said that he used to play at being a general and an emperor. He banished his nurse's son Tuscus, because when procurator in Egypt, he had bathed in some baths which were built for a visit of Nero's. He drove his tutor Seneca to suicide, although when the old man often pleaded to be allowed to retire and offered to give up his estates, he had sworn most solemnly that he did wrong to suspect him and that he would rather die than harm him. He sent poison to Burrus, prefect of the Guard, in place of a throat medicine which he had promised him. The old and wealthy freedmen who had helped him first to his adoption and later to the throne, and aided him by their advice, he killed by poison, administered partly in their food and partly in their drink.

36.

Those outside his family he assailed with no less cruelty. It chanced that a comet had begun to appear on several successive nights, a thing which is commonly believed to portend the death of great rulers. Worried by this, and learning from the astrologer Balbillus that kings usually averted such omens by the death of some distinguished man, thus turning them from themselves upon the heads of the nobles, he resolved on the death of all the eminent men of the State; but the more firmly, and with some semblance of justice, after the discovery of two conspiracies. The earlier and more dangerous of these was that of Piso at Rome; the other was set on foot by Vinicius at Beneventum and detected there. The conspirators made their defence in triple sets of fetters, some voluntarily admitting their guilt, some even making a favour of it, saying that there was no way except by death that they could help a man disgraced by every kind of wickedness. The children of those who were condemned were banished or put to death by poison or starvation; a number are known to have been slain all together at a single meal along with their preceptors and attendants, while others were prevented from earning their daily bread.

37.

After this he showed neither discrimination nor moderation in putting to death whomsoever he pleased on any pretext whatever. To mention but a few instances, Salvidienus Orfitus was charged with having let to certain states as

headquarters three shops which formed part of his house near the Forum; Cassius Longinus, a blind jurist, with retaining in the old family tree of his house the mask of Gaius Cassius, the assassin of Julius Caesar; Paetus Thrasea with having a sullen mien, like that of a preceptor. To those who were bidden to die he never granted more than an hour's respite, and to avoid any delay, he brought physicians who were at once to "attend to" such as lingered; for that was the term he used for killing them by opening their veins. It is even believed that it was his wish to throw living men to be torn to pieces and devoured by a monster of Egyptian birth, who would crunch raw flesh and anything else that was given him. Transported and puffed up by such successes, as he considered them, he boasted that no prince had ever known what power he really had, and he often threw out unmistakable hints that he would not spare even those of the senate who survived, but would one day blot out the whole order from the State and hand over the rule of the provinces and the command of the armies to the Roman knights and to his freedmen. Certain it is that neither on beginning a journey nor on returning did he kiss any member or even return his greeting; and at the formal opening of the work at the Isthmus the prayer which he uttered in a loud voice before a great throng was, that the event might result favourably "for himself and the people of Rome," thus suppressing any mention of the senate.

38.

But she showed no greater mercy to the people or the walls of his capital. When someone in a general conversation said:

"When I am dead, be earth consumed by fire,"

he rejoined "Nay, rather while I live," and his action was wholly in accord. For under cover of displeasure at the ugliness of the old buildings and the narrow, crooked streets, he set fire to the city so openly that several ex-consuls did not venture to lay hands on his chamberlains although they caught them on their estates with tow and fire-brands, while some granaries near the Golden House, whose room he particularly desired, were demolished by engines of war and then set on fire, because their walls were of stone. For six days and seven nights destruction raged, while the people were driven for shelter to monuments and tombs. At that time, besides an immense number of dwellings, the houses of leaders of old were burned, still adorned with trophies of victory, and the temples of the gods vowed and dedicated by the kings and later in the Punic and Gallic wars, and whatever else interesting and noteworthy had survived from antiquity. Viewing the conflagration from the tower of Maecenas and exulting, as he said, in "the beauty of the flames," he sang the whole of the "Sack of Ilium," in his

regular stage costume. Furthermore, to gain from this calamity too all the spoil and booty possible, while promising the removal of the debris and dead bodies free of cost he allowed no one to approach the ruins of his own property; and from the contributions which he not only received, but even demanded, he nearly bankrupted the provinces and exhausted the resources of individuals.

39.

To all the disasters and abuses thus caused by the prince there were added certain accidents of fortune; a plague which in a single autumn entered thirty thousand deaths in the accounts of Libitina; a disaster in Britain, where two important towns were sacked and great numbers of citizens and allies were butchered; a shameful defeat in the Orient, in consequence of which the legions in Armenia were sent under the yoke and Syria was all but lost. It is surprising and of special note that all this time he bore nothing with more patience than the curses and abuse of the people, and was particularly lenient towards those who assailed him with gibes and lampoons. Of these many were posted or circulated both in Greek and Latin, for example the following:

“Nero, Orestes, Alcmeon their mothers slew.”

“A calculation new. Nero his mother slew.”

“Who can deny the descent from Aeneas’ great line of our Nero?

One his mother took off, the other one took off his sire.”

“While our ruler his lyre doth twang and the Parthian his bowstring,

Paean-singer our prince shall be, and Far-darter our foe.”

“Rome is becoming one house; off with you to Veii, Quirites!

If that house does not soon seize upon Veii as well.”

He made no effort, however, to find the authors; in fact, when some of them were reported to the senate by an informer, he forbade their being very severely punished. As he was passing along a public street, the Cynic Isidorus loudly taunted him, “because he was a good singer of the ills of Nauplius, but made ill use of his own goods.” Datus also, an actor of Atellan farces, in a song beginning:

“Farewell to thee, father; farewell to thee, mother,”

represented drinking and swimming in pantomime, referring of course to the death of Claudius and Agrippina; and in the final tag,

“Orcus guides your steps,”

he indicated the senate by a gesture. Nero contented himself with banishing the actor and the philosopher from the city, either because he was impervious to all insults, or to avoid sharpening men’s wits by showing his vexation.

After the world had put up with such a ruler for nearly fourteen years, it at last cast him off, and the Gauls took the first step under the lead of Julius Vindex, who at that time governed their province as *propraetor*.

Astrologers had predicted to Nero that he would one day be repudiated, which was the occasion of that well known saying of his: "A humble art affords us daily bread," doubtless uttered to justify him in practising the art of lyre-playing, as an amusement while emperor, but a necessity for a private citizen. Some of them, however, had promised him the rule of the East, when he was cast off, a few expressly naming the sovereignty of Jerusalem, and several the restitution of all his former fortunes. Inclining rather to this last hope, after losing Armenia and Britain and recovering both, he began to think that he had suffered the misfortunes which fate had in store. And after consulting the oracle at Delphi and being told that he must look out for the seventy-third year, assuming that he would die only at that period, and taking no account of Galba's years, he felt so confident not only of old age, but also of unbroken and unusual good fortune, that when he had lost some articles of great value by shipwreck, he did not hesitate to say among his intimate friends that the fish would bring them back to him.

He was at Naples when he learned of the uprising of the Gallic provinces, on the anniversary of his mother's murder, and received the news with such calmness and indifference that he incurred the suspicion of actually rejoicing in it, because it gave him an excuse for pillaging those wealthy provinces according to the laws of war. And he at once proceeded to the gymnasium, where he watched the contests of the athletes with rapt interest. At dinner too when interrupted by a more disturbing letter, he fired up only so far as to threaten vengeance on the rebels. In short for eight whole days making no attempt to write a reply to anyone, nor even to give any commission or command, he blotted out the affair with silence.

At last he was driven by numerous insulting edicts of Vindex, to urge the senate in a letter to avenge him and the state, alleging a throat trouble as his excuse for not appearing in person. Yet there was nothing which he so much resented as the taunt that he was a wretched lyre-player and that he was addressed as *Ahenobarbus* instead of Nero. With regard to his family name, which was cast in his teeth as an insult, he declared that he would resume it and give up that of his adoption. He used no other arguments to show the falsity of

the rest of the reproaches than that he was actually taunted with being unskilled in an art to which he had devoted so much attention and in which he had so perfected himself, and he asked various individuals from time to time whether they knew of any artist who was his superior. Finally, beset by message after message, he returned to Rome in a panic; but on the way, when but slightly encouraged by an insignificant omen, for he noticed a monument on which was sculptured the overthrow of a Gallic soldier by a Roman horseman, who was dragging him along by the hair, he leaped for joy at the sight and lifted up his hands to heaven. Not even on his arrival did he personally address the senate or people, but called some of the leading men to his house and after a hasty consultation spent the rest of the day in exhibiting some water-organs of a new and hitherto unknown form, explaining their several features and lecturing on the theory and complexity of each of them; and he even declared that he would presently produce them all in the theatre "with the kind permission of Vindex."

42.

Thereafter, having learned that Galba also and the Spanish provinces had revolted, he fainted and lay for a long time insensible, without a word and all but dead. When he came to himself, he rent his robe and beat his brow, declaring that it was all over with him; and when his old nurse tried to comfort him by reminding him that similar evils had befallen other princes before him, he declared that unlike all others he was suffering the unheard of and unparalleled fate of losing the supreme power while he still lived. Nevertheless he did not abandon or amend his slothful and luxurious habits; on the contrary, whenever any good news came from the provinces, he not only gave lavish feasts, but even ridiculed the leaders of the revolt in verses set to wanton music, which have since become public, and accompanied them with gestures; then secretly entering the audience room of the theatre, he sent word to an actor who was making a hit that he was taking advantage of the emperor's busy days.

43.

At the very beginning of the revolt it is believed that he formed many plans of monstrous wickedness, but in no way inconsistent with his character: to depose and assassinate the commanders of the armies and the governors of the provinces, on the ground that they were all united in a conspiracy against him; to massacre all the exiles everywhere and all men of Gallic birth in the city: the former, to prevent them from joining the rebels; the latter, as sharing and

abetting the designs of their countrymen; to turn over the Gallic provinces to his armies to ravage; to poison the entire senate at banquets; to set fire to the city, first letting the wild beasts loose, that it might be harder for the people to protect themselves. But he was deterred from these designs, not so much by any compunction, as because he despaired of being able to carry them out, and feeling obliged to take the field, he deposed the consuls before the end of their term and assumed the office alone in place of both of them, alleging that it was fated that Gallic provinces could not be subdued except by a consul. Having assumed the fasces, he declared as he was leaving the dining-room after a banquet, leaning on the shoulders of his comrades, that immediately on setting foot in the province he would go before the soldiers unarmed and do nothing but weep; and having thus led the rebels to change their purpose, he would next days rejoice among his rejoicing subjects and sing paeans of victory, which he ought at that very moment to be composing.

44.

In preparing for his campaign his first care was to select wagons to carry his theatrical instruments, to have the hair of his concubines, whom he planned to take with him, trimmed man-fashion, and to equip them with Amazonian axes and shields. Next he summoned the city tribes to enlist, and when no eligible person responded, he levied on their masters a stated number of slaves, accepting only the choicest from each household and not even exempting paymasters and secretaries. He also required all classes to contribute a part of their incomes, and all tenants of private houses and apartments to pay a year's rent at once to the privy purse. With great fastidiousness and rigour he demanded newly minted coin, refined silver, and pure gold, so that many openly refused to make any contribution at all, unanimously demanding that he should rather compel the informers to give up whatever rewards had been paid them.

45.

The bitter feeling against him was increased because he also turned the high cost of grain to his profit; for indeed, it so fell out that while the people were suffering from hunger it was reported that a ship had arrived from Alexandria, bringing sand for the court wrestlers.

When he had thus aroused the hatred of all, there was no form of insult to which he was not subjected. A curl was placed on the head of his statue with the inscription in Greek: "Now there is a real contest and you must at last

surrender.” To the neck of another statue a sack was tied and with it the words: “I have done what I could, but you have earned the sack.” People wrote on the columns that he had stirred up even the Gauls by his singing. When night came on, many men pretended to be wrangling with their slaves and kept calling out for a defender.

46.

In addition he was frightened by manifest portents from dreams, auspices and omens, both old and new. Although he had never before been in the habit of dreaming, after he had killed his mother it seemed to him that he was steering a ship in his sleep and that the helm was wrenched from his hands; that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into thickest darkness, and that he was now covered with a swarm of winged ants, and now was surrounded by the statues of the nations which had been dedicated in Pompey’s theatre and stopped in his tracks. A Spanish steed of which he was very fond was changed into the form of an ape in the hinder parts of its body, and its head, which alone remained unaltered, gave forth tuneful neighs. The doors of the Mausoleum flew open of their own accord, and a voice was heard from within summoning him by name. After the Lares had been adorned on the Kalends of January, they fell to the ground in the midst of the preparations for the sacrifice. As he was taking the auspices, Sporus made him a present of a ring with a stone on which was engraved the rape of Proserpina. When the vows were to be taken and a great throng of all classes had assembled, the keys of the Capitol could not be found for a long time. When a speech of his in which he assailed Vindex was being read in the senate, at the words “the wretches will suffer punishment and will shortly meet the end which they deserve,” all who were present cried out with one voice: “You will do it, Augustus.” It also had not failed of notice that the last piece which he sang in public was “Oedipus in Exile,” and that he ended with the line:

“Wife, father, mother drive me to my death.”

47.

When meanwhile word came that the other armies had revolted, he tore to pieces the dispatches which were handed to him as he was dining, tipped over the table, and dashed to the ground two favourite drinking cups, which he called “Homeric,” because they were carved with scenes from Homer’s poems. Then taking some poison from Locusta and putting it into a golden box, he crossed over into the Servilian gardens, where he tried to induce the tribunes and

centurions of the Guard to accompany him in his flight, first sending his most trustworthy freedmen to Ostia, to get a fleet ready. But when some gave evasive answers and some openly refused, one even cried:

“Is it so dreadful a thing then to die?”

Whereupon he turned over various plans in his mind, whether to go as a suppliant to the Parthians or Galba, or to appear to the people on the rostra, dressed in black, and beg as pathetically as he could for pardon for his past offences; and if he could not soften their hearts, to entreat them at least to allow him the prefecture of Egypt. Afterwards a speech composed for this purpose was found in his writing desk; but it is thought that he did not dare to deliver it for fear of being torn to pieces before he could reach the Forum.

Having therefore put off further consideration to the following day, he awoke about midnight and finding that the guard of soldiers had left, he sprang from his bed and sent for all his friends. Since no reply came back from anyone, he went himself to their rooms with a few followers. But finding that all the doors were closed and that no one replied to him, he returned to his own chamber, from which now the very caretakers had fled, taking with them even the bed-clothing and the box of poison. Then he at once called for the gladiator Spiculus or any other adept at whose hand he might find death, and when no one appeared, he cried “Have I then neither friend nor foe?” and ran out as if to throw himself into the Tiber.

48.

Changing his purpose again, he sought for some retired place, where he could hide and collect his thoughts; and when his freedman Phaon offered his villa in the suburbs between the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria near the fourth milestone, just as he was, barefooted and in his tunic, he put on a faded cloak, covered his head, and holding a handkerchief before his eyes, mounted a horse with only four attendants, one of whom was Sporus. At once he was startled by a shock of earthquake and a flash of lightning full in his face, and he heard the shouts of the soldiers from the camp hard by, as they prophesied destruction for him and success for Galba. He also heard one of the wayfarers whom he met say: “These men are after Nero,” and another ask: “Is there anything new in the city about Nero?” Then his horse took fright at the smell of a corpse which had been thrown out into the road, his face was exposed, and a retired soldier of the Guard recognised him and saluted him. When they came to a by-path leading to the villa, they turned the horses loose and he made his way amid bushes and brambles and along a path through a thicket of reeds to the back wall of the

house, with great difficulty and only when a robe was thrown down for him to walk on. Here the aforesaid Phaon urged him to hide for a time in a pit, from which sand had been dug, but he declared that he would not go under ground while still alive, and after waiting for a while until a secret entrance into the villa could be made, he scooped up in his hand some water to drink from a pool close by, saying: "This is Nero's distilled water." Then, as his cloak had been torn by the thorns, he pulled out the twigs which had pierced it, and crawling on all fours through a narrow passage that had been dug, he entered the villa and lay down in the first room he came to, on a couch with a common mattress, over which an old cloak had been thrown. Though suffering from hunger and renewed thirst, he refused some coarse bread which was offered him, but drank a little lukewarm water.

49.

At last, while his companions one and all urged him to save himself as soon as possible from the indignities that threatened him, he bade them dig a grave in his presence, proportioned to the size of his own person, and at the same time bring water and wood for presently disposing of his body. As each of these things was done, he wept and said again and again: "What an artist the world is losing!"

While he hesitated, a letter was brought to Phaon by one of his couriers. Nero snatching it from his hand read that he had been pronounced a public enemy by the senate, and that they were seeking him to punish in the ancient fashion; and he asked what manner of punishment that was. When he learned that the criminal was stripped, fastened by the neck in a fork and then beaten to death with rods, in mortal terror he seized two daggers which he had brought with him, and then, after trying the point of each, put them up again, pleading that the fatal hour had not yet come. Now he would beg Sporus to begin to lament and wail, and now entreat someone to help him take his life by setting him the example; anon he reproached himself for his cowardice in such words as these: "To live is a scandal and a shame — this does not become Nero, does not become him — one should be resolute at such times — come, rouse thyself!" And now the horsemen were at hand who had orders to take him off alive. When he heard them, he quavered:

"Hark, now strikes on my ear the trampling of swift-footed coursers!"

and drove a dagger into his throat, aided by Epaphroditus, his private secretary. He was all but dead when a centurion rushed in, and as he placed a cloak to the wound, pretending that he had come to aid him, Nero merely gasped: "Too late!" and "This is fidelity!" With these words he was gone, with

eyes so set and starting from their sockets that all who saw him shuddered with horror. First and beyond all else he had forced from his companions a promise to let no one have his head, but to contrive in some way that he be buried unmutilated. And this was granted by Icelus, Galba's freedman, who had shortly before been released from the bondage to which he was consigned at the beginning of the revolt.

50.

He was buried at a cost of two hundred thousand sesterces and laid out in white robes embroidered with gold, which he had worn on the Kalends of January. His ashes were deposited by his nurses, Egloge and Alexandria, accompanied by his mistress Acte, in the family tomb of the Domitii on the summit of the Hill of Gardens, which is visible from the Campus Martius. In that monument his sarcophagus of porphyry, with an altar of Luna marble standing above it, is enclosed by a balustrade of Thasian stone.

51.

He was about the average height, his body marked with spots and malodorous, his hair light blond, his features regular rather than attractive, his eyes blue and somewhat weak, his neck over thick, his belly prominent, and his legs very slender. His health was good, for though indulging in every kind of riotous excess, he was ill but three times in all during the fourteen years of his reign, and even then not enough to give up wine or any of his usual habits. He was utterly shameless in the care of his person and in his dress, always having his hair arranged in tiers of curls, and during the trip to Greece also letting it grow long and hang down behind; and he often appeared in public in a dining-robe, with a handkerchief bound about his neck, ungirt and unshod.

52.

When a boy he took up almost all the liberal arts; but his mother turned him from philosophy, warning him that it was a drawback to one who was going to rule, while Seneca kept him from reading the early orators, to make his admiration for his teacher endure the longer. Turning therefore to poetry, he wrote verses with eagerness and without labour, and did not, as some think, publish the work of others as his own. I have had in my possession note-books and papers with some well-known verses of his, written with his own hand and

in such wise that it was perfectly evident that they were not copied or taken down from dictation, but worked out exactly as one writes when thinking and creating; so many instances were there of words erased or struck through and written above the lines. He likewise had no slight interest in painting and sculpture.

53.

But above all he was carried away by a craze for popularity and he was jealous of all who in any way stirred the feeling of the mob. It was the general belief that after his victories on the stage he would at the next lustrum have competed with the athletes at Olympia; for he practised wrestling constantly, and all over Greece he had always viewed the gymnastic contests after the fashion of the judges, sitting on the ground in the stadium; and if any pairs of contestants withdrew too far from their positions, he would force them forward with his own hand. Since he was acclaimed as the equal of Apollo in music and of the Sun in driving a chariot, he had planned to emulate the exploits of Hercules as well; and they say that a lion had been specially trained for him to kill naked in the arena of the amphitheatre before all the people, with a club or by the clasp of his arms.

54.

Towards the end of his life, in fact, he had publicly vowed that if he retained his power, he would at the games in celebration of his victory give a performance on the water-organ, the flute, and the bagpipes, and that on the last day he would appear as an actor and dance "Vergil's Turnus." Some even assert that he put the actor Paris to death as a dangerous rival.

55.

He had a longing for immortality and undying fame, though it was ill-regulated. With this in view he took their former appellations from many things and numerous places and gave them new ones from his own name. He also called the month of April *Neroneus* and was minded to name Rome *Neropolis*.

56.

He utterly despised all cults, with the sole exception of that of the Syrian God, and even acquired such a contempt for her that he made water on her image, after he was enamoured of another superstition, which was the only one to which

he constantly clung. For he had received as a gift from some unknown man of the commons, as a protection against plots, a little image of a girl; and since a conspiracy at once came to light, he continued to venerate it as a powerful divinity and to offer three sacrifices to it every day, encouraging the belief that through its communication he had knowledge of the future. A few months before his death he did attend an inspection of victims, but could not get a favourable omen.

57.

He met his death in the thirty-second year of his age, on the anniversary of the murder of Octavia, and such was the public rejoicing that the people put on liberty-caps and ran about all at city. Yet there were some who for a long time decorated his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and now produced his statues on the rostra in the fringed toga, and now his edicts, as if he were still alive and would shortly return and deal destruction to his enemies. Nay more, Vologaesius, king of the Parthians, when he sent envoys to the senate to renew his alliance, earnestly begged this too, that honour be paid to the memory of Nero. In fact, twenty years later, when I was a young man, a person of obscure origin appeared, who gave out that he was Nero, and the name was still in such favour with the Parthians that they supported him vigorously and surrendered him with great reluctance.

THE LIFE OF GALBA

1.

The race of the Caesars ended with Nero. That this would be so was shown by many portents and especially by two very significant ones. Years before, as Livia was returning to her estate near Veii, immediately after her marriage with Augustus, an eagle which flew by dropped into her lap a white hen, holding in its beak a sprig of laurel, just as the eagle had carried it off. Livia resolved to rear the fowl and plant the sprig, whereupon such a great brood of chickens was hatched that to this day the villa is called *Ad Gallinas*, and such a grove of laurel sprang up, that the Caesars gathered their laurels from it when they were going to celebrate triumphs. Moreover it was the habit of those who triumphed to plant other branches at once in that same place, and it was observed that just before the death of each of them the tree which he had planted withered. Now in Nero's last year the whole grove died from the root up, as well as all the hens. Furthermore, when shortly afterwards the temple of the Caesars was struck by lightning, the heads fell from all the statues at the same time, and his sceptre, too, was dashed from the hand of Augustus.

2.

Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was related in no degree to the house of the Caesars, although unquestionably of noble origin and of an old and powerful family; for he always added to the inscriptions on his statues that he was the great-grandson of Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, and when he became emperor he even displayed a family tree in his hall in which he carried back his ancestry on his father's side to Jupiter and on his mother's to Pasiphae, the wife of Minos.

3.

It would be a long story to give in detail his illustrious ancestors and the honorary inscriptions of the entire race, but I shall give a brief account of his immediate family. It is uncertain why the first of the Sulpicii who bore the surname Galba assumed the name, and whence it was derived. Some think that it was because after having for a long time unsuccessfully besieged a town in Spain, he at last set fire to it by torches smeared with *galbanum*; others because during a long illness he made constant use of *galbeum*, that is to say of remedies

wrapped in wool; still others, because he was a very fat man, such as the Gauls term *galba*, or because he was, on the contrary, as slender as the insects called *galbae*, which breed in oak trees.

The family acquired distinction from Servius Galba, who became consul and was decidedly the most eloquent speaker of his time. This man, they say, was the cause of the war with Viriathus, because while governing Spain as propraetor, he treacherously massacred thirty thousand of the Lusitanians. His grandson had been one of Caesar's lieutenants in Gaul, but angered because his commander caused his defeat for the consulship, he joined the conspiracy with Brutus and Cassius, and was consequently condemned to death by the Pedian law. From him were descended the grandfather and the father of the emperor Galba. The former, who was more eminent for his learning than for his rank — for he did not advance beyond the grade of praetor — published a voluminous and painstaking history. The father attained the consulship, and although he was short of stature and even hunchbacked, besides being only an indifferent speaker, was an industrious pleader at the bar. He married Mummia Achaica, the granddaughter of Catulus and great-granddaughter of Lucius Mummius who destroyed Corinth; and later Livia Ocellina, a very rich and beautiful woman, who however is thought to have sought marriage with him because of his high rank, and the more eagerly when, in response to her frequent advances, he took off his robe in private and showed her his deformity, so as not to seem to deceive her by concealing it. By Achaica he had two sons, Gaius and Servius. Gaius, who was the elder, left Rome after squandering the greater part of his estate, and committed suicide because Tiberius would not allow him to take part in the allotment of the provinces in his year.

4.

The emperor Servius Galba was born in the consulship of Marcus Valerius Messala and Gnaeus Lentulus, on the ninth day before the Kalends of January, in a country house situated on a hill near Tarracina, on the left as you go towards Fundi. Adopted by his stepmother Livia, he took her name and the surname Ocella, and also changed his forename; for he used Lucius, instead of Servius, from that time until he became emperor. It is well known that when he was still a boy and called to pay his respects to Augustus with others of his age, the emperor pinched his cheek and said in Greek: "Thou too, child, wilt have a nibble at this power of mine." Tiberius too, when he heard that Galba was destined to be emperor, but in his old age, said: "Well, let him live then, since that does not concern me." Again, when Galba's grandfather was busy with a

sacrifice for a stroke of lightning, and an eagle snatched the intestines from his hand and carried them to an oak full of acorns, the prediction was made that the highest dignity would come to the family, but late; whereupon he said with a laugh: "Very likely, when a mule has a foal." Afterwards when Galba was beginning his revolt, nothing gave him so much encouragement as the foaling of a mule, and while the rest were horrified and looked on it as an unfavourable omen, he alone regarded it as most propitious, remembering the sacrifice and his grandfather's saying.

When he assumed the gown of manhood, he dreamt that Fortune said that she was tired of standing before his door, and that unless she were quickly admitted, she would fall a prey to the first comer. When he awoke, opening the door of the hall, he found close by the threshold a bronze statue of Fortune more than a cubit high. This he carried in his arms to Tusculum, where he usually spent the summer, and consecrated it in a room of his house; and from that time on he honoured it with monthly sacrifices and a yearly vigil.

Even before he reached middle life, he persisted in keeping up an old and forgotten custom of his country, which survived only in his own household, of having his freedmen and slaves appear before him twice a day in a body, greeting him in the morning and bidding him farewell at evening, one by one.

5.

Among other liberal studies he applied himself to the law. He also assumed a husband's duties, but after losing his wife Lepida and two sons he had by her, he remained a widower. And he could not be tempted afterwards by any match, not even with Agrippina, who no sooner lost Domitius by death than she set her cap for Galba so obviously, even before the death of his wife, that Lepida's mother scolded her roundly before a company of matrons and went so far as to slap her.

He showed marked respect to Livia Augusta, to whose favour he owed great influence during her lifetime and by whose last will he almost became a rich man; for he had the largest bequest among her legatees, one of fifty million sesterces. But because the sum was designated in figures and not written out in words, Tiberius, who was her heir, reduced the bequest to five hundred thousand, and Galba never received even that amount.

6.

He began his career of office before the legal age, and in celebrating the games of the Floralia in his praetorship he gave a new kind of exhibition, namely

of elephants walking the rope. Then he governed the province of Aquitania for nearly a year and soon afterwards held a regular consulship for six months; and it chanced that in this office he succeeded Lucius Domitius, the father of Nero, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, the father of the emperor Otho, a kind of omen of what happened later, when he became emperor between the reigns of the sons of these two men.

Appointed governor of Upper Germany by Gaius Caesar in room of Gaetulicus, the day after he appeared before the legions he put a stop to their applause at a festival which chanced to fall at that time, by issuing a written order to keep their hands under their cloaks; and immediately this verse was bandied about the camp:

“Soldier, learn to play the soldier; ’tis Galba, not Gaetulicus.”

With equal strictness he put a stop to the requests for furloughs. He got both the veterans and the new recruits into condition by plenty of hard work, speedily checked the barbarians, who had already made inroads even into Gaul, and when Gaius arrived, Galba and his army made such a good impression, that out of the great body of troops assembled from all the provinces none received greater commendation or richer rewards. Galba particularly distinguished himself, while directing the military manoeuvres shield in hand, by actually running for twenty miles close beside the emperor’s chariot.

7.

When the murder of Gaius was announced, although many urged Galba to take advantage of the opportunity, he preferred quiet. Hence he was in high favour with Claudius, became one of his staff of intimate friends, and was treated with such consideration that the departure of the expedition to Britain was put off because Galba was taken with a sudden illness, of no great severity. He governed Africa for two years with the rank of proconsul, being specially chosen to restore order in the province, which was disturbed both by internal strife and by a revolt of the barbarians. And he was successful, owing to his insistence on strict discipline and his observance of justice even in trifling matters. When provisions were very scarce during a foray and a soldier was accused of having sold for a hundred denarii a peck of wheat which was left from his rations, Galba gave orders that when the man began to lack food, he should receive aid from no one; and he starved to death. On another occasion when he was holding court and the question of the ownership of a beast of burden was laid before him, as the evidence on both sides was slight and the witnesses unreliable, so that it was difficult to get at the truth, he ruled that the

beast should be led with its head muffled up to the pool where it was usually watered, that it should then be unmuffled, and should belong to the man to whom it returned of its own accord after drinking.

8.

His services in Africa at that time, and previously in Germany, were recognised by the triumphal regalia and three priesthoods, for he was chosen a member of the Fifteen, of the brotherhood of Titius, and of the priests of Augustus. After that he lived for the most part in retirement until about the middle of Nero's reign, never going out even for recreation without taking a million sesterces in gold with him in a second carriage; until at last, while he was staying in the town of Fundi, Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him. And it fell out that as he was offering sacrifice in a public temple after his arrival in the province, the hair of a young attendant who was carrying an incense-box suddenly turned white all over his head, and there were some who did not hesitate to interpret this as a sign of a change of rulers and of the succession of an old man to a young one; that is to say, of Galba to Nero. Not long after this lightning struck a lake of Cantabria and twelve axes were found there, an unmistakable token of supreme power.

9.

For eight years he governed the province in a variable and inconsistent manner. At first he was vigorous and energetic and even over severe in punishing offences; for he cut off the hands of a money-lender who carried on his business dishonestly and nailed them to his counter; crucified a man for poisoning his ward, whose property he was to inherit in case of his death; and when the man invoked the law and declared that he was a Roman citizen, Galba, pretending to lighten his punishment by some consolation and honour, ordered that a cross much higher than the rest and painted white be set up, and the man transferred to it. But he gradually changed to sloth and inaction, not to give Nero any cause for jealousy, and as he used to say himself, because no one could be forced to render an account for doing nothing.

As he was holding the assizes at New Carthage, he learned of the rebellion of the Gallic provinces through an urgent appeal for help from the governor of Aquitania; then came letters from Vindex, calling upon him to make himself the liberator and leader of mankind. So without much hesitation he accepted the proposal, led by fear as well as by hope. For he had intercepted despatches

ordering his own death, which had been secretly sent by Nero to his agents. He was encouraged too, in addition to most favourable auspices and omens, by the prediction of a young girl of high birth, and the more so because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, directed by a dream, had found in the inner shrine of his temple the very same prediction, likewise spoken by an inspired girl two hundred years before. And the purport of the verses was that one day there would come forth from Spain the ruler and lord of the world.

10.

Accordingly, pretending that he was going to attend to the manumitting of slaves, he mounted the tribunal, on the front of which he had set up as many images as he could find of those who had been condemned and put to death by Nero; and having by his side a boy of noble family, whom he had summoned for that very purpose from his place of exile hard by in the Balearic Isles, he deplored the state of the times; being thereupon hailed as emperor, he declared that he was their governor, representing the senate and people of Rome. Then proclaiming a holiday, he enrolled from the people of the province legions and auxiliaries in addition to his former force of one legion, two divisions of cavalry, and three cohorts. But from the oldest and most experienced of the nobles he chose a kind of senate, to whom he might refer matters of special importance whenever it was necessary. He also chose young men of the order of knights, who were to have the title of volunteers and keep guard before his bedchamber in place of the regular soldiers, without losing their right to wear the gold ring. He also sent proclamations broadcast throughout the province, urging all men individually and collectively to join the revolution and aid the common cause in every possible way.

At about this same time, during the fortification of a town which he had chosen as the seat of war, a ring of ancient workmanship was found, containing a precious stone engraved with a Victory and a trophy. Immediately afterwards a ship from Alexandria loaded with arms arrived at Dertosa without a pilot, without a single sailor or passenger, removing all doubt in anyone's mind that the war was just and holy and undertaken with the approval of the gods. Then suddenly and unexpectedly the whole plan was almost brought to naught. One of the two divisions of cavalry, repenting of its change of allegiance, attempted to desert Galba as he was approaching his camp and was with difficulty prevented. Some slaves too, whom one of Nero's freedmen had given Galba with treachery in view, all but slew him as he was going to the bath through a narrow passageway. In fact they would have succeeded, had they not conjured one another not

to miss the opportunity and so been questioned as to what the opportunity was to which they referred; for when they were put to the torture, a confession was wrung from them.

11.

To these great perils was added the death of Vindex, by which he was especially panic-stricken and came near taking his own life, in the belief that all was lost. But when some messengers came from the city, reporting that Nero was dead and that all the people had sworn allegiance to him, he laid aside the title of governor and assumed that of Caesar. He then began his march to Rome in a general's cloak with a dagger hanging from his neck in front of his breast; and he did not resume the toga until he had overthrown those who were plotting against him, Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the praetorian guard at Rome, in Germany and Africa the governors Fonteius Capito and Clodius Macer.

12.

His double reputation for cruelty and avarice had gone before him; men said that he had punished the cities of the Spanish and Gallic provinces which had hesitated about taking sides with him by heavier taxes and some even by the razing of their walls, putting to death the governors and imperial deputies along with their wives and children. Further, that he had melted down a golden crown of fifteen pounds weight, which the people of Tarraco had taken from their ancient temple of Jupiter and presented to him, with orders that the three ounces which were found lacking be exacted from them. This reputation was confirmed and even augmented immediately on his arrival in the city. For having compelled some marines whom Nero had made regular soldiers to return to their former position as rowers, upon their refusing and obstinately demanding an eagle and standards, he not only dispersed them by a cavalry charge, but even decimated them. He also disbanded a cohort of Germans, whom the previous Caesars had made their body-guard and had found absolutely faithful in many emergencies, and sent them back to their native country without any rewards, alleging that they were more favourably inclined towards Gnaeus Dolabella, near whose gardens they had their camp. The following tales too were told in mockery of him, whether truly or falsely: that when an unusually elegant dinner was set before him, he groaned aloud; that when his duly appointed steward presented his expense account, he handed him a dish of beans in return for his industry and carefulness; and that when the flute player Canus greatly pleased him, he

presented him with five denarii, which he took from his own purse with his own hand.

13.

Accordingly his coming was not so welcome as it might have been, and this was apparent at the first performance in the theatre; for when the actors of an Atellan farce began the familiar lines

“Here comes Onesimus from his farm”

all the spectators at once finished the song in chorus and repeated it several times with appropriate gestures, beginning with that verse.

14.

Thus his popularity and prestige were greater when he won, than while he ruled the empire, though he gave many proofs of being an excellent prince; but he was by no means so much loved for those qualities as he was hated for his acts of the opposite character.

He was wholly under the control of three men, who were commonly known as his tutors because they lived with him in the palace and never left his side. They were Titus Vinius, one of his generals in Spain, a man of unbounded covetousness; Cornelius Laco, advanced from the position of judge’s assistant to that of prefect of the Guard and intolerably haughty and indolent; and his own freedman Icelus, who had only just before received the honour of the gold ring and the surname of Marcianus, yet already aspired to the highest office open to the equestrian order. To these brigands, each with his different vice, he so entrusted and handed himself over as their tool, that his conduct was far from consistent; for now he was more exacting and niggardly, and now more extravagant and reckless than became a prince chosen by the people and of his time of life.

He condemned to death divers distinguished men of both orders on trivial suspicions without a trial. He rarely granted Roman citizenship, and the privileges of threefold paternity to hardly one or two, and even to those only for a fixed and limited time. When the jurors petitioned that a sixth division be added to their number, he not only refused, but even deprived them of the privilege granted by Claudius, of not being summoned for court duty in winter and at the beginning of the year.

15.

It was thought too that he intended to limit the offices open to senators and knights to a period of two years, and to give them only to such as did not wish them and declined them. He had all the grants of Nero revoked, allowing only a tenth part to be retained; and he exacted repayment with the help of fifty Roman knights, stipulating that even if the actors and athletes had sold anything that had formerly been given them, it should be taken away from the purchases, in case the recipient had spent the money and could not repay it. On the other hand, there was nothing that he did not allow his friends and freedmen to sell at a price or bestow as a favour, taxes and freedom from taxation, the punishment of the guiltless and impunity for the guilty. Nay more, when the Roman people called for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, the most utterly abandoned of all Nero's creatures, not content with saving their lives, he honoured Halotus with a very important stewardship and in the case of Tigellinus even issued an edict rebuking the people for their cruelty.

16.

Having thus incurred the hatred of almost all men of every class, he was especially detested by the soldiers; for although their officers had promised them a larger gift than common when they swore allegiance to Galba in his absence, so far from keeping the promise, he declared more than once that it was his habit to levy troops, not buy them; and on this account he embittered the soldiers all over the empire. The praetorians he filled besides with both fear and indignation by discharging many of them from time to time as under suspicion of being partisans of Nymphidius. But loudest of all was the grumbling of the army in Upper Germany, because it was defrauded of the reward for its services against the Gauls and Vindex. Hence they were the first to venture on mutiny, refusing on the Kalends of January to swear allegiance to anyone save the senate, and at once resolving to send a deputation to the praetorians with the following message: that the emperor created in Spain did not suit them and the Guard must choose one who would be acceptable to all the armies.

17.

When this was reported to Galba, thinking that it was not so much his age as his lack of children that was criticised, he picked out Piso Frugi Licinianus from the midst of the throng at one of his morning receptions, a young man of noble birth and high character, who had long been one of his special favourites and always named in his will as heir to his property and his name. Calling him son,

he led him to the praetorian camp and adopted him before the assembled soldiers. But even then he made no mention of largess, thus making it easier for Marcus Salvius Otho to accomplish his purpose within six days after the adoption.

18.

Many prodigies in rapid succession from the very beginning of his reign had foretold Galba's end exactly as it happened. When victims were being slain to right and left all along his route in every town, an ox, maddened by the stroke of an axe, broke its bonds and charged the emperor's chariot, and as it raised its feet, deluged him with blood. And as Galba dismounted, one of his guards, pushed forward by the crowd, almost wounded him with his lance. Again, as he entered the city, and later the Palace, he was met by a shock of earthquake and a sound like the lowing of kine. There followed even clearer signs. He had set apart from all the treasure a necklace fashioned of pearls and precious stones, for the adornment of his image of Fortune at Tusculum. This on a sudden impulse he consecrated to the Capitoline Venus, thinking it worthy of a more august position. The next night Fortune appeared to him in his dreams, complaining of being robbed of the gift intended for her and threatening in her turn to take away what she had bestowed. When Galba hastened in terror to Tusculum at daybreak, to offer expiatory sacrifices because of the dream, and sent on men to make preparations for the ceremony, he found on the altar nothing but warm ashes and beside it an old man dressed in black, holding the incense in a glass dish and the wine in an earthen cup. It was also remarked that as he was sacrificing on the Kalends of January, the garland fell from his head, and that as he took the auspices, the sacred chickens flew away. As he was on the point of addressing the soldiers on the day of the adoption, his camp chair, through the forgetfulness of his attendants, was not placed on the tribunal, as is customary, and in the senate his curule chair was set wrong side foremost.

19.

As he was offering sacrifice on the morning before he was killed, a soothsayer warned him again and again to look out for danger, since assassins were not far off.

Not long after this he learned that Otho held possession of the Camp, and when several advised him to proceed thither as soon as possible — for they said that he could win the day by his presence and prestige — he decided to do no

more than hold his present position and strengthen it by getting together a guard of the legionaries, who were encamped in many different quarters of the city. He did however put on a linen cuirass, though he openly declared that it would afford little protection against so many swords. But he was lured out by false reports, circulated by the conspirators to induce him to appear in public; for when a few rashly assured him that the trouble was over, that the rebels had been overthrown, and that the rest were coming in a body to offer their congratulations, ready to submit to all his orders, he went out to meet them with so much confidence, that when one of the soldiers boasted that he had slain Otho, he asked him, "On whose authority?" and then he went on as far as the Forum. There the horsemen who had been bidden to slay him, spurring their horses through the streets and dispersing the crowd of civilians, caught sight of him from a distance and halted for a moment. Then they rushed upon him again and butchered him, abandoned by his followers.

20.

Some say that at the beginning of the disturbance he cried out, "What mean you, fellow soldiers? I am yours and you are mine," and that he even promised them largess. But the more general account is, that he offered them his neck without resistance, urging them to do their duty and strike, since it was their will. It might seem very surprising that none of those present tried to lend aid to their emperor, and that all who were sent for treated the summons with contempt except a company of German troops. These, because of his recent kindness in showing them great indulgence when they were weakened by illness, flew to his help, but through their unfamiliarity with the city took a roundabout way and arrived too late.

He was killed beside the Lake of Curtius and was left lying just as he was, until a common soldier, returning from a distribution of grain, threw down his load and cut off the head. Then, since there was no hair by which to grasp it, he put it under his robe, but later thrust his thumb into the mouth and so carried it to Otho. He handed it over to his servants and camp-followers, who set it on a lance and paraded it about the camp with jeers, crying out from time to time, "Galba, thou Cupid, exult in thy vigour!" The special reason for this saucy jest was, that the report had gone abroad a few days before, that when someone had congratulated him on still looking young and vigorous, he replied:

"As yet my strength is unimpaired."

From these it was bought by a freedman of Patrobius Neronianus for a hundred pieces of gold and thrown aside in the place where his patron had been

executed by Galba's order. At last, however, his steward Argivus consigned it to the tomb with the rest of the body in Galba's private gardens on the Aurelian Road.

21.

He was of average height, very bald, with blue eyes and a hooked nose. His hands and feet were so distorted by gout that he could not endure a shoe for long, unroll a book, or even hold one. The flesh on his right side too had grown out and hung down to such an extent, that it could with difficulty be held in place by a bandage.

22.

It is said that he was a heavy eater and in winter time was in the habit of taking food even before daylight, while at dinner he helped himself so lavishly that he would have the leavings which remained in a heap before him passed along and distributed among the attendants who waited on him. He was more inclined to unnatural desire, and in gratifying it preferred full-grown, strong men. They say that when Icelus, one of his old-time favourites, brought him news in Spain of Nero's death, he not only received him openly with the fondest kisses, but begged him to prepare himself with delay and took him one side.

23.

He met his end in the seventy-third year of his age and the seventh month of his reign. The senate, as soon as it was allowed to do so, voted him a statue standing upon a column adorned with the beaks of ships, in the part of the Forum where he was slain; but Vespasian annulled this decree, believing that Galba had sent assassins from Spain to Judaea, to take his life.

THE LIFE OF OTHO

1.

The ancestors of Otho came from an old and illustrious family in the town of Ferentium and were descended from the princes of Etruria. His grandfather Marcus Salvius Otho, whose father was a Roman knight but whose mother was of lowly origin and perhaps not even free-born, became a senator through the influence of Livia Augusta, in whose house he was reared; but did not advance beyond the grade of praetor.

His father Lucius Otho was of a distinguished family on his mother's side, with many powerful connections, and was so beloved by Tiberius and so like him in appearance, that he was believed by many to be the emperor's son. In the regular offices at Rome, the proconsulate of Africa, and several special military commands he conducted himself with extreme severity. In Illyricum he even had the courage to punish some soldiers with death, because in the rebellion of Camillus, repenting of their defection, they had killed their officers on the ground that they were the ringleaders in the revolt against Claudius; and they were executed in his presence before his headquarters, although he knew that they had been promoted to higher positions by Claudius because of that very act. By this deed, while he increased his reputation, he lost favour at court; but he speedily regained it by detecting the treachery of a Roman knight, whose slaves betrayed their master's design of killing the emperor. For in consequence of this, the senate conferred a very unusual honour on him by setting up his statue in the Palace; and Claudius also enrolled him among the patricians, and after praising him in the highest terms, added this words: "a man of greater loyalty than I can even pray for in my own children." By Albia Terentia, a woman of an illustrious line, he had two sons, Lucius Titianus and a younger called Marcus, who had the same surname as himself; also a daughter, whom he betrothed to Drusus, son of Germanicus, almost before she was of marriageable age.

2.

The emperor Otho was born on the fourth day before the Kalends of May in the consulate of Camillus Arruntius and Domitius Ahenobarbus. From earliest youth he was so extravagant and wild that his father often flogged him; and they say that he used to rove about at night and lay hands on any one whom he met who was feeble or drunk and toss him in a blanket.

After his father's death he pretended love for an influential freedwoman of the court, although she was an old woman and almost decrepit, that he might more effectually win her favour. Having through her wormed his way into Nero's good graces, he easily held the first place among the emperor's friends because of the similarity of their characters; but according to some, also through immoral relations. At any rate his influence was such, that when he had bargained for a huge sum of money to procure the pardon of an ex-consul who had been condemned for extortion, he had no hesitation in bringing him into the senate to give thanks, before he had fully secured his restoration.

3.

He was privy to all the emperor's plans and secrets, and on the day which Nero had chosen for the murder of his mother he gave both of them a most elaborate banquet, in order to avert suspicion. Also when Poppaea Sabina, who up to that time had been Nero's mistress, was separated from her husband and turned over for the time being to Otho, he pretended marriage with her; but not content with seducing her he became so devoted that he could not endure the thought of having Nero even as a rival. At all events it is believed that he not only would not admit those whom Nero sent to fetch her, but that on one occasion he even shut out the emperor himself, who stood before his door, vainly mingling threats and entreaties and demanding the return of his trust. Therefore Nero annulled the marriage and under colour of an appointment as governor banished Otho to Lusitania, contenting himself with this through fear that by inflicting a severer punishment he would make the whole farce public; but even as it was, it was published abroad in this couplet:

“Why, do you ask, in feigned honour does Otho in banishment languish?

With his own wedded wife he had begun an intrigue.”

With the rank of quaestor Otho governed the province for ten years with remarkable moderation and integrity.

4.

When at last an opportunity for revenge was given him, Otho was the first to espouse Galba's cause, at the same time conceiving on his own account high hopes of imperial power, because of the state of the times, but still more because of a declaration of the astrologer Seleucus. For he had not only promised Otho some time before that he would survive Nero, but had at this time unexpectedly appeared unsought and made the further promise, that he would soon become

emperor as well.

Accordingly Otho let slip no opportunity for flattery or attention to anyone. Whenever he entertained the prince at dinner, he gave a gold piece to each man of the cohort on guard, and put all the soldiers under obligation in one form or another. Chosen arbiter by a man who was at law with his neighbour about a part of his estate, he bought the whole property and presented it to him. As a result there was hardly anyone who did not both think and openly declare that he alone was worthy to succeed to the empire.

5.

Now he had hoped to be adopted by Galba, and looked forward to it from day to day. But when Piso was preferred and he at last lost that hope, he resorted to force, spurred on not merely by feelings of resentment, but also by the greatness of his debts. For he flatly declared that he could not keep on his feet unless he became emperor, and that it made no difference whether he fell at the hands of the enemy in battle or at those of his creditors in the Forum.

He had extorted a million sesterces from one of the emperor's slaves a few days before for getting him a stewardship. This was the entire capital for his great undertaking. At first the enterprise was entrusted to five of his body-guard, then to ten others, two being chosen by each of the first five; to all of them ten thousand sesterces were paid at once and they were promised fifty thousand more. Through these others were won over, but not so very many, since he had full confidence that more would join him when the business was afoot.

6.

He had been inclined to seize the Camp immediately after the adoption, and set upon Galba as he was dining in the Palace, but had been prevented by consideration for the cohort which was on guard at the time, and a reluctance to increase its ill repute; for it was while that same cohort was at its post that both Galba had been slain and Nero had been forsaken. The intervening time was lost owing to bad omens and the warnings of Seleucus.

Accordingly, when the day was set, after admonishing his confederates to await him in the Forum at the golden mile-post hard by the temple of Saturn, he called upon Galba in the morning and was welcomed as usual with a kiss. He also attended the emperor as he was offering sacrifice, and heard the predictions of the soothsayer. Then a freedman announced that the architects had come, which was the signal agreed on, and going off as if to inspect a house which was

for sale, he rushed from the Palace by a back door and hastened to the appointed place. Others say that he feigned an attack of fever and asked those who stood near him to give that excuse, in case he should be missed. Then hurriedly entering a closed sedan, such as women use, he hurried to the camp, but got out when the bearers' strength flagged, and started to run. His shoe came untied and he stopped, whereupon without delay he was at once taken up on the shoulders of his companions and hailed as emperor. In this way he arrived at headquarters, amid acclamations and drawn swords, while everyone whom he met fell in, just as though he were an accomplice and a participator in the plot. He then sent emissaries to kill Galba and Piso, and made no further promises in the assembly to win the loyalty of the soldiers than to declare that he would have that — and only that — which they should leave to him.

7.

Next, as the day was drawing to its close, he entered the senate and after giving a brief account of himself, alleging that he had been carried off in the streets and forced to undertake the rule, which he would exercise in accordance with the general will, he went to the Palace. When in the midst of the other adulations of those who congratulated and flattered him, he was hailed by the common herd as Nero, he made no sign of dissent; on the contrary, according to some writers, he even made use of that surname in his commissions and his first letters to some of the governors of the provinces. Certain it is that he suffered Nero's busts and statues to be set up again, and reinstated his procurators and freedmen in their former posts, while the first grant that he signed as emperor was one of fifty million sesterces for finishing the Golden House.

It is said that he had a fearful dream that night, uttered loud groans, and was found by those who ran to his aid lying on the ground beside his couch; that he tried by every kind of expiatory rite to propitiate the shade of Galba, by whom he dreamt that he was ousted and thrown out; and that next day, as he was taking the auspices, a great storm arose and he had a bad fall, whereat he muttered from time to time:

“With long pipes what concern have I?”

8.

Now at about this same time the armies in Germany swore allegiance to Vitellius. When Otho learned of this, he persuaded the senate to send a deputation, to say that an emperor had already been chosen and to counsel peace

and harmony; but in spite of this he offered Vitellius by messengers and letters a share in the imperial dignity and proposed to become his son-in-law. But when it became clear that war was inevitable, and the generals and troops which Vitellius had sent in advance were already drawing near, he was given a proof of the affection and loyalty of the praetorians towards himself which almost resulted in the destruction of the senate. It had been resolved that some arms should be removed and carried back on shipboard by the marines; but as these were being taken out in the Camp towards nightfall, some suspected treachery and started a riot; then on a sudden all the soldiers hastened to the Palace without any particular leader, demanding the death of the senators. After putting to flight some of the tribunes who attempted to stop them, and killing others, just as they were, all blood-stained, they burst right into the dining-room, demanding to know where the emperor was; and they could not be quieted until they had seen him.

He began his expedition with energy and in fact too hastily, without any regard even for the omens, and in spite of the fact that the sacred shields had been taken out, but not yet put back, which for ages has been considered unlucky; on the very day, too, when the worshippers of the Mother of the Gods begin their wailing and lamentation, and also with most unfavourable auspices. For having offered up a victim to father Dis, he had good omens, whereas in such a sacrifice adverse indications are more favourable; and when he first left the city, he was delayed by floods of the Tiber, while at the twentieth milestone he found the road blocked by fallen buildings.

9.

With like rashness, although no one doubted that the proper course was to protract the war, since the enemy were hard pressed by hunger and by the narrowness of their quarters, he decided to fight a decisive battle as soon as possible, either because he could not endure the continued worry and hoped that the war could be ended before the arrival of Vitellius, or from inability to resist the impetuosity of his soldiers, who clamoured for the fight. He himself did not take part in any of the battles, but remained behind at Brixellum.

He was victorious in three contests, but they were of little moment: in the Alps, near Placentia, and “at Castor’s,” as the place is called. In the final and decisive struggle at Betriacum he was defeated, but through treachery. For hope of a conference was offered, and when his soldiers were led out in the belief that they were to discuss terms of peace, a battle was forced upon them unexpectedly, just as they were exchanging greetings with the foe. After the defeat, Otho at

once resolved to take his own life, rather from a feeling of shame, as many have thought with good reason, and an unwillingness to persist in a struggle for imperial power at the expense of such danger to life and property, than from any despair of success or distrust of his troops; for even then he had a fresh and strong force which he had held in reserve for a second attempt, while others were on their way from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia. Even the defeated troops were not so crushed as not to undergo any danger, and even without support undertake to avenge their disgrace.

10.

My father Suetonius Laetus took part in that war, as a tribune of the equestrian order in the Thirteenth legion. He used often to declare afterwards that Otho, even when he was a private citizen, so loathed civil strife, that at the mere mention of the fate of Brutus and Cassius at a banquet he shuddered; that he would not have engaged with Galba, if he had not felt confident that the affair could be settled peacefully; further, that he was led to hold his life cheap at that time by the example of a common soldier. This man on bringing news of the defeat of the army was believed by no one, but was charged by the soldiers now with falsehood and now with cowardice, and accused of running away; whereupon he fell on his sword at the emperor's feet. My father used to say that at this sight Otho cried out that he would no longer endanger the lives of such brave men, who had deserved so well.

Having therefore advised his brother, his nephew, and his friends one by one to look out each for his own safety as best they could, he embraced and kissed them all and sent them off. Then going to a retired place he wrote two notes, one of consolation to his sister, and one to Nero's widow Messalina, whom he had intended to marry, commending to her his corpse and his memory. Then he burned all his letters, to prevent them from bringing danger or harm to anyone at the hands of the victor. He also distributed what money he had with him among his servants.

11.

When he had thus made his preparations and was now resolved upon death, learning from a disturbance which meantime arose that those who were beginning to depart and leave the camp were being seized and detained as deserters, he said "Let us add this one more night to our life" (these were his very words), and he forbade the offering of violence to anyone. Leaving the door

of his bedroom open until a late hour, he gave the privilege of speaking with him to all who wished to come in. After that, quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he caught up two daggers, and having tried the point of both of them, put one under his pillow. Then closing the doors, he slept very soundly. When he at last woke up at about daylight, he stabbed himself with a single stroke under the left breast; and now concealing the wound, and now showing it to those who rushed in at his first groan, he breathed his last and was hastily buried (for such were his orders) in the thirty-eighth year of his age and on the ninety-fifth day of his reign.

12.

Neither Otho's person nor his bearing suggested such great courage. He is said to have been of moderate height, splay-footed and bandy-legged, but almost feminine in his care of his person. He had the hair of his body plucked out, and because of the thinness of his locks wore a wig so carefully fashioned and fitted to his head, that no one suspected it. Moreover, they say that he used to shave every day and smear his face with moist bread, beginning the practice with the appearance of the first down, so as never to have a beard; also that he used to celebrate the rites of Isis publicly in the linen garment prescribed by the cult. I am inclined to think that it was because of these habits that a death so little in harmony with his life excited the greater marvel. Many of the soldiers who were present kissed his hands and feet as he lay dead, weeping bitterly and calling him the bravest of men and an incomparable emperor, and then at once slew themselves beside his bier. Many of those who were absent too, on receiving the news attacked and killed one another from sheer grief. In short the greater part of those who had hated him most bitterly while he lived lauded him to the skies when he was dead; and it was even commonly declared that he had put an end to Galba, not so much for the sake of ruling, as of restoring the republic and liberty.

THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS

1.

Of the origin of the Vitellii different and widely varying accounts are given, some saying that the family was ancient and noble, others that it was new and obscure, if not of mean extraction. I should believe that these came respectively from the flatterers and detractors of the emperor, were it not for a difference of opinion about the standing of the family at a considerably earlier date. We have a book of Quintus Elogius addressed to Quintus Vitellius, quaestor of the Deified Augustus, in which it is written that the Vitellii were sprung from Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped as a goddess in many places; and that they ruled in all Latium. That the surviving members of the family moved from the Sabine district to Rome and were enrolled among the patricians. That traces of this stock endured long afterwards in the Vitellian Road, running from the Janiculum all the way to the sea, as well as in a colony of the same name, which in ancient days the family had asked the privilege of defending against the Aequicoli with troops raised from their own line. That when afterwards a force was sent into Apulia at the time of the Samnite war, some of the Vitellii settled at Nuceria, and that after a long time their descendants returned to the city and resumed their place in the senatorial order.

2.

On the other hand several have written that the founder of the family was a freedman, while Cassius Severus and others as well say further that he was a cobbler, and that his son, after making a considerable fortune from the sale of confiscated estates and the profession of informer, married a common strumpet, daughter of one Antiochus who kept a bakery, and became the father of a Roman knight. But this difference of opinion may be left unsettled.

In any event Publius Vitellius of Nuceria, whether of ancient stock or of parents and forefathers in whom he could take no pride, unquestionably a Roman knight and a steward of Augustus's property, left four sons of high rank with the same name and differing only in their forenames: Aulus, Quintus, Publius and Lucius. Aulus, who was given to luxury and especially notorious for the magnificence of his feasts, died a consul, appointed to the office with Domitius, father of the emperor Nero. Quintus lost his rank at the time when it was resolved, under the suggestion of Tiberius, to depose and get rid of

undesirable senators. Publius, a member of Germanicus' staff, arraigned Gnaeus Piso, the enemy and murderer of his commander, and secured his condemnation. Arrested among the accomplices of Sejanus, after holding the praetorship, and handed over to his own brother to be kept in confinement, he opened his veins with a penknife, but allowed himself to be bandaged and restored, not so much from unwillingness to die, as because of the entreaties of his friends; and he met a natural death while still in confinement. Lucius attained the consulate and then was made governor of Syria, where with supreme diplomacy having not only induced Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to hold a conference with him, but even to do obeisance to the standards of the legion. Later he held, with the emperor Claudius, two more regular consulships and the censorship. He also bore the charge of the empire while Claudius was away on his expedition to Britain. He was an honest and active man, but of very ill repute because of his passion for a freedwoman, which went so far that he used her spittle mixed with honey to rub on his throat and jaws as a medicine, not secretly nor seldom, but openly and every day. He had also a wonderful gift for flattery and was the first to begin to worship Gaius Caesar as a god; for on his return from Syria he did not presume to approach the emperor except with veiled head, turning himself about and then prostrating himself. To neglect no means of gaining the favour of Claudius, who was a slave to his wives and freedmen, he begged of Messalina as the highest possible favour that she would allow him to take off her shoes; and when he had taken off her right slipper, he constantly carried it about between his toga and his tunic, and sometimes kissed it. Narcissus also and Pallas he honoured by cherishing their golden images among his household gods. It was he who made the famous remark, "May you often do it," when he was congratulating Claudius at the celebration of the Secular games.

3.

He died of a paralytic stroke on the second day after he was seized, leaving two sons, begotten of Sestilia, a most worthy woman and of no mean family, and having lived to see them consuls both in the same year, and for the whole year, since the younger succeeded the elder for six months. On his decease the senate honoured him with a public funeral and with a statue on the rostra with this inscription: "Of unwavering loyalty to his emperor."

The emperor Aulus Vitellius, son of Lucius, was born on the eighth day before the Kalends of October, or according to some, on the seventh day before the Ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Norbanus Flaccus. His parents were so aghast at his horoscope as announced by the astrologers, that his

father tried his utmost, while he lived, to prevent the assignment of any province to his son; and when he was sent to the legions and hailed as emperor, his mother immediately mourned over him as lost. He spent his boyhood and early youth at Capreae among the wantons of Tiberius, being branded for all time with the nickname Spintria and suspected of having been the cause of his father's first advancement at the expense of his own chastity.

4.

Stained by every sort of baseness as he advanced in years, he held a prominent place at court, winning the intimacy of Gaius by his devotion to driving and of Claudius by his passion for dice. But he was still dearer to Nero, not only because of these same qualities, but because of a special service besides; for when he was presiding at the contests of the Neronia and Nero wished to compete among the lyre-players, but did not venture to do so although there was a general demand for him and accordingly left the theatre, Vitellius called him back, alleging that he came as an envoy from the insistent people, and thus gave Nero a chance to yield to their entreaties.

5.

Having in this way through the favour of three emperors been honoured not only with political positions but with distinguished priesthoods as well, he afterwards governed Africa as proconsul and served as curator of public works, but with varying purpose and reputation. In his province he showed exceptional integrity for two successive years, for he served as deputy to his brother, who succeeded him; but in his city offices he was said to have stolen some of the offerings and ornaments from the temples and changed others, substituting tin and brass for gold and silver.

6.

He had to wife Petronia, daughter of an ex-consul, and by her a son Petronianus, who was blind in one eye. Since this son was named as his mother's heir on condition of being freed from his father's authority, he manumitted him, but shortly afterwards killed him, according to the general belief, charging him besides with attempted parricide, and alleging that his guilty conscience had led him to drink the poison which he had mixed for his intended crime. Soon afterwards he married Galeria Fundana, daughter of an ex-praetor, and from her

too he had a son and a daughter, but the former stammered so, that he was all but dumb and tongue-tied.

7.

Galba surprised everyone by sending him to Lower Germany. Some think that it was due to Titus Vinius, who had great influence at the time, and whose friendship Vitellius had long since won through their common support of the Blues. But since Galba openly declared that no men were less to be feared than those who thought of nothing but eating, and that Vitellius's bottomless gullet might be filled from the resources of the province, it is clear to anyone that he was chosen rather through contempt than favour. It is notorious that when he was about to start, he lacked means for his travelling expenses, and that his need of funds was such, that after consigning his wife and children, whom he left in Rome, to a hired garret, he let his house for the rest of the year; and that he took a valuable pearl from his mother's ear and pawned it, to defray the expenses of his journey. He had to resort to false accusation to get rid of the throng of creditors that lay in wait for him and tried to detain him, including the people of Sinuessa and of Formiae, whose public revenues he had embezzled; for he brought an action for damages against a freedman who was somewhat persistent in demanding what was due to him, alleging that he had been kicked by him, and would not let him off until he had squeezed him to the tune of fifty thousand sesterces.

On his arrival the army, which was disaffected towards the emperor and inclined to mutiny, received him gladly with open arms, as if he had come to them as a gift from the gods; since he was the son of a man who had thrice been consul, in the prime of life, and of an easy-going and lavish disposition. This earlier good opinion Vitellius had also strengthened by recent acts, for throughout the march he kissed even the common soldiers whom he met, and at the posthouses and inns he was unusually affable to the mule drivers and travellers, asking each of them in the morning whether they had breakfasted and even showing by belching that he had done so.

8.

As soon as he had entered the camp, he granted every request that anyone made and even of his own accord freed those in disgrace from their penalties, defendants of suits from their mourning, and the convicted from punishment. Therefore hardly a month had passed, when the soldiers, regardless of the hour,

for it was already evening, hastily took him from his bedroom, just as he was, in his common house-clothes, and hailed him as emperor. Then he was carried about the most populous villages, holding a drawn sword of the Deified Julius, which someone had taken from a shrine of Mars and handed him during the first congratulations. He did not return to headquarters until the dining-room caught fire from the stove and was ablaze; and then, when all were shocked and troubled at what seemed a bad omen, he said: "Be of good cheer; to us light is given"; and this was his only address to the soldiers. When he presently received the support of the army of the upper province too, which had previously transferred its allegiance for Galba to the senate, he eagerly accepted the surname of Germanicus, which was unanimously offered him, put off accepting the title of Augustus, and forever refused that of Caesar.

9.

Then hearing of the murder of Galba, he settled affairs in Germany and made two divisions of his forces, one to send on against Otho, and the other to lead in person. The former was greeted with a lucky omen at the start, for an eagle suddenly flew towards them from the right and after hovering about the standards, slowly preceded their line of march. But, on the contrary, when he himself began his advance, the equestrian statues which were being set up everywhere in his honour on a sudden all collapsed with broken legs, and the laurel crown which he had put on with due ceremony fell into a running stream. Later, as he was sitting in judgment on the tribunal at Vienna, a cock perched on his shoulder and then on his head. And the outcome corresponded with these omens; for he was not by his own efforts able to retain the power which his lieutenants secured for him.

10.

He heard of the victory at Betriacum and of the death of Otho while he was still in Gaul, and without delay by a single edict he disbanded all the praetorian cohorts, as having set a pernicious example, and bade them hand over their arms to their tribunes. Furthermore, he gave orders that one hundred and twenty of them should be hunted up and punished, having found petitions which they had written to Otho, asking for a reward for services rendered in connection with Galba's murder. These acts were altogether admirable and noble, and such as to give hope that he would be a great prince, had it not been that the rest of his conduct was more in harmony with his natural disposition and his former habits

of life than with imperial dignity. For when he had begun his march, he rode through the middle of the cities like a triumphing general, and on the rivers he sailed in most exquisite craft wreathed with various kinds of garlands, amid lavish entertainments, with no discipline among his household or the soldiers, making a jest of the pillage and wantonness of all his followers. For not content with the banquets which were furnished them everywhere at public expense, they set free whatever slaves they pleased, promptly paying those who remonstrated with blows and stripes, often with wounds, and sometimes with death. When he came to the plains where the battle was fought and some shuddered with horror at the mouldering corpses, he had the audacity to encourage them by the abominable saying, that the odour of a dead enemy was sweet and that of a fellow-citizen sweeter still. But nevertheless, the better to bear the awful stench, he openly drained a great draught of unmixed wine and distributed some among the troops. With equal bad taste and arrogance, gazing upon the stone inscribed to the memory of Otho, he declared that he deserved such a Mausoleum, and sent the dagger with which his rival had killed himself to the Colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. He also held an all-night festival on the heights of the Apennines.

11.

Finally he entered the city to the sound of the trumpet, wearing a general's mantle and a sword at his side, amid standards and banners, with his staff in military cloaks and his troops with drawn swords.

Then showing greater and greater disregard for the laws of gods and men, he assumed the office of high priest on the day of Allia, held elections for ten years to come, and made himself consul for life. And to leave no doubt in anyone's mind what model he chose for the government of the State, he made funerary offerings to Nero in the middle of the Campus Martius, attended by a great throng of the official priests; and when at the accompanying banquet a flute-player was received with applause, he openly urged him "to render something from the Master's Book as well"; and when he began the songs of Nero, Vitellius was the first to applaud him and even jumped for joy.

12.

Beginning in this way, he regulated the greater part of his rule wholly according to the advice and whims of the commonest of actors and chariot-drivers, and in particular of his freedman Asiaticus. This fellow had immoral

relations with Vitellius in his youth, but later grew weary of him and ran away. When Vitellius came upon him selling *posca* at Puteoli, he put him in irons, but at once freed him again and made him his favourite. His vexation was renewed by the man's excessive insolence and thievishness, and he sold him to an itinerant keeper of gladiators. When, however, he was once reserved for the end of a gladiatorial show, Vitellius suddenly spirited him away, and finally on getting his province set him free. On the first day of his reign he presented him with the golden ring at a banquet, although in the morning, when there was a general demand that Asiaticus be given that honour, he had deprecated in the strongest terms such a blot on the equestrian order.

13.

But his besetting sins were luxury and cruelty. He divided his feasts into three, sometimes into four a day, breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and a drinking bout; and he was readily able to do justice to all of them through his habit of taking emetics. Moreover, he had himself invited to each of these meals by different men on the same day, and the materials for any one of them never cost less than four hundred thousand sesterces. Most notorious of all was the dinner given by his brother to celebrate the emperor's arrival in Rome, at which two thousand of the choicest fishes and seven thousand birds are said to have been served. He himself eclipsed even this at the dedication of a platter, which on account of its enormous size he called the "Shield of Minerva, Defender of the City." In this he mingled the livers of pike, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, the tongues of flamingoes and the milt of lampreys, brought by his captains and triremes from the whole empire, from Parthia to the Spanish strait. Being besides a man of an appetite that was not only boundless, but also regardless of time or decency, he could never refrain, even when he sacrificing or making a journey, from snatching bits of meat and cakes amid the altars, almost from the very fire, and devouring them on the spot; and in the cookshops along the road, viands smoking hot or even those left over from the day before and partly consumed.

14.

He delighted in inflicting death and torture on anyone whatsoever and for any cause whatever, putting to death several men of rank, fellow students and comrades of his, whom he had solicited to come to court by every kind of deception, all but offering them a share in the rule. This he did in various treacherous ways, even giving poison to one of them with his own hand in a

glass of cold water, for which the man had called when ill of a fever. Besides he spared hardly one of the money-lenders, contractors, and tax-gatherers who had ever demanded of him the payment of a debt at Rome or of a toll on a journey. When one of these had been handed over for execution just as he was paying his morning call and at once recalled, as all were praising the emperor's mercy, Vitellius gave orders to have him killed in his presence, saying that he wished to feast his eyes. In another case he had two sons who attempted to intercede for their father put to death with him. A Roman knight also, who cried as he was being taken off to execution, "You are my heir," he compelled to show his will; and reading the one of the man's freedmen was put down as joint-heir with himself, he ordered the death both of the knight and the freedman. He even killed some of the common people, merely because they had openly spoken ill of the Blue faction, handing that they had ventured to do this from contempt of himself and the anticipation of a change of rulers. But he was especially hostile to writers of lampoons and to astrologers, and whenever any one of them was accused, he put him to death without trial, particularly incensed because after a proclamation of his in which he ordered the astrologers to leave the city and Italy before the Kalends of October, a placard was at once posted, reading: "By proclamation of the Chaldeans, God bless the State! Before the same day and date let Vitellius Germanicus have ceased to live." Moreover, when his mother died, he was suspected of having forbidden her being given food when she was ill, because a woman of the Chatti, in whom he believed as he would in an oracle, prophesied that he would rule securely and for a long time, but only if he should survive his parent. Others say that through weariness of present evils and fear of those which threatened, she asked poison of her son, and obtained it with no great difficulty.

15.

In the eighth month of his reign the armies of the Moesian provinces and Pannonia revolted from him, and also in the provinces beyond the seas those of Judaea and Syria, the former swearing allegiance to Vespasian in his absence and the latter in his presence. Therefore, to retain the devotion and favour of the rest of the people, there was nothing that he did not lavish publicly and privately, without any limit whatever. He also held a levy in the city, promising those who volunteered not only their discharge upon his victory but also the rewards and privileges given to veterans after their regular term of service. Later, when his enemies were pressing him hard by land and sea, he opposed to them in one quarter his brother with a fleet manned by raw recruits and a band of gladiators,

and in another the forces and leaders who had fought at Betriacum. And after he was everywhere either worsted or betrayed, he made a bargain with Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, that he should have his own life and a hundred million sesterces. Thereupon he immediately declared from the steps of the Palace before his assembled soldiers, that he withdrew from the rule which had been given him against his will; but when all cried out against this, he postponed the matter, and after a night had passed, went at daybreak to the rostra in mourning garb and with many tears made the same declaration, but from a written document. When the people and soldiers again interrupted him and besought him not to lose heart, vying with one another in promising him all their efforts in his behalf, he again took courage and by a sudden onslaught drove Sabinus and the rest of the Flavians, who no longer feared an attack, into the Capitol. Then he set fire to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and destroyed them, viewing the battle and the fire from the house of Tiberius, where he was feasting. Not long afterwards he repented of his action and throwing the blame upon others, called an assembly and took oath, compelling the rest to do the same, that there was nothing for which he would strive more earnestly than for the public peace. Then he took a dagger from his side and offered it first to the consul, and when he refused it, to the magistrates, and then to the senators, one by one. When no one would take it, he went off as if he would place it in the temple of Concord; but when some cried out that he himself was Concord, he returned and declared that he would not only retain the steel but would also adopt the surname Concordia.

16.

He also persuaded the senate to send envoys with the Vestal virgins, to sue for peace or at least to gain time for conference.

The following day, as he was waiting for a reply, word was brought by a scout that the enemy were drawing near. Then he was at once hurried into a sedan with only two companions, a baker and a cook, and secretly went to his father's house on the Aventine, intending to flee from there to Campania. Presently, on a slight and dubious rumour that peace had been granted, he allowed himself to be taken back to the Palace. Finding everything abandoned there, and that even those who were with him were making off, he put on a girdle filled with gold pieces and took refuge in the lodge of the door-keeper, tying a dog before the door and putting a couch and a mattress against it.

17.

The foremost of the army had now forced their way in, and since no one opposed them, were ransacking everything in the usual way. They dragged Vitellius from his hiding-place and when they asked him his name (for they did not know him) and if he knew where Vitellius was, he attempted to escape them by a lie. Being soon recognised, he did not cease to beg that he be confined for a time, even in the prison, alleging that he had something to say of importance to the safety of Vespasian. But they bound his arms behind his back, put a noose about his neck, and dragged him with rent garments and half-naked to the Forum. All along the Sacred Way he was greeted with mockery and abuse, his head held back by the hair, as is common with criminals, and even the point of a sword placed under his chin, so that he could not look down but must let his face be seen. Some pelted him with dung and ordure, others called him incendiary and glutton, and some of the mob even taunted him with his bodily defects. He was in fact abnormally tall, with a face usually flushed from hard drinking, a huge belly, and one thigh crippled from being struck once upon a time by a four-horse chariot, when he was in attendance on Gaius as he was driving. At last on the Stairs of Wailing he was tortured for a long time and then despatched and dragged off with a hook to the Tiber.

18.

He met his death, along with his brother and his son, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, fulfilling the prediction of those who had declared from an omen which befell him at Vienna, as we have stated, that he was destined to fall into the power of some man of Gaul. For he was slain by Antonius Primus, a leader of the opposing faction, who was born at Tolosa and in his youth bore the surname Becco, which means a rooster's beak.

THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN

1.

The empire, which for a long time had been unsettled and, as it were, drifting, through the usurpation and violent death of three emperors, was at last taken in hand and given stability by the Flavian family. This house was, it is true, obscure and without family portraits, yet it was one of which our country had no reason whatever to be ashamed, even though it is the general opinion that the penalty which Domitian paid for his avarice and cruelty was fully merited.

Titus Flavius Petro, a burgher of Reate and during the civil war a centurion or a volunteer veteran on Pompey's side, fled from the field of Pharsalus and went home, where after at last obtaining pardon and an honourable discharge, he carried on the business of a collector of moneys. His son, surnamed Sabinus (although some say that he was an ex-centurion of the first grade; others that while still in command of a cohort he was retired because of ill-health) took no part in military life, but farmed the public tax of a fortieth in Asia. And there existed for some time statues erected in his honour by the cities of Asia, inscribed "To an honest tax-gatherer." Later he carried on a banking business in the Helvetian country and there he died, survived by his wife, Vespasia Polla, and by two of her children, of whom the elder, Sabinus, rose to the rank of prefect of Rome, and the younger, Vespasian, even to that of emperor. Polla, who was born of an honourable family at Nursia, had for father Vespasius Pollio, thrice tribune of the soldiers and prefect of the camp, while her brother became a senator with the rank of praetor. There is moreover on the top of a mountain, near the sixth milestone on the road from Nursia to Spolegium, a place called Vespasiae, where many monuments of the Vespasii are to be seen, affording strong proof of the renown and antiquity of the house. I ought to add that some have bandied about the report, that Petro's father came from the region beyond the Po and was a contractor for the day-labourers who come regularly every year from Umbria to the Sabine district, to till the fields; but that he settled in the town of Reate and there married. Personally I have found no evidence whatever of this, in spite of rather careful investigation.

2.

Vespasian was born in the Sabine country, in a small village beyond Reate, called Falacrina, on the evening of the fifteenth day before the Kalends of

December, in the consulate of Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus and Gaius Poppaeus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus. He was brought up under the care of his paternal grandmother Tertulla on her estates at Cosa. Therefore even after he became emperor he used constantly to visit the home of his infancy, where the manor house was kept in its original condition, since he did not wish to miss anything which he was wont to see there; and he was so devoted to his grandmother's memory that on religious and festival days he always drank from a little silver cup that had belonged to her.

After assuming the garb of manhood he for a long time made no attempt to win the broad stripe of senator, though his brother had gained it, and only his mother could finally induce him to sue for it. She at length drove him to it, but rather by sarcasm than by entreaties or parental authority, since she constantly taunted him with being his brother's footman.

He served in Thrace as tribune of the soldiers; as quaestor was assigned by lot to the province of Crete and Cyrene; became a candidate for the aedileship and then for the praetorship, attaining the former only after one defeat and then barely landing in the sixth place, but the latter on his canvass and among the foremost. In his praetorship, to lose no opportunity of winning the favour of Gaius, who was at odds with the senate, he asked for special games because of the emperor's victory in Germany and recommended as an additional punishment of the conspirators that they be cast out unburied. He also thanked the emperor before that illustrious body because he had deigned to honour him with an invitation to dinner.

3.

Meanwhile he took to wife Flavia Domitilla, formerly the mistress of Statilius Capella, a Roman knight of Sabrata in Africa, a woman originally only of Latin rank, but afterwards declared a freeborn citizen of Rome in a suit before arbiters, brought by her father Flavius Liberalis, a native of Ferentum and merely a quaestor's clerk. By her he had three children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla. He outlived his wife and daughter; in fact lost them both before he became emperor. After the death of his wife he resumed his relations with Caenis, freedwoman and amanuensis of Antonia, and formerly his mistress; and even after he became emperor he treated her almost as a lawful wife.

4.

In the reign of Claudius he was sent in command of a legion to Germany,

through the influence of Narcissus; from there he was transferred to Britain, where he fought thirty battles with the enemy. He reduced to subjection two powerful nations, more than twenty towns, and the island of Vectis, near Britain, partly under the leadership of Aulus Plautius, the consular governor, and partly under that of Claudius himself. For this he received the triumphal regalia, and shortly after two priesthoods, besides the consulship, which he held for the last two months of the year. The rest of the time up to his proconsulate he spent in rest and retirement, through fear of Agrippina, who still had a strong influence over her son and hated any friend of Narcissus, even after the latter's death.

The chance of the lot then gave him Africa, which he governed with great justice and high honour, save that in a riot at Hadrumetum he was pelted with turnips. Certain it is that he came back none the richer, for his credit was so nearly gone that he mortgaged all his estates to his brother, and had to resort to trading in mules to keep up his position; whence he was commonly known as "the Muleteer." He is also said to have been found guilty of squeezing two hundred thousand sesterces out of a young man for whom he obtained the broad stripe against his father's wish, and to have been severely rebuked in consequence.

On the tour through Greece, among the companions of Nero, he bitterly offended the emperor by either going out often while Nero was singing, or falling asleep, if he remained. Being in consequence banished, not only from intimacy with the emperor but even with his public receptions, he withdrew to a little out-of-the-way town, until a province and an army were offered him while he was in hiding and in fear of his life.

There had spread over all the Orient an old and established belief, that it was fated at that time for men coming from Judaea to rule the world. This prediction, referring to the emperor of Rome, as afterwards appeared from the event, the people of Judaea took to themselves; accordingly they revolted and after killing their governor, they routed the consular ruler of Syria as well, when he came to the rescue, and took one of his eagles. Since to put down this rebellion required a considerable army with a leader of no little enterprise, yet one to whom so great power could be entrusted without risk, Vespasian was chosen for the task, both as a man of tried energy and as one in no wise to be feared because of the obscurity of his family and name. Therefore there were added to the forces in Judaea two legions with eight divisions of cavalry and ten cohorts. He took his elder son as one of his lieutenants, and as soon as he reached his province he attracted the attention of the neighbouring provinces also; for he at once reformed the discipline of the army and fought one or two battles with such daring, that in the storming of a fortress he was wounded in the knee with a

stone and received several arrows in his shield.

5.

While Otho and Vitellius were fighting for the throne after the death of Nero and Galba, he began to cherish the hope of imperial dignity, which he had long since conceived because of the following portents.

On the suburban estate of the Flavii an old oak tree, which was sacred to Mars, on each of the three occasions when Vespasia was delivered suddenly put forth a branch from its trunk, obvious indications of the destiny of each child. The first was slender and quickly withered, and so too the girl that was born died within the year; the second was very strong and long and portended great success, but the third was the image of a tree. Therefore their father Sabinus, so they say, being further encouraged by an inspection of victims, announced to his mother that a grandson had been born to her would be a Caesar. But she only laughed, marvelling that her son should already be in his dotage, while she was still of strong mind.

Later, when Vespasian was aedile, Gaius Caesar, incensed at his neglect of his duty of cleaning the streets, ordered that he be covered with mud, which the soldiers accordingly heaped into the bosom of his purple-bordered toga; this some interpreted as an omen that one day in some civil commotion his country, trampled under foot and forsaken, would come under his protection and as it were into his embrace.

Once when he was taking breakfast, a stray dog brought in a human hand from the cross-roads and dropped it under the table. Again, when he was dining, an ox that was ploughing shook off its yoke, burst into the dining-room, and after scattering the servants, fell at the very feet of Vespasian as he reclined at table, and bowed its neck as if suddenly tired out. A cypress tree, also, on his grandfather's farm was torn up by the roots, without the agency of any violent storm, and thrown down, and on the following day rose again greener and stronger than before.

He dreamed in Greece that the beginning of good fortune for himself and his family would come as soon as Nero had a tooth extracted; and on the next day it came to pass that a physician walked into the hall and showed him a tooth which he had just then taken out.

When he consulted the oracle of the god of Carmel in Judaea, the lots were highly encouraging, promising that whatever he planned or wished however great it might be, would come to pass; and one of his high-born prisoners, Josephus by name, as he was being put in chains, declared most confidently that

he would soon be released by the same man, who would then, however, be emperor. Omens were also reported from Rome: Nero in his latter days was admonished in a dream to take the sacred chariot of Jupiter Optimus Maximus from its shrine to the house of Vespasian and from there to the Circus. Not long after this, too, when Galba was on his way to the elections which gave him his second consulship, a statue of the Deified Julius of its own accord turned towards the East; and on the field of Betriacum, before the battle began, two eagles fought in the sight of all, and when one was vanquished, a third came from the direction of the rising sun and drove off the victor.

6.

Yet he made no move, although his followers were quite ready and even urgent, until he was roused to it by the accidental support of men unknown to him and at a distance. Two thousand soldiers of the three legions that made up the army in Moesia had been sent to help Otho. When word came to them after they had begun their march that he had been defeated and had taken his own life, they none the less kept on as far as Aquileia, because they did not believe the report. There, taking advantage of the lawless state of the times, they indulged in every kind of pillage; then, fearing that if they went back, they would have to give an account and suffer punishment, they took it into their heads to select and appoint an emperor, saying that they were just as good as the Spanish army which had appointed Galba, or the praetorian guard which had elected Otho, or the German army which had chosen Vitellius. Accordingly the names of all the consular governors who were serving anywhere were taken up, and since objection was made to the rest for one reason or another, while some members of the third legion, which had been transferred from Syria to Moesia just before the death of Nero, highly commended Vespasian, they unanimously agreed on him and forthwith inscribed his name on all their banners. At the time, however, the movement was checked and the soldiers recalled to their allegiance for a season. But when their action became known, Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, was the first to compel his legions to take the oath for Vespasian on the Kalends of July, the day which was afterwards celebrated as that of his accession; then the army in Judaea swore allegiance to him personally on the fifth day before the Ides of July.

The enterprise was greatly forwarded by the circulation of a copy of a letter of the late emperor Otho to Vespasian, whether genuine or forged, urging him with the utmost earnestness to vengeance and expressing the hope that he would come to the aid of his country; further, by a rumour which spread abroad that Vitellius

had planned, after his victory, to change the winter quarters of the legions and to transfer those in Germany to the Orient, to a safer and milder service; and finally, among the governors of provinces, by the support of Licinius Mucianus, and among the kings, by that of Vologaesius, the Parthian. The former, laying aside the hostility with which up to that time jealousy had obviously inspired him, promised the Syrian army; and the latter forty thousand bowmen.

7.

Therefore beginning a civil war and sending ahead generals with troops to Italy, he crossed meanwhile to Alexandria, to take possession of the key to Egypt. There he dismissed all his attendants and entered the temple of Serapis alone, to consult the auspices as to the duration of his power. And when after many propitiatory offerings to the god he at length turned about, it seemed to him that his freedman Basilides offered him sacred boughs, garlands, and loaves, as is the custom there; and yet he knew well that no one had let him in, and that for some time he had been hardly able to walk by reason of rheumatism, and was besides far away. And immediately letters came with the news that Vitellius had been routed at Cremona and the emperor himself slain at Rome.

Vespasian as yet lacked prestige and a certain divinity, so to speak, since he was an unexpected and still new-made emperor; but these also were given him. A man of the people who was blind, and another who was lame, came to him together as he sat on the tribunal, begging for the help for their disorders which Serapis had promised in a dream; for the god declared that Vespasian would restore the eyes, if he would spit upon them, and give strength to the leg, if he would deign to touch it with his heel. Though he had hardly any faith that this could possibly succeed, and therefore shrank even from making the attempt, he was at last prevailed upon by his friends and tried both things in public before a large crowd; and with success. At this same time, by the direction of certain soothsayers, some vases of antique workmanship were dug up in a consecrated spot at Tegea in Arcadia and on them was an image very like Vespasian.

8.

Returning to Rome under such auspices and attended by so great renown, after celebrating a triumph over the Jews, he added eight consulships to his former one; he also assumed the censorship and during the whole period of his rule he considered nothing more essential than first to strengthen the State, which was tottering and almost overthrown, and then to embellish it as well.

The soldiery, some emboldened by their victory and some resenting their humiliating defeat, had abandoned themselves to every form of licence and recklessness; the provinces, too, and the free cities, as well as some of the kingdoms, were in a state of internal dissension. Therefore he discharged many of the soldiers of Vitellius and punished many; but so far from showing any special indulgence to those who had shared in his victory, he was even tardy in paying them their lawful rewards. To let slip no opportunity of improving military discipline, when a young man reeking with perfumes came to thank him for a commission which had been given him, Vespasian drew back his head in disgust, adding the stern reprimand: "I would rather you had smelt of garlic"; and he revoked the appointment. When the marines who march on foot by turns from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome, asked that an alliance be made them under the head of shoe money, not content with sending them away without a reply, he ordered that in future they should make the run barefooted; and they have done so ever since.

He made provinces of Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Samos, taking away their freedom, and likewise of Trachian Cilicia and Commagene, which up to that time had been ruled by kings. He sent additional legions to Cappadocia because of the constant inroads of the barbarians, and gave it a consular governor in place of a Roman knight.

As the city was unsightly from former fires and fallen buildings, he allowed anyone to take possession of vacant sites and build upon them, in case the owners failed to do so. He began the restoration of the Capitol in person, was the first to lend a hand in clearing away the debris, and carried some of it off on his own head. He undertook to restore the three thousand bronze tablets which were destroyed with the temple, making a thorough search for copies: priceless and most ancient records of the empire, containing the decrees of the senate and the acts of the commons almost from the foundation of the city, regarding alliances, treaties, and special privileges granted to individuals.

9.

He also undertook new works, the temple of Peace hard by the Forum and one to the Deified Claudius on the Caelian mount, which was begun by Agrippina, but almost utterly destroyed by Nero; also an amphitheatre in the heart of the city, a plan which he learned that Augustus had cherished.

He reformed the two great orders, reduced by a series of murders and sullied by long standing neglect, and added to their numbers, holding a review of the senate and the knights, expelling those who least deserved the honour and

enrolling the most distinguished of the Italians and provincials. Furthermore, to let it be known that the two orders differed from each other not so much in their privileges as in their rank, in the case of an altercation between a senator and a Roman knight, he rendered his decision: "Unseemly language should not be used towards senators, but to return their insults in kind is proper and lawful."

10.

Lawsuit upon lawsuit had accumulated in all the courts to an excessive degree, since those of long standing were left unsettled through the interruption of court business and new ones had arisen through the disorder of the times. He therefore chose commissioners by lot to restore what had been seized in time of war, and to make special decisions in the court of the Hundred, reducing the cases to the smallest number, since it was clear that the lifetime of the litigants would not suffice for the regular proceedings.

11.

Licentiousness and extravagance had flourished without restraint; hence he induced the senate to vote that any woman who formed a connection with the slave of another person should herself be treated as a bond-woman; also that those who lend money to minors should never have a legal right to enforce payment, that is to say, not even after the death of the fathers.

12.

In other matters he was unassuming and lenient from the very beginning of his reign until its end, never trying to conceal his former lowly condition, but often even parading it. Indeed, when certain men tried to trace the origin of the Flavian family to the founders of Reate and a companion of Hercules whose tomb still stands on the Via Salaria, he laughed at them for their pains. So far was he from a desire for pomp and show, that on the day of his triumph, he did not hesitate to say: "It serves me right for being such a fool as to want a triumph in mythology old age, as if it were due to my ancestors or had ever been among my own ambitions." He did not even assume the tribunician power at once nor the title of Father of his Country until late. As for the custom of searching those who came to pay their morning calls, he gave that up before the civil war was over.

13.

He bore the frank language of his friends, the quips of pleaders, and the impudence of the philosophers with the greatest patience. Though Licinius Mucianus, a man of notorious unchastity, presumed upon his services to treat Vespasian with scant respect, he never had the heart to criticize him except privately and then only to the extent of adding to a complaint made to a common friend, the significant words: "I at least am a man." When Salvius Liberalis ventured to say while defending a rich client, "What is it to Caesar if Hipparchus had a hundred millions," he personally commended him. When the Cynic Demetrius met him abroad after being condemned to banishment, and without deigning to rise in his presence or to salute him, even snarled out some insult, he merely called him "cur."

14.

He was not inclined to remember or to avenge affronts or enmities, but made a brilliant match for the daughter of his enemy Vitellius, and even provided her with a dowry and a house-keeping outfit. When he was in terror at being forbidden Nero's court, and asked what on earth he was to do or where he was to go, one of the ushers put him out and told him to "go to Morbovia"; but when the man later begged for forgiveness, Vespasian confined his resentment to words, and those of about the same number and purport. Indeed, so far was he from being led by any suspicion or fear to cause anyone's death, that when his friends warned him that he must keep an eye on Mettius Pompusianus, since it was commonly believed that he had an imperial horoscope, he even made him consul, guaranteeing that he would one day be mindful of the favour.

15.

It cannot readily be shown that any innocent person was punished save in Vespasian's absence and without his knowledge, or at any rate against his will and by misleading him. Although Helvidius Priscus was the only one who greeted him on his return from Syria by his private name of "Vespasian," and moreover in his praetorship left the emperor unhonoured and unmentioned in all his edicts. He did not show anger until by the extravagance of his railing Helvidius had all but degraded him. But even in his case, though he did banish him and later order his death, he was most anxious for any means of saving him, and sent messengers to recall those who were to slay him; and he would have saved him, but for a false report that Helvidius had already been done to death. Certainly he never took pleasure in the death of anyone, but even wept and

sighed over those who suffered merited punishment.

16.

The only thing for which he can fairly be censured was his love of money. For not content with reviving the imposts which had been repealed under Galba, he added new and heavy burdens, increasing the amount of tribute paid by the provinces, in some cases actually doubling it, and quite openly carrying on traffic which would be shameful even for a man in private life; for he would buy up certain commodities merely in order to distribute them at a profit. He made no bones of selling offices to candidates and acquittals to men under prosecution, whether innocent or guilty. He is even believed to have had the habit of designedly advancing the most rapacious of his procurators to higher posts, that they might be the richer when he later condemned them; in fact, it was common talk that he used these men as sponges, because he, so to speak, soaked them when they were dry and squeezed them when they were wet.

Some say that he was naturally covetous and was taunted with it by an old herdsman of his, who on being forced to pay for the freedom for which he earnestly begged Vespasian when he became emperor, cried: "The fox changes his fur, but not his nature." Others on the contrary believe that he was driven by necessity to raise money by spoliation and robbery because of the desperate state of the treasury and the privy purse; to which he bore witness at the very beginning of his reign by declaring that forty thousand millions were needed to set the State upright. This latter view seems the more probable, since he made the best use of his gains, ill-gotten though they were.

17.

He was most generous to all classes, making up the requisite estate for senators, giving needy ex-consuls an annual stipend of five hundred thousand sesterces, restoring to a better condition many cities throughout the empire which had suffered from earthquakes or fires, and in particular encouraging men of talent and the arts.

18.

He was the first to establish a regular salary of a hundred thousand sesterces for Latin and Greek teachers of rhetoric, paid from the privy purse. He also presented eminent poets with princely largess and great rewards, and artists, too,

such as the restorer of the Venus of Cos and of the Colossus. To a mechanical engineer, who promised to transport some heavy columns to the Capitol at small expense, he gave no mean reward for his invention, but refused to make use of it, saying: "You must let me feed my poor commons."

19.

At the plays with which he dedicated the new stage of the theatre of Marcellus he revived the old musical entertainments. To Apelles, the tragic actor, he gave four hundred thousand sesterces; to Terpnus and Diodorus, the lyre-players, two hundred thousand each; of several a hundred thousand; while those who received least were paid forty thousand, and numerous golden crowns were awarded besides. He gave constant dinner-parties, too, usually formally and sumptuously, to help the marketmen. He gave gifts to women on the Kalends of March, as he did to the men on the Saturnalia.

Yet even so he could not be rid of his former ill-repute for covetousness. The Alexandrians persisted in calling him Cybiosactes, the surname of one of their kings who was scandalously stingy. Even at his funeral, Favor, a leading actor of mimes, who wore his mask and, according to the usual custom, imitated the actions and words of the deceased during his lifetime, having asked procurators in a loud voice how much his funeral procession would cost, and hearing the reply "Ten million sesterces," cried out: "Give me a hundred thousand and fling me even into the Tiber."

20.

He was well built, with strong, sturdy limbs, and the expression of one who was straining. Apropos of which a witty fellow, when Vespasian asked him to make a joke on him also, replied rather cleverly: "I will, when you have finished relieving yourself." He enjoyed excellent health, though he did nothing to keep it up except to rub his throat and the other parts of his body a certain number of times in the tennis court, and to fast one day in every month.

21.

This was in general his manner of life. While emperor, he always rose very early, in fact before daylight; then after reading his letters and the reports of all the officials, he admitted his friends, and while he was receiving their greetings, he put on his own shoes and dressed himself. After despatching any business that

came up, he took time for a drive and then for a nap, lying with one of his concubines, of whom he had taken several after the death of Caenis. After his siesta he went to the bath and the dining-room; and it is said that at no time was he more good-natured or indulgent, so that the members of his household eagerly watched for these opportunities of making requests.

22.

Not only at dinner but on all other occasions he was most affable, and he turned off many matters with a jest; for he was very ready with sharp sayings, albeit of a low and buffoonish kind, so that he did not even refrain from obscene expressions. Yet many of his remarks are still remembered which are full of fine wit, and among them the following. When an ex-consul called Mestrius Florus called his attention to the fact that the proper pronunciation was *plaustra* rather than *plostra*, he greeted him next day as “Flaurus.” When he was importuned by a woman, who said that she was dying for love for him, he took her to his bed and gave her four hundred thousand sesterces for her favours. Being asked by his steward how he would have the sum entered in his accounts, he replied: “To a passion for Vespasian.”

23.

He also quoted Greek verses with great timeliness, saying of a man of tall stature and monstrous parts:

“Striding along and waving a lance that casts a long shadow,”

and of the freedman Cerylus, who was very rich, and to cheat the privy purse of its dues at his death had begun to give himself out as freeborn, changing his name to Laches:

“O Laches, Laches, When you are dead, you’ll change your name at once

To Cerylus again.”

But he particularly resorted to witticisms about his unseemly means of gain, seeking to diminish their odium by some jocose saying and to turn them into a jest. Having put off one of his favourite attendants, who asked for a stewardship for a pretended brother, he summoned the candidate himself, and after compelling him to pay him as much money as he had agreed to give his advocate, appointed him to the position without delay. On his attendant’s taking up the matter again, he said: “Find yourself another brother; the man that you thought was yours is mine.” On a journey, suspecting that his muleteer had got

down to shoe the mules merely to make delay and give time for a man with a lawsuit to approach the emperor, he asked how much he was paid for shoeing the mules and insisted on a share of the money. When Titus found fault with him for contriving a tax upon public conveniences, he held a piece of money from the first payment to his son's nose, asking whether its odour was offensive to him. When Titus said "No," he replied, "Yet it comes from urine." On the report of a deputation that a colossal statue of great cost had been voted him at public expense, he demanded to have it set up at once, and holding out his open hand, said that the base was ready. He did not cease his jokes even when in apprehension of death and in extreme danger; for when among other portents the Mausoleum opened on a sudden and a comet appeared in the heavens, he declared that the former applied to Junia Calvina of the family of Augustus, and the latter to the king of the Parthians, who wore his hair long; and as death drew near, he said: "Woe's me. Methinks I'm turning into a god."

24.

In his ninth consulship he had a slight illness in Campania, and returning at once to the city, he left for Cutiliae and the country about Reate, where he spent the summer every year. There, in addition to an increase in his illness, having contracted a bowel complaint by too free use of the cold waters, he nevertheless continued to perform his duties as emperor, even receiving embassies as he lay in bed. Taken on a sudden with such an attack of diarrhoea that he all but swooned, he said: "An emperor ought to die standing," and while he was struggling to get on his feet, he died in the arms of those who tried to help him, on the ninth day before the Kalends of July, at the age of sixty-nine years, seven months and seven days.

25.

All agree that he had so much faith in his own horoscope and those of his family, that even after constant conspiracies were made against him he had the assurance to say to the senate that either his sons would succeed him or he would have no successor. It is also said that he once dreamed that he saw a balance with its beam on a level placed in the middle of the vestibule of the Palace, in one pan of which stood Claudius and Nero and in the other himself and his sons. And the dream came true, since both houses reigned for the same space of time and the same term of years.

THE LIFE OF TITUS

1.

Titus, of the same surname as his father, was the delight and darling of the human race; such surpassing ability had he, by nature, art, or good fortune, to win the affections of all men, and that, too, which is no easy task, while he was emperor; for as a private citizen, and even during his father's rule, he did not escape hatred, much less public criticism.

He was born on the third day before the Kalends of January, in the year memorable for the death of Gaius, in a mean house near the Septizonium and in a very small dark room besides; for it still remains and is on exhibition.

2.

He was brought up at court in company with Britannicus and taught the same subjects by the same masters. At that time, so they say, a physiognomist was brought in by Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, to examine Britannicus and declared most positively that he would never become emperor; but that Titus, who was standing near by at the time, would surely rule. The boys were so intimate too, that it is believed that when Britannicus drained the fatal draught, Titus, who was reclining at his side, also tasted of the potion and for a long time suffered from an obstinate disorder. Titus did not forget all this, but later set up a golden statue of his friend in the Palace, and dedicated another equestrian statue of ivory, which is to this day carried in the procession in the Circus, and he attended it on its first appearance.

3.

Even in boyhood his bodily and mental gifts were conspicuous and they became more and more so as he advanced in years. He had a handsome person, in which there was no less dignity than grace, and was uncommonly strong, although he was not tall of stature and had a rather protruding belly. His memory was extraordinary and he had an aptitude for almost all the arts, both of war and of peace. Skilful in arms and horsemanship, he made speeches and wrote verses in Latin and Greek with ease and readiness, and even off-hand. He was besides not unacquainted with music, but sang and played the harp agreeably and skilfully. I have heard from many sources that he used also to write shorthand

with great speed and would amuse himself by playful contests with his secretaries; also that he could imitate any handwriting that he had ever seen and often declared that he might have been the prince of forgers.

4.

He served as military tribune both in Germany and in Britain, winning a high reputation for energy and no less integrity, as is evident from the great number of his statues and busts in both those provinces and from the inscriptions they bear.

After his military service he pleaded in the Forum, rather for glory than as a profession, and at the same time took to wife Arrecina Tertulla, whose father, though only a Roman knight, had once been prefect of the praetorian cohorts; on her death he replaced her by Marcia Furnilla, a lady of a very distinguished family, but divorced her after he had acknowledged a daughter which she bore him.

Then, after holding the office of quaestor, as commander of a legion he subjugated the two strong cities of Tarichaeae and Gamala in Judaea, having his horse killed under him in one battle and mounting another, whose rider had fallen fighting by his side.

5.

Presently he was sent to congratulate Galba on becoming ruler of the state, and attracted attention wherever he went, through the belief that he had been sent for to be adopted. But observing that everything was once more in a state of turmoil, he turned back, and visiting the oracle of the Paphian Venus, to consult it about his voyage, he was also encouraged to hope for imperial power. Soon realising his hope and left behind to complete the conquest of Judaea, in the final attack on Jerusalem he slew twelve of the defenders with as many arrows; and he took the city on his daughter's birthday, so delighting the soldiers and winning their devotion that they hailed him as Emperor and detained him from time to time, when he would leave the province, urging him with prayers and even with threats either to stay or to take them all with him. This aroused the suspicion that he had tried to revolt from his father and make himself king of the East; and he strengthened this suspicion on his way to Alexandria by wearing a diadem at the consecration of the bull Apis in Memphis, an act quite in accord with the usual ceremonial of that ancient religion, but unfavourably interpreted by some. Because of this he hastened to Italy, and putting in at Regium and then at Puteoli in a transport ship, he went with all speed from there to Rome, where as if to

show that the reports about him were groundless, he surprised his father with the greeting, "I am here, father; I am here."

6.

From that time on he never ceased to act as the emperor's partner and even as his protector. He took part in his father's triumph and was censor with him. He was also his colleague in the tribunicial power and in seven consulships. He took upon himself the discharge of almost all duties, personally dictated letters and wrote edicts in his father's name, and even read his speeches in the senate in lieu of a quaestor. He also assumed the command of the praetorian guard, which before that time had never been held except by a Roman knight, and in this office conducted himself in a somewhat arrogant and tyrannical fashion. For whenever he himself regarded anyone with suspicion, he would secretly send some of the Guard to the various theatres and camps, to demand their punishment as if by consent of all who were present; and then he would put them out of the way without delay. Among these was Aulus Caecina, an ex-consul, whom he invited to dinner and then ordered to be stabbed almost before he left the dining-room; but in this case he was led by a pressing danger, having got possession of an autograph copy of an harangue which Caecina had prepared to deliver to the soldiers. Although by such conduct he provided for his safety in the future, he incurred such odium at the time that hardly anyone ever came to the throne with so evil a reputation or so much against the desires of all.

7.

Besides cruelty, he was also suspected of riotous living, since he protracted his revels until the middle of the night with the most prodigal of his friends; likewise of unchastity because of his troops of catamites and eunuchs, and his notorious passion for queen Berenice, to whom it was even said that he promised marriage. He was suspected of greed as well; for it was well known that in cases which came before his father he put a price on his influence and accepted bribes. In short, people not only thought, but openly declared, that he would be a second Nero. But this reputation turned out to his advantage and gave place to the highest praise, when no fault was discovered in him, but on the contrary the highest virtues.

His banquets were pleasant rather than extravagant. He chose as his friends men whom succeeding emperors also retained as indispensable alike to themselves and to the State, and of whose services they made special use.

Berenice he sent from Rome at once, against her will and against his own. Some of his most beloved paramours, although they were such skilful dancers that they later became stage favourites, he not only ceased to cherish any longer, but even to witness their public performances.

He took away nothing from any citizen. He respected others' property, if anyone ever did; in fact, he would not accept even proper and customary presents. And yet he was second to none of his predecessors in munificence. At the dedication of his amphitheatre and of the baths which were hastily built near it he gave a most magnificent and costly gladiatorial show. He presented a sham sea-fight too in the old naumachia, and in the same place a combat of gladiators, exhibiting five thousand wild beasts of every kind in a single day.

8.

He was most kindly by nature, and whereas in accordance with a custom established by Tiberius, all the Caesars who followed him refused to regard favours granted by previous emperors as valid, unless they had themselves conferred the same ones on the same individuals, Titus was the first to ratify them all in a single edict, without allowing himself to be asked. Moreover, in the case of other requests made of him, it was his fixed rule not to let anyone go away without hope. Even when his household officials warned him that he was promising more than he could perform, he said that it was not right for anyone to go away sorrowful from an interview with his emperor. On another occasion, remembering at dinner that he had nothing for anybody all day, he gave utterance to that memorable and praiseworthy remark: "Friends, I have lost a day."

The whole body of the people in particular he treated with such indulgence on all occasions, that once at a gladiatorial show he declared that he would give it, "not after his own inclinations, but those of the spectators"; and what is more, he kept his word. For he refused nothing which anyone asked, and even urged them to ask for what they wished. Furthermore, he openly displayed his partiality for Thracian gladiators and bantered the people about it by words and gestures, always however preserving his dignity, as well as observing justice. Not to omit any act of condescension, he sometimes bathed in the baths which he had built, in company with the common people.

There were some dreadful disasters during his reign, such as the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania, a fire at Rome which continued three days and as many nights, and a plague the like of which had hardly ever been known before. In these many great calamities he showed not merely the concern of an emperor,

but even a father's surpassing love, now offering consolation in edicts, and now lending aid so far as his means allowed. He chose commissioners by lot from among the ex-consuls for the relief of Campania; and the property of those who lost their lives by Vesuvius and had no heirs left alive he applied to the rebuilding of the buried cities. During the fire in Rome he made no remark except "I am ruined," and he set aside all the ornaments of his villas for the public buildings and temples, and put several men of the equestrian order in charge of the work, that everything might be done with the greater dispatch. For curing the plague and diminishing the force of the epidemic there was no aid, human or divine, which he did not employ, searching for every kind of sacrifice and all kinds of medicines.

Among the evils of the times were the informers and their instigators, who had enjoyed a long standing licence. After these had been soundly beaten in the Forum with scourges and cudgels, and finally led in procession across the arena of the amphitheatre, he had some of them put up and sold, and others deported to the wildest of the islands. To further discourage for all time any who might think of venturing on similar practices, among other precautions he made it unlawful for anyone to be tried under several laws for the same offence, or for any inquiry to be made as to the legal status of any deceased person after a stated number of years.

9.

Having declared that he would accept the office of pontifex maximus for the purpose of keeping his hands unstained, he was true to his promise; for after that he neither caused nor connived at the death of any man, although he sometimes had no lack of reasons for taking vengeance; but he swore that he would rather be killed than kill. When two men of patrician family were found guilty of aspiring to the throne, he satisfied himself with warning them to abandon their attempt, saying that imperial power was the gift of fate, and promising that if there was anything else they desired, he himself would bestow it. Then he sent his couriers with all speed to the mother of one of them, for she was some distance off, to relieve her anxiety by reporting that her son was safe; and he not only invited the men themselves to dinner among his friends, but on the following day at a gladiatorial show he purposely placed them near him, and when the swords of the contestants were offered him, handed them over for their inspection. It is even said that inquiring into the horoscope of each of them, he declared that danger threatened them both, but at some future time and from another, as turned out to be the case.

Although his brother never ceased plotting against him, but almost openly stirred up the armies to revolt and meditated flight to them, he had not the heart to put him to death or banish him from the court, or even to hold him in less honour than before. On the contrary, as he had done from the very first day of his rule, he continued to declare that he was his partner and successor, and sometimes he privately begged him with tears and prayers to be willing at least to return his affection.

10.

In the meantime he was cut off by death, to the loss of mankind rather than to his own. After finishing the public games, at the close of which he wept bitterly in the presence of the people, he went down to the Sabine territory, somewhat cast down because a victim had escaped as he was sacrificing and because it had thundered from a clear sky. Then at the very first stopping place he was seized with a fever, and as he was being carried on from there in a litter, it is said that he pushed back the curtains, looked up to heaven, and lamented bitterly that his life was being taken from him contrary to his deserts; for he said that there was no act of his life of which he had cause to repent, save one only. What this was he did not himself disclose at the time, nor could anyone easily divine. Some think that he recalled the intimacy which he had with his brother's wife; but Domitia swore most solemnly that this did not exist, although she would not have denied it if it had been in the least true, but on the contrary would have boasted of it, as she was most ready to do of all her scandalous actions.

11.

He died in the same farmhouse as his father, on the Ides of September, two years two months and twenty days after succeeding Vespasian, in the forty-second year of his age. When his death was made known, the whole populace mourned as they would for a loss in their own families, the senate hastened to the House before it was summoned by proclamation, and with the doors still shut, and then with them open, rendered such thanks to him and heaped such praise on him after death as they had never done even when he was alive and present.

THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN

1.

Domitian was born on the ninth day before the Kalends of November of the year when his father was consul elect and was about to enter on the office in the following month, in a street of the sixth region called "the Pomegranate," in a house which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is said to have passed the period of his boyhood and his early youth in great poverty and infamy. For he did not possess a single piece of plate and it is a well known fact that Claudius Pollio, a man of praetorian rank, against whom Nero's poem entitled "The One-eyed Man" is directed, preserved a letter in Domitian's handwriting and sometimes exhibited it, in which the future emperor promised him an assignation; and there have not been wanting those who declared that Domitian was also debauched by Nerva, who succeeded him. In the war with Vitellius he took refuge in the Capitol with his paternal uncle Sabinus and a part of the forces under him. When the enemy forced an entrance and the temple was fired, he hid during the night with the guardian of the shrine, and in the morning, disguised in the garb of a follower of Isis and mingling with the priests of that fickle superstition, he went across the Tiber with a single companion to the mother of one of his school-fellows. There he was so effectually concealed, that though he was closely followed, he could not be found, in spite of a thorough search. It was only after the victory that he ventured forth and after being hailed as Caesar, he assumed the office of city praetor with consular powers, but only in name, turning over all the judicial business to his next colleague. But he exercised all the tyranny of his high position so lawlessly, that it was even then apparent what sort of a man he was going to be. Not to mention all details, after making free with the wives of many men, he went so far as to marry Domitia Longina, who was the wife of Aelius Lamia, and in a single day he assigned more than twenty positions in the city and abroad, which led Vespasian to say more than once that he was surprised that he did not appoint the emperor's successor with the rest.

2.

He began an expedition against Gaul and the Germanies, which was uncalled for and from which his father's friends dissuaded him, merely that he might make himself equal to his brother in power and rank. For this he was

reprimanded, and to give him a better realisation of his youth and position, he had to live with his father, and when they appeared in public he followed the emperor's chair and that of his brother in a litter, while he also attended their triumph over Judaea riding on a white horse. Moreover, of his six consulships only one was a regular one, and he obtained that only because his brother gave place to him and recommended his appointment.

He himself too made a remarkable pretence of modesty and especially of an interest in poetry, an art which had previously been as unfamiliar to him as it was later despised and rejected, and he even gave readings in public. Yet in spite of all this, when Vologaesius, king of the Parthians, had asked for auxiliaries against the Alani and for one of Vespasian's sons as their leader, Domitian used every effort to have himself sent rather than Titus; and because the affair came to nothing, he tried by gifts and promises to induce other eastern kings to make the same request.

On the death of his father he hesitated for some time whether to offer a double largess to the soldiers, and he never had any compunction about saying that he had been left a partner in the imperial power, but that the will had been tampered with. And from that time on he never ceased to plot against his brother secretly and openly, until Titus was seized with a dangerous illness, when Domitian ordered that he be left for dead, before he had actually drawn his last breath. And after his death he bestowed no honour upon him, save that of deification, and he often assailed his memory in ambiguous phrases, both in his speeches and in his edicts.

3.

At the beginning of his reign he used to spend hours in seclusion every day, doing nothing but catch flies and stab them with a keenly-sharpened stylus. Consequently when someone once asked whether anyone was in there with Caesar, Vibius Crispus made the witty reply: "Not even a fly." Then he saluted his wife Domitia as Augusta. He had had a son by her in his second consulship, whom he lost the second year after he became emperor; he divorced her because of her love for the actor Paris, but could not bear the separation and soon took her back, alleging that the people demanded it.

In his administration of the government he for some time showed himself inconsistent, with about an equal number of virtues and vices, but finally he turned the virtues also into vices; for so far as one may guess, it was contrary to his natural disposition that he was made rapacious through need and cruel through fear.

4.

He constantly gave grand costly entertainments, both in the amphitheatre and in the Circus, where in addition to the usual races between two-horse and four-horse chariots, he also exhibited two battles, one between forces of infantry and the other by horsemen; and he even gave a naval battle in the amphitheatre. Besides he gave hunts of wild beasts, gladiatorial shows at night by the light of torches, and not only combats between men but between women as well. He was always present too at the games given by the quaestors, which he revived after they had been abandoned for some time, and invariably granted the people the privilege of calling for two pairs of gladiators from his own school, and brought them in last in all the splendour of the court. During the whole of every gladiatorial show there always stood at his feet a small boy clad in scarlet, with an abnormally small head, with whom he used to talk a great deal, and sometimes seriously. At any rate, he was overheard to ask him if he knew why he had decided at the last appointment day to make Mettius Rufus praefect of Egypt. He often gave sea-fights almost with regular fleets, having dug a pool near the Tiber and surrounded it with seats; and he continued to witness the contests amid heavy rains.

He also celebrated Secular games, reckoning the time, not according to the year when Claudius had last given them, but by the previous calculation of Augustus. In the course of these, to make it possible to finish a hundred races on the day of contests in the Circus, he diminished the number of laps from seven to five.

He also established a quinquennial contest in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus of a threefold character, comprising music, riding, and gymnastics, and with considerably more prizes than are awarded nowadays. For there were competitions in prose declamation both in hand and in Latin; and in addition to those of the lyre-players, between choruses of such players and in the lyre alone, without singing; while in the stadium there were races even between maidens. He presided at the competitions in half-boots, clad in a purple toga in the Greek fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown, and wearing upon his head a golden crown with figures of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, while by his side sat the priest of Jupiter and the college of the Flaviales, similarly dressed, except that their crowns bore his image as well. He celebrated the Quinquatria too every year in honour of Minerva at his Alban villa, and established for her a college of priests, from which men were chosen by lot to act as officers and give splendid shows of wild beasts and stage plays, besides holding contests in oratory and poetry.

He made a present to the people of three hundred sesterces each on three occasions, and in the course of one of his shows in celebration of the feast of the Seven Hills gave a plentiful banquet, distributing large baskets of victuals to the senate and knights, and smaller one to the commons; and he himself was the first to begin to eat. On the following day he scattered gifts of all sorts of things to be scrambled for, and since the greater part of these fell where the people sat, he had five hundred tickets thrown into each section occupied by the senatorial and equestrian orders.

5.

He restored many splendid buildings which had been destroyed by fire, among them the Capitolium, which had again been burned, but in all cases with the inscription of his own name only, and with no mention of the original builder. Furthermore, he built a new temple on the Capitoline hill in honour of Jupiter Custos and the forum which now bears the name of Nerva; likewise a temple to the Flavian family, a stadium, an Odeum, and a pool for sea-fights. From the stone used in this last the Circus Maximus was afterwards rebuilt, when both sides of it had been destroyed by fire.

6.

His campaigns he undertook partly without provocation and partly of necessity. That against the Chatti was uncalled for, while the one against the Sarmatians was justified by the destruction of a legion with its commander. He made two against the Dacians, the first when Oppius Sabinus an ex-consul was defeated, and the second on the overthrow of Cornelius Fuscus, perfect of the praetorian guard, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of the war. After several battles of varying success he celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians. His victories over the Sarmatians he commemorated merely by the offering of a laurel crown to Jupiter of the Capitol.

A civil war which was set on foot by Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, was put down in the emperor's absence by a remarkable stroke of good fortune; for at the very hour of battle the Rhine suddenly thawed and prevented his barbarian allies from crossing over to Antonius. Domitian learned of this victory through omens before he actually had news of it, for on the very day when the decisive battle was fought a magnificent eagle enfolded his statue at Rome with its wings, uttering exultant shrieks; and soon afterwards the report of Antony's death became so current, that several went so far as to assert

positively that they had seen his head brought to Rome.

7.

He made many innovations also in common customs. He did away with the distribution of food to the people and revived that of formal dinners. He added two factions of drivers in the Circus, with gold and purple as their colours, to the four former ones. He forbade the appearance of actors on the stage, but allowed the practice of their art in private houses. He prohibited the castration of males, and kept down the price of the eunuchs that remained in the hands of the slave dealers. Once upon the occasion of a plentiful wine crop, attended with a scarcity of grain, thinking that the fields were neglected through too much attention to the vineyards, he made an edict forbidding anyone to plant more vines in Italy and ordering that the vineyards in the provinces be cut down, or but half of them at most be left standing; but he did not persist in carrying out the measure. He opened some of the most important offices of the court to freedmen and Roman knights. He prohibited the uniting of two legions in one camp and the deposit of more than a thousand sesterces by any one soldier at headquarters, because it was clear that Lucius Antonius had been especially led to attempt a revolution by the amount of such deposits in the combined winter quarters of two legions. He increased the pay of the soldiers one fourth, by the addition of three gold pieces each year.

8.

He administered justice scrupulously and conscientiously, frequently holding special sittings on the tribunal in the Forum. He rescinded such decisions of the Hundred Judges as were made from interested motives. He often warned the arbiters not to grant claims for freedom made under false pretences. He degraded jurors who accepted bribes, together with all their associates. He also induced the tribunes of the commons to prosecute a corrupt aedile for extortion, and to ask the senate to appoint jurors in the case. He took such care to exercise restraint over the city officials and the governors of the provinces, that at no time were they more honest or just, whereas after his time we have seen many of them charged with all manner of offences. Having undertaken the correction of public morals, he put an end to the licence at the theatres, where the general public occupied the seats reserved for the knights; did away with the prevailing publication of scurrilous lampoons, in which distinguished men and women were attacked, and imposed ignominious penalties on their authors; expelled an

ex-quaestor from the senate, because he was given to acting and dancing; deprived notorious women of the use of litters, as well as of the right to receive inheritances and legacies; struck the name of a Roman knight from the list of jurors, because he had taken back his wife after divorcing her and charging her with adultery; condemned several men of both orders, offenders against the Scantinian law; and the incest of Vestal virgins, condoned even by his father and his brother, he punished severely in divers ways, at first by capital punishment, and afterwards in the ancient fashion. For while he allowed the sisters Oculata and also Varronilla free choice of the manner of their death, and banished their paramours, he later ordered that Cornelia, a chief-vestal who had been acquitted once but after a long interval again arraigned and found guilty, be buried alive; and her lovers were beaten to death with rods in the Comitium, with the exception of an ex-praetor, whom he allowed to go into exile, because he admitted his guilt while the case was still unsettled and the examination and torture of the witnesses had led to no result. To protect the gods from being dishonoured with impunity by any sacrilege, he caused a tomb which one of his freedmen had built for his son from stones intended for the temple of Jupiter of the Capitol to be destroyed by the soldiers and the bones and ashes contained in it thrown into the sea.

9.

In the earlier part of his reign he so shrank from any form of bloodshed, that while his father was still absent from the city, he planned to issue an edict that no oxen should be offered up, recalling the line of Vergil,

“E’er yet an impious race did slay and feat upon bullocks.”

He was equally free from any suspicion of love of gain or of avarice, both in private life and for some time after becoming emperor; on the contrary, he often gave strong proofs not merely of integrity, but even of liberality. He treated all his intimates most generously, and there was nothing which he urged them more frequently, or with greater insistence, than that they should be niggardly in none of their acts. He would not accept inheritances left him by those who had children. He even annulled a legacy in the will of Rustus Caepio, who had provided that his heir should yearly pay a specified sum to each of the senators on his entrance into the House. He cancelled the suits against those who had been posted as debtors to the public treasury for more than five years, and would not allow a renewal except within a year and on the condition that an accuser who did not win his suit should be punished with exile. Scribes of the quaestors who carried on business, which had become usual although contrary to the

Clodian law, he pardoned for past offences. Parcels of land which were left unoccupied here and there after the assignment of lands to the veterans he granted to their former owners as by right of possession. He checked false accusations designed for the profit of the privy purse and inflicted severe penalties on offenders; and a saying of his was current, that an emperor who does not punish informers hounds them on.

10.

But he did not continue this course of mercy or integrity, although he turned to cruelty somewhat more speedily than to avarice. He put to death a pupil of the pantomimic actor Paris, who was still a beardless boy and ill at the time, because in his skill and his appearance he seemed not unlike his master; also Hermogenes of Tarsus because of some allusions in his History, besides crucifying even the slaves who had written it out. A householder who said that a Thracian gladiator was a match for the *murmillo*, but not for the giver of the games, he caused to be dragged from his seat and thrown into the arena to dogs, with this placard: “A favourer of the Thracians who spoke impiously.”

He put to death many senators, among them several ex-consuls, including Civica Cerealis, at the very time when he was proconsul in Asia, Salvidienus Orfitus, Acilius Glabrio while he was in exile — these on the ground of plotting revolution, the rest on any charge, however trivial. He slew Aelius Lamia for joking remarks, which were reflections on him, it is true, but made long before and harmless. For when Domitian had taken away Lamia’s wife, the latter replied to someone who praised his voice: “I practise continence”; and when Titus urged him to marry again, he replied: “Are you too looking for a wife?” He put to death Salvius Cocceianus, because he had kept the birthday of the emperor Otho, his paternal uncle; Mettius Pompusianus, because it was commonly reported that he had an imperial nativity and carried about a map of the world on parchment and speeches of the kings and generals from Titus Livius, besides giving two of his slaves the names of Mago and Hannibal; Sallustius Lucullus, governor of Britain, for allowing some lances of a new pattern to be named “Lucullean,” after his own name; Junius Rusticus, because he had published eulogies of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus and called them the most upright of men; and on the occasion of this charge he banished all the philosophers from the city and from Italy. He also executed the younger Helvidius, alleging that in a farce composed for the stage he had under the characters of Paris and Oenone censured Domitian’s divorce from his wife; Flavius Sabinus too, one of his cousins, because on the day of the consular

elections the crier had inadvertently announced him to the people as emperor elect, instead of consul.

After his victory in the civil war he became even more cruel, and to discover any conspirators who were in hiding, tortured many of the opposite party by a new form of inquisition, inserting fire in their privates; and he cut off the hands of some of them. It is certain that of the more conspicuous only two were pardoned, a tribune of senatorial rank and a centurion, who the more clearly to prove their freedom from guilt, showed that they were of shameless unchastity and could therefore have had no influence with the general or with the soldiers.

11.

His savage cruelty was not only excessive, but also cunning and sudden. He invited one of his stewards to his bed-chamber the day before crucifying him, made him sit beside him on his couch, and dismissed him in a secure and gay frame of mind, even deigning to send him a share of his dinner. When he was on the point of condemning the ex-consul Arrecinius Clemens, one of his intimates and tools, he treated him with as great favour as before, if not greater, and finally, as he was taking a drive with him, catching sight of his accuser he said: "Pray, shall we hear this base slave to-morrow?"

To abuse men's patience the more insolently, he never pronounced an unusually dreadful sentence without a preliminary declaration of clemency, so that there came to be no more certain indication of a cruel death than the leniency of his preamble. He had brought some men charged with treason into the senate, and when he had introduced the matter by saying that he would find out that day how dear he was to the members, he had no difficulty in causing them to be condemned to suffer the ancient method of punishment. Then appalled at the cruelty of the penalty, he interposed a veto, to lessen the odium, in these words (for it will be of interest to know his exact language): "Allow me, Fathers of the senate, to prevail on you by your love for me to grant a favour which I know I shall obtain with difficulty, namely that you allow the condemned free choice of the manner of their death; for thus you will spare your own eyes and all men will know that I was present at the meeting of the senate."

12.

Reduced to financial straits by the cost of his buildings and shows, as well as by the additions which he had made to the pay of the soldiers, he tried to lighten the military expenses by diminishing the number of his troops; but perceiving

that in this way he exposed himself to the attacks of the barbarians, and nevertheless had difficulty in easing his burdens, he had no hesitation in resorting to every sort of robbery. The property of the living and the dead was seized everywhere on any charge brought by any accuser. It was enough to allege any action or word derogatory to the majesty of the prince. Estates of those in no way connected with him were confiscated, if but one man came forward to declare that he had heard from the deceased during his lifetime that Caesar was his heir. Besides other taxes, that on the Jews was levied with the utmost rigour, and those were prosecuted who without publicly acknowledging that faith yet lived as Jews, as well as those who concealed their origin and did not pay the tribute levied upon their people. I recall being present in my youth when the person of a man ninety years old was examined before the procurator and a very crowded court, to see whether he was circumcised.

From his youth he was far from being of an affable disposition, but was on the contrary presumptuous and unbridled both in act and in word. When his father's concubine Caenis returned from Histria and offered to kiss him as usual, he held out his hand to her. He was vexed that his brother's son-in-law had attendants clad in white, as well as he, and uttered the words

"Not good is a number of rulers."

13.

When he became emperor, he did not hesitate to boast in the senate that he had conferred their power on both his father and his brother, and that they had but returned him his own; nor on taking back his wife after their divorce, that he had "recalled her to his divine couch." He delighted to hear the people in the amphitheatre shout on his feast day: "Good Fortune attend our Lord and Mistress." Even more, in the Capitoline competition, when all the people begged him with great unanimity to restore Palfurius Sura, who had been banished some time before from the senate, and on that occasion received the prize for oratory, he deigned no reply, but merely had a crier bid them be silent. With no less arrogance he began as follows in issuing a circular letter in the name of his procurators, "Our Master and our God bids that this be done." And so the custom arose of henceforth addressing him in no other way even in writing or in conversation. He suffered no statues to be set up in his honour in the Capitol, except of gold and silver and of a fixed weight. He erected so many and such huge vaulted passage-ways and arches in the various regions of the city, adorned with chariots and triumphal emblems, that on one of them someone wrote in Greek: "It is enough." He held the consulship seventeen times, more often than

any of his predecessors. Of these the seven middle ones were in successive years, but all of them he filled in name only, continuing none beyond the first of May and few after the Ides of January. Having assumed the surname Germanicus after his two triumphs, he renamed the months of September and October from his own names, calling them “Germanicus” and “Domitianus,” because in the former he had come to the throne and was born in the latter.

14.

In this way he became an object of terror and hatred to all, but he was overthrown at last by a conspiracy of his friends and favourite freedmen, to which his wife was also privy. He had long since had a premonition of the last year and day of his life, and even of the very hour and manner of his death. In his youth astrologers had predicted all this to him, and his father once even openly ridiculed him at dinner for refusing mushrooms, saying that he showed himself unaware of his destiny in not rather fearing the sword. Therefore he was at all times timorous and worried, and was disquieted beyond measure by even the slightest suspicions. It is thought that nothing had more effect in inducing him to ignore his proclamation about cutting down the vineyards than the circulation of notes containing the following lines:

“Gnaw at my root, an you will; even then shall I have juice in plenty
To pour upon thee, O goat, when at the altar you stand.”

It was because of this same timorousness that although he was most eager for all such honours, he refused a new one which the senate had devised and offered to him, a decree, namely, that whenever he held the consulship Roman knights selected by lot should precede him among his lictors and attendants, clad in the *trabea* and bearing lances.

As the time when he anticipated danger drew near, becoming still more anxious every day, he lined the walls of the colonnades in which he used to walk with phengite stone, to be able to see in its brilliant surface the reflection of all that went on behind his back. And he did not give a hearing to any prisoners except in private and alone, even holding their chains in his hands. Further, to convince his household that one must not venture to kill a patron even on good grounds, he condemned Epaphroditus, his confidential secretary, to death, because it was believed that after Nero was abandoned the freedman’s hand had aided him in taking his life.

15.

Finally he put to death his own cousin Flavius Clemens, suddenly and on a very slight suspicion, almost before the end of his consulship; and yet Flavius was a man of most contemptible laziness and Domitian had besides openly named his sons, who were then very young, as his successors, changing their former names and calling the one Vespasian and the other Domitian. And it was by this deed in particular that he hastened his own destruction.

For eight successive months so many strokes of lightning occurred and were reported, that at last he cried: "Well, let him now strike whom he will." The temple of Jupiter of the Capitol was struck and that of the Flavian family, as well as the Palace and the emperor's own bedroom. The inscription too on the base of a triumphal statue of his was torn off in a violent tempest and fell upon a neighbouring tomb. The tree which had been overthrown when Vespasian was still a private citizen but had sprung up anew, then on a sudden fell down again. Fortune of Praeneste had throughout his whole reign, when he commended the new year to her protection, given him a favourable omen and always in the same words. Now at last she returned a most direful one, not without the mention of bloodshed.

He dreamed that Minerva, whom he worshipped with superstitious veneration, came forth from her shrine and declared that she could no longer protect him, since she had been disarmed by Jupiter. Yet there was nothing by which he was so much disturbed as a prediction of the astrologer Asclepiades and what befell him. When this man was accused before the emperor and did not deny that he had spoken of certain things which he had foreseen through his art, he was asked what his own end would be. When he replied that he would shortly be rent by dogs, Domitian ordered him killed at once; but to prove the fallibility of his art, he ordered besides that his funeral be attended to with the greatest care. While this was being done, it chanced that the pyre was overset by a sudden storm and that the dogs mangled the corpse, which was only partly consumed; and that an actor of farces called Latinus, who happened to pass by and see the incident, told it to Domitian at the dinner table, with the rest of the day's gossip.

16.

The day before he was killed he gave orders to have some apples which were offered him kept until the following day, and added: "If only I am spared to eat them"; then turning to his companions, he declared that on the following day the moon would be stained with blood in Aquarius, and that a deed would be done of which men would talk all over the world. At about midnight he was so terrified that he leaped from his bed. The next morning he conducted the trial of

a soothsayer sent from Germany, who when consulted about the lightning strokes had foretold a change of rulers, and condemned him to death. While he was vigorously scratching a festered wart on his forehead, and had drawn blood, he said: "May this be all." Then he asked the time, and by pre-arrangement the sixth hour was announced to him, instead of the fifth, which he feared. Filled with joy at this, and believing all danger now past, he was hastening to the bath, when his chamberlain Parthenius changed his purpose by announcing that someone had called about a matter of great moment and would not be put off. Then he dismissed all his attendants and went to his bedroom, where he was slain.

17.

Concerning the nature of the plot and the manner of his death, this is about all that became known. As the conspirators were deliberating when and how to attack him, whether at the bath or at dinner, Stephanus, Domitilla's steward, at the time under accusation for embezzlement, offered his aid and counsel. To avoid suspicion, he wrapped up his left arm in woollen bandages for some days, pretending that he had injured it, and concealed in them a dagger. Then pretending to betray a conspiracy and for that reason being given an audience, he stabbed the emperor in the groin as he was reading a paper which the assassin handed him, and stood in a state of amazement. As the wounded prince attempted to resist, he was slain with seven wounds by Clodianus, a subaltern, Maximus, a freedman of Parthenius, Satur, decurion of the chamberlains, and a gladiator from the imperial school. A boy who was engaged in his usual duty of attending to the Lares in the bedroom, and so was a witness of the murder, gave this additional information. He was bidden by Domitian, immediately after he was dealt the first blow, to hand him the dagger hidden under his pillow and to call the servants; but he found nothing at the head of the bed save the hilt, and besides all the doors were closed. Meanwhile the emperor grappled with Stephanus and bore him to the ground, where they struggled for a long time, Domitian trying now to wrest the dagger from his assailant's hands and now to gouge out his eyes with his lacerated fingers.

He was slain on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of October in the forty-fifth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out on a common bier by those who bury the poor, and his nurse Phyllis cremated it at her suburban estate on the Via Latina; but his ashes she secretly carried to the temple of the Flavian family and mingled them with those of Julia, daughter of Titus, whom she had also reared.

18.

He was tall of stature, with a modest expression and a high colour. His eyes were large, but his sight was somewhat dim. He was handsome and graceful too, especially when a young man, and indeed in his whole body with the exception of his feet, the toes of which were somewhat cramped. In later life he had the further disfigurement of baldness, a protruding belly, and spindling legs, though the latter had become thin from a long illness. He was so conscious that the modesty of his expression was in his favour, that he once made this boast in the senate: "So far, at any rate, you have approved my heart and my countenance." He was so sensitive about his baldness, that he regarded it as a personal insult if anyone else was twitted with that defect in jest or in earnest; though in a book "On the Care of the Hair," which he published and dedicated to a friend, he wrote the following by way of consolation to the man and himself:

"Do you not see that I am too tall and comely to look on?

And yet the same fate awaits my hair, and I bear with resignation the ageing of my locks in youth. Be assured that nothing is more pleasing than beauty, but nothing shorter-lived."

19.

He was incapable of exertion and seldom went about the city on foot, while on his campaigns and journeys he rarely rode on horseback, but was regularly carried in a litter. He took no interest in arms, but was particularly devoted to archery. There are many who have more than once seen him slay a hundred wild beasts of different kinds on his Alban estate, and purposely kill some of them with two successive shots in such a way that the arrows gave the effect of horns. Sometimes he would have a slave stand at a distance and hold out the palm of his right hand for a mark, with the fingers spread; then he directed his arrows with such accuracy that they passed harmlessly between the fingers.

20.

At the beginning of his rule he neglected liberal studies, although he provided for having the libraries, which were destroyed by fire, renewed at very great expense, seeking everywhere for copies of the lost works, and sending scribes to Alexandria to transcribe and correct them. Yet he never took any pains to become acquainted with history or poetry, or even to acquiring an ordinarily good style. He read nothing except the memoirs and transactions of Tiberius

Caesar; for his letters, speeches and proclamations he relied on others' talents. Yet his conversation was not inelegant, and some of his sayings were even noteworthy. "How I wish," said he, "that I were as fine looking as Maecius thinks he is." He declared too that the head of a certain man, whose hair had changed colour in such a way that it was partly reddish and partly grey, was like "snow on which mead had been poured."

21.

He used to say that the lot of princes was most unhappy, since when they discovered a conspiracy, no one believed them unless they had been killed.

Whenever he had leisure he amused himself with playing at dice, even on working days and in the morning hours. He went to the bath before the end of the forenoon and lunched to the point of satiety, so that at dinner he rarely took anything except a Matian apple and a moderate amount of wine from a jug. He gave numerous and generous banquets, but usually ended them early; in no case did he protract them beyond sunset, or follow them by a drinking bout. In fact, he did nothing until the hour for retiring except walk alone in a retired place.

22.

He was excessively lustful. His constant sexual intercourse he called bed-wrestling, as if it were a kind of exercise. It was reported that he depilated his concubines with his own hand and swam with common prostitutes. After persistently refusing his niece, who was offered him in marriage when she was still a maid, because he was entangled in an intrigue with Domitia, he seduced her shortly afterwards when she became the wife of another, and that too during the lifetime of Titus. Later, when she was bereft of father and husband, he loved her ardently and without disguise, and even became the cause of her death by compelling her to get rid of a child of his by abortion.

23.

The people received the news of his death with indifference, but the soldiers were greatly grieved and at once attempted to call him the Deified Domitian; while they were prepared also to avenge him, had they not lacked leaders. This, however, they did accomplish a little later by most insistently demanding the execution of his murderers. The senators on the contrary were so overjoyed, that they raced to fill the House, where they did not refrain from assailing the dead

emperor with the most insulting and stinging kind of outcries. They even had ladders brought and his shields and images torn down before their eyes and dashed upon the ground; finally they passed a decree that his inscriptions should everywhere be erased, and all record of him obliterated.

A few months before he was killed, a raven perched on the Capitolium and cried “All will be well,” an omen which some interpreted as follows:

“High on the gable Tarpeian a raven but lately alighting,
Could not say ‘It is well,’ only declared ‘It will be.’”

Domitian himself, it is said, dreamed that a golden hump grew out on his back, and he regarded this as an infallible sign that the condition of the empire would be happier and more prosperous after his time; and this was shortly shown to be true through the uprightness and moderate rule of the succeeding emperors.

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN



Translated by Alexander Thomson

Suetonius also wrote *De Viris Illustribus*, a collection of biographies on the lives of illustrious men that were not members of the Imperial family, but instead celebrated for their literary achievements. Sadly, the work is only partly extant, being divided into the following sections:

De Illustribus Grammaticis (Lives of the Grammarians) - featuring 20 brief biographies, appearing to have survived complete.

De Claris Rhetoribus (Lives of the Rhetoricians) - five brief lives out of an original 16 have survived.

De Poetis (Lives of the Poets) with only the life of Virgil, as well as fragments from the lives of Terence, Horace and Lucan surviving.

De historicis (Lives of the Historians) a brief life of Pliny the Elder is all that survives from this group.



A bust of Virgil, one of the illustrious poets that feature in this work

CONTENTS

[LIVES OF EMINENT GRAMMARIANS](#)

[LIVES OF EMINENT RHETORICIANS.](#)

[LIVES OF THE POETS.](#)

[THE LIFE OF TERENCE.](#)

[THE LIFE OF JUVENAL.](#)

[THE LIFE OF PERSIUS.](#)

[THE LIFE OF HORACE.](#)

[THE LIFE OF PLINY.](#)

LIVES OF EMINENT GRAMMARIANS

I. The science of grammar was in ancient times far from being in vogue at Rome; indeed, it was of little use in a rude state of society, when the people were engaged in constant wars, and had not much time to bestow on the cultivation of the liberal arts . At the outset, its pretensions were very slender, for the earliest men of learning, who were both poets and orators, may be considered as half-Greek: I speak of Livius and Ennius, who are acknowledged to have taught both languages as well at Rome as in foreign parts . But they (507) only translated from the Greek, and if they composed anything of their own in Latin, it was only from what they had before read. For although there are those who say that this Ennius published two books, one on “Letters and Syllables,” and the other on “Metres,” Lucius Cotta has satisfactorily proved that they are not the works of the poet Ennius, but of another writer of the same name, to whom also the treatise on the “Rules of Augury” is attributed.

II. Crates of Mallos, then, was, in our opinion, the first who introduced the study of grammar at Rome. He was cotemporary with Aristarchus, and having been sent by king Attalus as envoy to the senate in the interval between the second and third Punic wars, soon after the death of Ennius, he had the misfortune to fall into an open sewer in the Palatine quarter of the city, and broke his leg. After which, during the whole period of his embassy and convalescence, he gave frequent lectures, taking much pains to instruct his hearers, and he has left us an example well worthy of imitation. It was so far followed, that poems hitherto little known, the works either of deceased friends or other approved writers, were brought to light, and being read and commented on, were explained to others. Thus, Caius Octavius Lampadio edited the Punic War of Naevius, which having been written in one volume without any break in the manuscript, he divided into seven books. After that, Quintus Vargonteius undertook the Annals of Ennius, which he read on certain fixed days to crowded audiences. So Laelius Archelaus, and Vectius Philocomus, read and commented on the Satires of their friend Lucilius, which Lenaeus Pompeius, a freedman, tells us he studied under Archelaus; and Valerius Cato, under Philocomus. Two others also taught and promoted (508) grammar in various branches, namely, Lucius Aelius Lanuvinus, the son-in-law of Quintus Aelius, and Servius Claudius, both of whom were Roman knights, and men who rendered great services both to learning and the republic.

III. Lucius Aelius had a double cognomen, for he was called Praeconius, because his father was a herald; Stilo, because he was in the habit of composing

orations for most of the speakers of highest rank; indeed, he was so strong a partisan of the nobles, that he accompanied Quintus Metellus Numidicus in his exile. Servius having clandestinely obtained his father-in-law's book before it was published, was disowned for the fraud, which he took so much to heart, that, overwhelmed with shame and distress, he retired from Rome; and being seized with a fit of the gout, in his impatience, he applied a poisonous ointment to his feet, which half-killed him, so that his lower limbs mortified while he was still alive. After this, more attention was paid to the science of letters, and it grew in public estimation, insomuch, that men of the highest rank did not hesitate in undertaking to write something on the subject; and it is related that sometimes there were no less than twenty celebrated scholars in Rome. So high was the value, and so great were the rewards, of grammarians, that Lutatius Daphnides, jocularly called "Pan's herd" by Lenaeus Melissus, was purchased by Quintus Catullus for two hundred thousand sesterces, and shortly afterwards made a freedman; and that Lucius Apuleius, who was taken into the pay of Epicurius Calvinus, a wealthy Roman knight, at the annual salary of ten thousand crowns, had many scholars. Grammar also penetrated into the provinces, and some of the most eminent amongst the learned taught it in foreign parts, particularly in Gallia Togata. In the number of these, we may reckon Octavius (509) Teucer, Siscennius Jacchus, and Oppius Cares, who persisted in teaching to a most advanced period of his life, at a time when he was not only unable to walk, but his sight failed.

IV. The appellation of grammarian was borrowed from the Greeks; but at first, the Latins called such persons *literati*. Cornelius Nepos, also, in his book, where he draws a distinction between a literate and a philologist, says that in common phrase, those are properly called *literati* who are skilled in speaking or writing with care or accuracy, and those more especially deserve the name who translated the poets, and were called grammarians by the Greeks. It appears that they were named *literator*s by Messala Corvinus, in one of his letters, when he says, "that it does not refer to Furius Bibaculus, nor even to Sigida, nor to Cato, the *literator*," meaning, doubtless, that Valerius Cato was both a poet and an eminent grammarian. Some there are who draw a distinction between a *literati* and a *literator*, as the Greeks do between a grammarian and a *grammatist*, applying the former term to men of real erudition, the latter to those whose pretensions to learning are moderate; and this opinion Orbilius supports by examples. For he says that in old times, when a company of slaves was offered for sale by any person, it was not customary, without good reason, to describe either of them in the catalogue as a *literati*, but only as a *literator*, meaning that he was not a proficient in letters, but had a smattering of knowledge.

The early grammarians taught rhetoric also, and we have many of their treatises which include both sciences; whence it arose, I think, that in later times, although the two professions had then become distinct, the old custom was retained, or the grammarians introduced into their teaching some of the elements required for public speaking, such as the problem, the periphrasis, the choice of words, description of character, and the like; in order that they might not transfer (510) their pupils to the rhetoricians no better than ill-taught boys. But I perceive that these lessons are now given up in some cases, on account of the want of application, or the tender years, of the scholar, for I do not believe that it arises from any dislike in the master. I recollect that when I was a boy it was the custom of one of these, whose name was Princeps, to take alternate days for declaiming and disputing; and sometimes he would lecture in the morning, and declaim in the afternoon, when he had his pulpit removed. I heard, also, that even within the memories of our own fathers, some of the pupils of the grammarians passed directly from the schools to the courts, and at once took a high place in the ranks of the most distinguished advocates. The professors at that time were, indeed, men of great eminence, of some of whom I may be able to give an account in the following chapters.

V. SÆVIUS NICANOR first acquired fame and reputation by his teaching: and, besides, he made commentaries, the greater part of which, however, are said to have been borrowed. He also wrote a satire, in which he informs us that he was a freedman, and had a double cognomen, in the following verses;

Sævius Nicanor Marci libertus negabit,
Sævius Posthumius idem, sed Marcus, docebit.

What Sævius Nicanor, the freedman of Marcus, will deny,
The same Sævius, called also Posthumius Marcus, will assert.

It is reported, that in consequence of some infamy attached to his character, he retired to Sardinia, and there ended his days.

VI. AURELIUS OPILIUS, the freedman of some Epicurean, first taught philosophy, then rhetoric, and last of all, grammar. (511) Having closed his school, he followed Rutilius Rufus, when he was banished to Asia, and there the two friends grew old together. He also wrote several volumes on a variety of learned topics, nine books of which he distinguished by the number and names of the nine Muses; as he says, not without reason, they being the patrons of authors and poets. I observe that its title is given in several indexes by a single letter, but he uses two in the heading of a book called Pinax.

VII. MARCUS ANTONIUS GNIPHO, a free-born native of Gaul, was exposed in his infancy, and afterwards received his freedom from his foster-father; and, as some say, was educated at Alexandria, where Dionysius Scytobrachion was his fellow pupil. This, however, I am not very ready to believe, as the times at which they flourished scarcely agree. He is said to have been a man of great genius, of singular memory, well read in Greek as well as Latin, and of a most obliging and agreeable temper, who never haggled about remuneration, but generally left it to the liberality of his scholars. He first taught in the house of Julius Caesar, when the latter was yet but a boy, and, afterwards, in his own private house. He gave instruction in rhetoric also, teaching the rules of eloquence every day, but declaiming only on festivals. It is said that some very celebrated men frequented his school, — and, among others, Marcus Cicero, during the time he held the praetorship. He wrote a number of works, although he did not live beyond his fiftieth year; but Atteius, the philologist, says, that he left only two volumes, “De Latino Sermone;” and, that the other works ascribed to him, were composed by his disciples, and were not his, although his name is sometimes to be found in them.

VIII. M. POMPILIUS ANDRONICUS, a native of Syria, while he professed to be a grammarian, was considered an idle follower of the Epicurean sect, and little qualified to be a master (512) of a school. Finding, therefore, that, at Rome, not only Antonius Gniphos, but even other teachers of less note were preferred to him, he retired to Cumae, where he lived at his ease; and, though he wrote several books, he was so needy, and reduced to such straits, as to be compelled to sell that excellent little work of his, “The Index to the Annals,” for sixteen thousand sesterces. Orbilius has informed us, that he redeemed this work from the oblivion into which it had fallen, and took care to have it published with the author’s name.

IX. ORBILIUS PUPILLUS, of Beneventum, being left an orphan, by the death of his parents, who both fell a sacrifice to the plots of their enemies on the same day, acted, at first, as apparitor to the magistrates. He then joined the troops in Macedonia, when he was first decorated with the plumed helmet, and, afterwards, promoted to serve on horseback. Having completed his military service, he resumed his studies, which he had pursued with no small diligence from his youth upwards; and, having been a professor for a long period in his own country, at last, during the consulship of Cicero, made his way to Rome, where he taught with more reputation than profit. For in one of his works he says, that “he was then very old, and lived in a garret.” He also published a book with the title of Perialogos; containing complaints of the injurious treatment to which professors submitted, without seeking redress at the hands of parents. His

sour temper betrayed itself, not only in his disputes with the sophists opposed to him, whom he lashed on every occasion, but also towards his scholars, as Horace tells us, who calls him “a flogger;” and Domitius Marsus, who says of him:

Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.
If those Orbilius with rod or ferule thrashed.

(513) And not even men of rank escaped his sarcasms; for, before he became noticed, happening to be examined as a witness in a crowded court, Varro, the advocate on the other side, put the question to him, “What he did and by what profession he gained his livelihood?” He replied, “That he lived by removing hunchbacks from the sunshine into the shade,” alluding to Muraena’s deformity. He lived till he was near a hundred years old; but he had long lost his memory, as the verse of Bibaculus informs us:

Orbilius ubinam est, literarum oblivio?
Where is Orbilius now, that wreck of learning lost?

His statue is shown in the Capitol at Beneventum. It stands on the left hand, and is sculptured in marble, representing him in a sitting posture, wearing the pallium, with two writing-cases in his hand. He left a son, named also Orbilius, who, like his father, was a professor of grammar.

X. ATTEIUS, THE PHILOLOGIST, a freedman, was born at Athens. Of him, Capito Atteius, the well-known jurisconsult, says that he was a rhetorician among the grammarians, and a grammarian among the rhetoricians. Asinius Pollio, in the book in which he finds fault with the writings of Sallust for his great affectation of obsolete words, speaks thus: “In this work his chief assistant was a certain Atteius, a man of rank, a splendid Latin grammarian, the aider and preceptor of those who studied the practice of declamation; in short, one who claimed for himself the cognomen of Philologus.” Writing to Lucius Hermas, he says, “that he had made great proficiency in Greek literature, and some in Latin; that he had been a hearer of Antonius Gniphos, and his Hermas, and afterwards began to teach others. Moreover, that he had for pupils many illustrious youths, among whom were the two (514) brothers, Appius and Pulcher Claudius; and that he even accompanied them to their province.” He appears to have assumed the name of Philologus, because, like Eratosthenes, who first adopted that cognomen, he was in high repute for his rich and varied stores of learning; which, indeed, is evident from his commentaries, though but few of them are extant. Another letter, however, to the same Hermas, shews that they were very

numerous: “Remember,” it says, “to recommend generally our Extracts, which we have collected, as you know, of all kinds, into eight hundred books.” He afterwards formed an intimate acquaintance with Caius Sallustius, and, on his death, with Asinius Pollio; and when they undertook to write a history, he supplied the one with short annals of all Roman affairs, from which he could select at pleasure; and the other, with rules on the art of composition. I am, therefore, surprised that Asinius Pollio should have supposed that he was in the habit of collecting old words and figures of speech for Sallust, when he must have known that his own advice was, that none but well known, and common and appropriate expressions should be made use of; and that, above all things, the obscurity of the style of Sallust, and his bold freedom in translations, should be avoided.

XI. VALERIUS CATO was, as some have informed us, the freedman of one Bursenus, a native of Gaul. He himself tells us, in his little work called “Indignatio,” that he was born free, and being left an orphan, was exposed to be easily stripped of his patrimony during the licence of Sylla’s administrations. He had a great number of distinguished pupils, and was highly esteemed as a preceptor suited to those who had a poetical turn, as appears from these short lines:

Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren,
Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

Cato, the Latin Siren, grammar taught and verse,
To form the poet skilled, and poetry rehearse.

Besides his Treatise on Grammar, he composed some poems, (515) of which, his *Lydia* and *Diana* are most admired. Ticius mentions his “*Lydia*.”

Lydia, doctorum maxima cura liber.
“*Lydia*,” a work to men of learning dear.

Cinna thus notices the “*Diana*.”

Secula permaneat nostri *Diana* Catonis.
Immortal be our Cato’s song of *Dian*.

He lived to extreme old age, but in the lowest state of penury, and almost in actual want; having retired to a small cottage when he gave up his Tusculan villa to his creditors; as Bibaculus tells us:

Si quis forte mei domum Catonis,
Depictas minio assulas, et illos
Custodis vidit hortulos Priapi,
Miratur, quibus ille disciplinis,
Tantam sit sapientiam assecutus,
Quam tres cauliculi et selibra farris;
Racemi duo, tegula sub una,
Ad summam prope nutrant senectam.

“If, perchance, any one has seen the house of my Cato, with marble slabs of the richest hues, and his gardens worthy of having Priapus for their guardian, he may well wonder by what philosophy he has gained so much wisdom, that a daily allowance of three coleworts, half-a-pound of meal, and two bunches of grapes, under a narrow roof, should serve for his subsistence to extreme old age.”

And he says in another place:

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum
Tota creditor urbe venditahat.
Mirati sumus unicum magistrum,
Summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,
Omnes solvere posse quaestiones,
Unum difficile expedire nomen.
En cor Zenodoti, en jecur Cratetis!

“We lately saw, my Gallus, Cato’s Tusculan villa exposed to public sale by his creditors; and wondered that such an unrivalled master of (516) the schools, most eminent grammarian, and accomplished poet, could solve all propositions and yet found one question too difficult for him to settle, — how to pay his debts. We find in him the genius of Zenodotus, the wisdom of Crates.”

XII. CORNELIUS EPICADIUS, a freedman of Lucius Cornelius Sylla, the dictator, was his apparitor in the Augural priesthood, and much beloved by his son Faustus; so that he was proud to call himself the freedman of both. He completed the last book of Sylla’s Commentaries, which his patron had left unfinished.

XIII. LABERIUS HIERA was bought by his master out of a slave-dealer’s cage, and obtained his freedom on account of his devotion to learning. It is reported that his disinterestedness was such, that he gave gratuitous instruction to the children of those who were proscribed in the time of Sylla.

XIV. CURTIUS NICIA was the intimate friend of Cneius Pompeius and Caius Memmius; but having carried notes from Memmius to Pompey's wife, when she was debauched by Memmius, Pompey was indignant, and forbid him his house. He was also on familiar terms with Marcus Cicero, who thus speaks of him in his epistle to Dolabella : "I have more need of receiving letters from you, than you have of desiring them from me. For there is nothing going on at Rome in which I think you would take any interest, except, perhaps, that you may like to know that I am appointed umpire between our friends Nicias and Vidius. The one, it appears, alleges in two short verses that Nicias owes him (517) money; the other, like an Aristarchus, cavils at them. I, like an old critic, am to decide whether they are Nicias's or spurious."

Again, in a letter to Atticus, he says: "As to what you write about Nicias, nothing could give me greater pleasure than to have him with me, if I was in a position to enjoy his society; but my province is to me a place of retirement and solitude. Sicca easily reconciled himself to this state of things, and, therefore, I would prefer having him. Besides, you are well aware of the feebleness, and the nice and luxurious habits, of our friend Nicias. Why should I be the means of making him uncomfortable, when he can afford me no pleasure? At the same time, I value his goodwill."

XV. LENAEOUS was a freedman of Pompey the Great, and attended him in most of his expeditions. On the death of his patron and his sons, he supported himself by teaching in a school which he opened near the temple of Tellus, in the Carium, in the quarter of the city where the house of the Pompeys stood . Such was his regard for his patron's memory, that when Sallust described him as having a brazen face, and a shameless mind, he lashed the historian in a most bitter satire, as "a bull's-pizzle, a gormandizer, a braggart, and a tippler, a man whose life and writings were equally monstrous;" besides charging him with being "a most unskilful plagiarist, who borrowed the language of Cato and other old writers." It is related, that, in his youth, having escaped from slavery by the contrivance of some of his friends, he took refuge in his own country; and, that after he had applied himself to the liberal arts, he brought the price of his freedom to his former master, who, however, struck by his talents and learning, gave him manumission gratuitously.

XVI. QUINTUS CAECILIUS, an Epirot by descent, but born at Tusculum, was a freedman of Atticus Satrius, a Roman (518) knight, to whom Cicero addressed his Epistles . He became the tutor of his patron's daughter, who was contracted to Marcus Agrippa, but being suspected of an illicit intercourse with her, and sent away on that account, he betook himself to Cornelius Gallus, and lived with him on terms of the greatest intimacy, which, indeed, was imputed to

Gallus as one of his heaviest offences, by Augustus. Then, after the condemnation and death of Gallus, he opened a school, but had few pupils, and those very young, nor any belonging to the higher orders, excepting the children of those he could not refuse to admit. He was the first, it is said, who held disputations in Latin, and who began to lecture on Virgil and the other modern poets; which the verse of Domitius Marcus points out.

Epirota tenellorum nutricula vatum.

The Epirot who,
With tender care, our unfledged poets nursed.

XVII. VERRIUS FLACCUS, a freedman, distinguished himself by a new mode of teaching; for it was his practice to exercise the wits of his scholars, by encouraging emulation among them; not only proposing the subjects on which they were to write, but offering rewards for those who were successful in the contest. These consisted of some ancient, handsome, or rare book. Being, in consequence, selected by Augustus, as preceptor to his grandsons, he transferred his entire school to the Palatium, but with the understanding that he should admit no fresh scholars. The hall in Catiline's house, (519) which had then been added to the palace, was assigned him for his school, with a yearly allowance of one hundred thousand sesterces. He died of old age, in the reign of Tiberius. There is a statue of him at Praeneste, in the semi-circle at the lower side of the forum, where he had set up calendars arranged by himself, and inscribed on slabs of marble.

XVIII. LUCIUS CRASSITIUS, a native of Tarentum, and in rank a freedman, had the cognomen of Pasides, which he afterwards changed for Pansa. His first employment was connected with the stage, and his business was to assist the writers of farces. After that, he took to giving lessons in a gallery attached to a house, until his commentary on "The Smyrna" so brought him into notice, that the following lines were written on him:

Uni Crassitio se credere Smyrna probavit.
Desinite indocti, conjugio hanc petere.
Soli Crassitio se dixit nubere velle:
Intima cui soli nota sua exstiterint.

Crassitius only counts on Smyrna's love,
Fruitless the wooings of the unlettered prove;
Crassitius she receives with loving arms,

For he alone unveiled her hidden charms.

However, after having taught many scholars, some of whom were of high rank, and amongst others, Julius Antonius, the triumvir's son, so that he might be even compared with Verrius Flaccus; he suddenly closed his school, and joined the sect of Quintus Septimius, the philosopher.

XIX. SCRIBONIUS APHRODISIUS, the slave and disciple of Orbilius, who was afterwards redeemed and presented with his freedom by Scribonia, the daughter of Libo who had been the wife of Augustus, taught in the time of Verrius; whose books on Orthography he also revised, not without some severe remarks on his pursuits and conduct.

XX. C. JULIUS HYGINUS, a freedman of Augustus, was a native of Spain, (although some say he was born at Alexandria,) (520) and that when that city was taken, Caesar brought him, then a boy, to Rome. He closely and carefully imitated Cornelius Alexander, a Greek grammarian, who, for his antiquarian knowledge, was called by many Polyhistor, and by some History. He had the charge of the Palatine library, but that did not prevent him from having many scholars; and he was one of the most intimate friends of the poet Ovid, and of Caius Licinius, the historian, a man of consular rank, who has related that Hyginus died very poor, and was supported by his liberality as long as he lived. Julius Modestus, who was a freedman of Hyginus, followed the footsteps of his patron in his studies and learning.

XXI. CAIUS MELISSUS, a native of Spoletum, was free-born, but having been exposed by his parents in consequence of quarrels between them, he received a good education from his foster-father, by whose care and industry he was brought up, and was made a present of to Mecaenas, as a grammarian. Finding himself valued and treated as a friend, he preferred to continue in his state of servitude, although he was claimed by his mother, choosing rather his present condition than that which his real origin entitled him to. In consequence, his freedom was speedily given him, and he even became a favourite with Augustus. By his appointment he was made curator of the library in the portico of Octavia; and, as he himself informs us, undertook to compose, when he was a sexagenarian, his books of "Witticisms," which are now called "The Book of Jests." Of these he accomplished one hundred and fifty, to which he afterwards added several more. He (521) also composed a new kind of story about those who wore the toga, and called it "Trabeat."

XXII. MARCUS POMPONIUS MARCELLUS, a very severe critic of the Latin tongue, who sometimes pleaded causes, in a certain address on the plaintiff's behalf, persisted in charging his adversary with making a solecism,

until Cassius Severus appealed to the judges to grant an adjournment until his client should produce another grammarian, as he was not prepared to enter into a controversy respecting a solecism, instead of defending his client's rights. On another occasion, when he had found fault with some expression in a speech made by Tiberius, Atteius Capito affirmed, "that if it was not Latin, at least it would be so in time to come;" "Capito is wrong," cried Marcellus; "it is certainly in your power, Caesar, to confer the freedom of the city on whom you please, but you cannot make words for us." Asinius Gallus tells us that he was formerly a pugilist, in the following epigram.

Qui caput ad laevam deicit, glossemata nobis
Praecipit; os nullum, vel potius pugilis.

Who ducked his head, to shun another's fist,
Though he expound old saws, — yet, well I wist,
With pummelled nose and face, he's but a pugilist.

XXIII. REMMIUS PALAEMON, of Vicentia, the offspring of a bond-woman, acquired the rudiments of learning, first as the companion of a weaver's, and then of his master's, son, at school. Being afterwards made free, he taught at Rome, where he stood highest in the rank of the grammarians; but he was so infamous for every sort of vice, that Tiberius and his successor Claudius publicly denounced him as an improper person to have the education of boys and young men entrusted to him. Still, his powers of narrative and agreeable style of speaking made him very popular; besides which, he had the gift of making extempore verses. He also wrote a great many in (522) various and uncommon metres. His insolence was such, that he called Marcus Varro "a hog;" and bragged that "letters were born and would perish with him;" and that "his name was not introduced inadvertently in the *Bucolics*, as Virgil divined that a Palaemon would some day be the judge of all poets and poems." He also boasted, that having once fallen into the hands of robbers, they spared him on account of the celebrity his name had acquired.

He was so luxurious, that he took the bath many times in a day; nor did his means suffice for his extravagance, although his school brought him in forty thousand sesterces yearly, and he received not much less from his private estate, which he managed with great care. He also kept a broker's shop for the sale of old clothes; and it is well known that a vine, he planted himself, yielded three hundred and fifty bottles of wine. But the greatest of all his vices was his unbridled licentiousness in his commerce with women, which he carried to the

utmost pitch of foul indecency . They tell a droll story of some one who met him in a crowd, and upon his offering to kiss him, could not escape the salute, “Master,” said he, “do you want to mouth every one you meet with in a hurry?”

XXIV. MARCUS VALERIUS PROBUS, of Berytus, after long aspiring to the rank of centurion, being at last tired of waiting, devoted himself to study. He had met with some old authors at a bookseller’s shop in the provinces, where the memory of ancient times still lingers, and is not quite forgotten, as it is at Rome. Being anxious carefully to reperuse these, and afterwards to make acquaintance with other works of the same kind, he found himself an object of contempt, and was laughed (523) at for his lectures, instead of their gaining him fame or profit. Still, however, he persisted in his purpose, and employed himself in correcting, illustrating, and adding notes to many works which he had collected, his labours being confined to the province of a grammarian, and nothing more. He had, properly speaking, no scholars, but some few followers. For he never taught in such a way as to maintain the character of a master; but was in the habit of admitting one or two, perhaps at most three or four, disciples in the afternoon; and while he lay at ease and chatted freely on ordinary topics, he occasionally read some book to them, but that did not often happen. He published a few slight treatises on some subtle questions, besides which, he left a large collection of observations on the language of the ancients.

LIVES OF EMINENT RHETORICIANS.

I. Rhetoric, also, as well as Grammar, was not introduced amongst us till a late period, and with still more difficulty, inasmuch as we find that, at times, the practice of it was even prohibited. In order to leave no doubt of this, I will subjoin an ancient decree of the senate, as well as an edict of the censors:— “In the consulship of Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Palerius Messala : the praetor Marcus Pomponius moved the senate, that an act be passed respecting Philosophers and Rhetoricians. In this matter, they have decreed as follows: ‘It shall be lawful for M. Pomponius, the praetor, to take such measures, and make such provisions, as the good of the Republic, and the duty of his office, require, that no Philosophers or Rhetoricians be suffered at Rome.’”

After some interval, the censor Cnaeus Domitius Aenobarbus and Lucius Licinius Crassus issued the following edict upon the same subject: “It is reported to us that certain persons have instituted a new kind of discipline; that our youth resort to their schools; that they have assumed the title of Latin Rhetoricians; and that young men waste their time there for whole days together. Our ancestors have ordained what instruction it is fitting their children should receive, and what schools they should attend. These novelties, contrary to the customs and instructions of our ancestors, we neither approve, nor do they appear to us good. Wherefore it appears to be our duty that we should notify our judgment both to those who keep such schools, and those who are in the practice of frequenting them, that they meet our disapprobation.”

However, by slow degrees, rhetoric manifested itself to be a (525) useful and honourable study, and many persons devoted themselves to it, both as a means of defence and of acquiring reputation. Cicero declaimed in Greek until his praetorship, but afterwards, as he grew older, in Latin also; and even in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, whom he calls “his great and noble disciples.” Some historians state that Cneius Pompey resumed the practice of declaiming even during the civil war, in order to be better prepared to argue against Caius Curio, a young man of great talents, to whom the defence of Caesar was entrusted. They say, likewise, that it was not forgotten by Mark Antony, nor by Augustus, even during the war of Modena. Nero also declaimed even after he became emperor, in the first year of his reign, which he had done before in public but twice. Many speeches of orators were also published. In consequence, public favour was so much attracted to the study of rhetoric, that a vast number of professors and learned men devoted themselves to it; and it flourished to such a degree, that some of them raised themselves by it to the rank of senators and

the highest offices.

But the same mode of teaching was not adopted by all, nor, indeed, did individuals always confine themselves to the same system, but each varied his plan of teaching according to circumstances. For they were accustomed, in stating their argument with the utmost clearness, to use figures and apologies, to put cases, as circumstances required, and to relate facts, sometimes briefly and succinctly, and, at other times, more at large and with greater feeling. Nor did they omit, on occasion, to resort to translations from the Greek, and to expatiate in the praise, or to launch their censures on the faults, of illustrious men. They also dealt with matters connected with every-day life, pointing out such as are useful and necessary, and such as are hurtful and needless. They had occasion often to support the authority of fabulous accounts, and to detract from that of historical narratives, which sort the Greeks call "Propositions," "Refutations" and "Corroboration," until by a gradual process they have exhausted these topics, and arrive at the gist of the argument.

Among the ancients, subjects of controversy were drawn either from history, as indeed some are even now, or from (526) actual facts, of recent occurrence. It was, therefore, the custom to state them precisely, with details of the names of places. We certainly so find them collected and published, and it may be well to give one or two of them literally, by way of example:

"A company of young men from the city, having made an excursion to Ostia in the summer season, and going down to the beach, fell in with some fishermen who were casting their nets in the sea. Having bargained with them for the haul, whatever it might turn out to be, for a certain sum, they paid down the money. They waited a long time while the nets were being drawn, and when at last they were dragged on shore, there was no fish in them, but some gold sewn up in a basket. The buyers claim the haul as theirs, the fishermen assert that it belongs to them."

Again: "Some dealers having to land from a ship at Brundisium a cargo of slaves, among which there was a handsome boy of great value, they, in order to deceive the collectors of the customs, smuggled him ashore in the dress of a freeborn youth, with the bullum hung about his neck. The fraud easily escaped detection. They proceed to Rome; the affair becomes the subject of judicial inquiry; it is alleged that the boy was entitled to his freedom, because his master had voluntarily treated him as free."

Formerly, they called these by a Greek term, *syntaxeis*, but of late "controversies;" but they may be either fictitious cases, or those which come under trial in the courts. Of the eminent professors of this science, of whom any memorials are extant, it would not be easy to find many others than those of

whom I shall now proceed to give an account.

II. LUCIUS PLOTIUS GALLUS. Of him Marcus Tullius Cicero thus writes to Marcus Titinnius : “I remember well that when we were boys, one Lucius Plotius first began to teach Latin; and as great numbers flocked to his school, so that all who were most devoted to study were eager to take lessons from him, it was a great trouble to me that I too was not allowed to do so. I was prevented, however, by the decided opinion (527) of men of the greatest learning, who considered that it was best to cultivate the genius by the study of Greek.” This same Gallus, for he lived to a great age, was pointed at by M. Caelius, in a speech which he was forced to make in his own cause, as having supplied his accuser, Atracinus, with materials for his charge. Suppressing his name, he says that such a rhetorician was like barley bread compared to a wheaten loaf, — windy, chaffy, and coarse.

III. LUCIUS OCTACILIUS PILITUS is said to have been a slave, and, according to the old custom, chained to the door like a watch-dog; until, having been presented with his freedom for his genius and devotion to learning, he drew up for his patron the act of accusation in a cause he was prosecuting. After that, becoming a professor of rhetoric, he gave instructions to Cneius Pompey the Great, and composed an account of his actions, as well as of those of his father, being the first freedman, according to the opinion of Cornelius Nepos, who ventured to write history, which before his time had not been done by any one who was not of the highest ranks in society.

IV. About this time, EPIDIUS having fallen into disgrace for bringing a false accusation, opened a school of instruction, in which he taught, among others, Mark Antony and Augustus. On one occasion Caius Canutius jeered them for presuming to belong to the party of the consul Isauricus in his administration of the republic; upon which he replied, that he would rather be the disciple of Isauricus, than of Epidius, the false accuser. This Epidius claimed to be descended from Epidius Nuncio, who, as (528) ancient traditions assert, fell into the fountain of the river Sarnus when the streams were overflowed, and not being afterwards found, was reckoned among the number of the gods.

V. SEXTUS CLODIUS, a native of Sicily, a professor both of Greek and Latin eloquence, had bad eyes and a facetious tongue. It was a saying of his, that he lost a pair of eyes from his intimacy with Mark Antony, the triumvir. Of his wife, Fulvia, when there was a swelling in one of her cheeks, he said that “she tempted the point of his style;” nor did Antony think any the worse of him for the joke, but quite enjoyed it; and soon afterwards, when Antony was consul, he even made him a large grant of land, which Cicero charges him with in his Philippics. “You patronize,” he said, “a master of the schools for the sake of his

buffoonery, and make a rhetorician one of your pot-companions; allowing him to cut his jokes on any one he pleased; a witty man, no doubt, but it was an easy matter to say smart things of such as you and your companions. But listen, Conscript Fathers, while I tell you what reward was given to this rhetorician, and let the wounds of the republic be laid bare to view. You assigned two thousand acres of the Leontine territory to Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician, and not content with that, exonerated the estate from all taxes. Hear this, and learn from the extravagance of the grant, how little wisdom is displayed in your acts.”

VI. CAIUS ALBUTIUS SILUS, of Novara, while, in the execution (529) of the office of edile in his native place, he was sitting for the administration of justice, was dragged by the feet from the tribunal by some persons against whom he was pronouncing a decree. In great indignation at this usage, he made straight for the gate of the town, and proceeded to Rome. There he was admitted to fellowship, and lodged, with Plancus the orator, whose practice it was, before he made a speech in public, to set up some one to take the contrary side in the argument. The office was undertaken by Albutius with such success, that he silenced Plancus, who did not venture to put himself in competition with him. This bringing him into notice, he collected an audience of his own, and it was his custom to open the question proposed for debate, sitting; but as he warmed with the subject, he stood up, and made his peroration in that posture. His declamations were of different kinds; sometimes brilliant and polished, at others, that they might not be thought to savour too much of the schools, he curtailed them of all ornament, and used only familiar phrases. He also pleaded causes, but rarely, being employed in such as were of the highest importance, and in every case undertaking the peroration only.

In the end, he gave up practising in the forum, partly from shame, partly from fear. For, in a certain trial before the court of the One Hundred, having lashed the defendant as a man void of natural affection for his parents, he called upon him by a bold figure of speech, “to swear by the ashes of his father and mother which lay unburied;” his adversary taking him up for the suggestion, and the judges frowning upon it, he lost his cause, and was much blamed. At another time, on a trial for murder at Milan, before Lucius Piso, the proconsul, having to defend the culprit, he worked himself up to such a pitch of vehemence, that in a crowded court, who loudly applauded him, notwithstanding all the efforts of the lictor to maintain order, he broke out into a lamentation on the miserable state of Italy, then in danger of being again reduced, he said, into (530) the form of a province, and turning to the statue of Marcus Brutus, which stood in the Forum, he invoked him as “the founder and vindicator of the liberties of the people.” For this he narrowly escaped a prosecution. Suffering, at an advanced period of life,

from an ulcerated tumour, he returned to Novara, and calling the people together in a public assembly, addressed them in a set speech, of considerable length, explaining the reasons which induced him to put an end to existence: and this he did by abstaining from food.

LIVES OF THE POETS.

THE LIFE OF TERENCE.

Publius Terentius Afer, a native of Carthage, was a slave, at Rome, of the senator Terentius Lucanus, who, struck by his abilities and handsome person, gave him not only a liberal education in his youth, but his freedom when he arrived at years of maturity. Some say that he was a captive taken in war, but this, as Fenestella informs us, could by no means have been the case, since both his birth and death took place in the interval between the termination of the second Punic war and the commencement of the third; nor, even supposing that he had been taken prisoner by the Numidian or Getulian tribes, could he have fallen into the hands of a Roman general, as there was no commercial intercourse between the Italians and Africans until after the fall of Carthage. Terence lived in great familiarity with many persons of high station, and especially with Scipio Africanus, and Caius Delius, whose favour he is even supposed to have purchased by the foulest means. But Fenestella reverses the charge, contending that Terence was older than either of them. Cornelius Nepos, however, (532) informs us that they were all of nearly equal age; and Porcias intimates a suspicion of this criminal commerce in the following passage: —

“While Terence plays the wanton with the great, and recommends himself to them by the meretricious ornaments of his person; while, with greedy ears, he drinks in the divine melody of Africanus’s voice; while he thinks of being a constant guest at the table of Furius, and the handsome Laelius; while he thinks that he is fondly loved by them, and often invited to Albanum for his youthful beauty, he finds himself stripped of his property, and reduced to the lowest state of indigence. Then, withdrawing from the world, he betook himself to Greece, where he met his end, dying at Strymphalos, a town in Arcadia. What availed him the friendship of Scipio, of Laelius, or of Furius, three of the most affluent nobles of that age? They did not even minister to his necessities so much as to provide him a hired house, to which his slave might return with the intelligence of his master’s death.”

He wrote comedies, the earliest of which, *The Andria*, having to be performed at the public spectacles given by the aediles, he was commanded to read it first before Caecilius. Having been introduced while Caecilius was at supper, and being meanly dressed, he is reported to have read the beginning of the play seated on a low stool near the great man’s couch. But after reciting a few verses, he was invited to take his place at table, and, having supped with his host, went through the rest to his great delight. This play and five others were received by the public with similar applause, although Volcatius, in his enumeration of them,

says that “The Hecyra must not be reckoned among these.”

The Eunuch was even acted twice the same day, and earned more money than any comedy, whoever was the writer, had (533) ever done before, namely, eight thousand sesterces; besides which, a certain sum accrued to the author for the title. But Varro prefers the opening of The Adelphi to that of Menander. It is very commonly reported that Terence was assisted in his works by Laelius and Scipio, with whom he lived in such great intimacy. He gave some currency to this report himself, nor did he ever attempt to defend himself against it, except in a light way; as in the prologue to The Adelphi:

Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nohiles
Hunc adjutare, assidueque una scribere;
Quod illi maledictum vehemens existimant,
Eam laudem hic ducit maximam: cum illis placet,
Qui vobis universis et populo placent;
Quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio,
Suo quisque tempore usus est sine superbia.

—— ——— For this,
Which malice tells that certain noble persons
Assist the bard, and write in concert with him,
That which they deem a heavy slander, he
Esteems his greatest praise: that he can please
Those who in war, in peace, as counsellors,
Have rendered you the dearest services,
And ever borne their faculties so meekly.
Colman.

He appears to have protested against this imputation with less earnestness, because the notion was far from being disagreeable to Laelius and Scipio. It therefore gained ground, and prevailed in after-times.

Quintus Memmius, in his speech in his own defence, says “Publius Africanus, who borrowed from Terence a character which he had acted in private, brought it on the stage in his name.” Nepos tells us he found in some book that C. Laelius, when he was on some occasion at Puteoli, on the calends [the first] of March, being requested by his wife to rise early, (534) begged her not to suffer him to be disturbed, as he had gone to bed late, having been engaged in writing with more than usual success. On her asking him to tell her what he had been writing, he repeated the verses which are found in the Heautontimoroumenos:

Satis pol proterve me Syri promessa — Heauton. IV. iv. 1.
I' faith! the rogue Syrus's impudent pretences —

Santra is of opinion that if Terence required any assistance in his compositions, he would not have had recourse to Scipio and Laelius, who were then very young men, but rather to Sulpicius Gallus, an accomplished scholar, who had been the first to introduce his plays at the games given by the consuls; or to Q. Fabius Labeo, or Marcus Popilius, both men of consular rank, as well as poets. It was for this reason that, in alluding to the assistance he had received, he did not speak of his coadjutors as very young men, but as persons of whose services the people had full experience in peace, in war, and in the administration of affairs.

After he had given his comedies to the world, at a time when he had not passed his thirty-fifth year, in order to avoid suspicion, as he found others publishing their works under his name, or else to make himself acquainted with the modes of life and habits of the Greeks, for the purpose of exhibiting them in his plays, he withdrew from home, to which he never returned. Volcatius gives this account of his death:

Sed ut Afer sei populo dedit comoedias,
Iter hic in Asiam fecit. Navem cum semel
Conscendit, visus nunquam est. Sic vita vacat.

(535) When Afer had produced six plays for the entertainment of the people,
He embarked for Asia; but from the time he went on board ship
He was never seen again. Thus he ended his life.

Q. Consentius reports that he perished at sea on his voyage back from Greece, and that one hundred and eight plays, of which he had made a version from Menander, were lost with him. Others say that he died at Stymphalos, in Arcadia, or in Leucadia, during the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, worn out with a severe illness, and with grief and regret for the loss of his baggage, which he had sent forward in a ship that was wrecked, and contained the last new plays he had written.

In person, Terence is reported to have been rather short and slender, with a dark complexion. He had an only daughter, who was afterwards married to a Roman knight; and he left also twenty acres of garden ground, on the Appian Way, at the Villa of Mars. I, therefore, wonder the more how Porcius could have

written the verses,

—— — nihil Publius
Scipio profuit, nihil et Laelius, nihil Furius,
Tres per idem tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime.
Eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit conductitiam
Saltem ut esset, quo referret obitum domini servulus.

Afranius places him at the head of all the comic writers, declaring, in his Compitalia,

Terentio non similem dices quempiam.
Terence's equal cannot soon be found.

On the other hand, Volcatius reckons him inferior not only (536) to Naevius, Plautus, and Caecilius, but also to Licinius. Cicero pays him this high compliment, in his *Limo* —

Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medio populi sedatis vocibus offers,
Quidquid come loquens, ac omnia dulcia dicens.

“You, only, Terence, translated into Latin, and clothed in choice language the plays of Menander, and brought them before the public, who, in crowded audiences, hung upon hushed applause —

Grace marked each line, and every period charmed.”
So also Caius Caesar:

Tu quoque tu in summis, O dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator,
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut aequato virtus polleret honore
Cum Graecis, neque in hoc despectus parte jaceres!
Unum hoc maceror, et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.

“You, too, who divide your honours with Menander, will take your place among poets of the highest order, and justly too, such is the purity of your style. Would only that to your graceful diction was added more comic force, that your works might equal in merit the Greek masterpieces, and your inferiority in this

particular should not expose you to censure. This is my only regret; in this, Terence, I grieve to say you are wanting.”

THE LIFE OF JUVENAL.

D. JUNIUS JUVENALIS, who was either the son of a wealthy freedman, or brought up by him, it is not known which, declaimed till the middle of life, more from the bent of his inclination, than from any desire to prepare himself either for the schools or the forum. But having composed a short satire, which was clever enough, on Paris, the actor of pantomimes, (537) and also on the poet of Claudius Nero, who was puffed up by having held some inferior military rank for six months only; he afterwards devoted himself with much zeal to that style of writing. For a while indeed, he had not the courage to read them even to a small circle of auditors, but it was not long before he recited his satires to crowded audiences, and with entire success; and this he did twice or thrice, inserting new lines among those which he had originally composed.

Quod non dant procures, dabit histrio, tu Camerinos,
Et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas.
Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.

Behold an actor's patronage affords
A surer means of rising than a lord's!
And wilt thou still the Camerino's court,
Or to the halls of Bareas resort,
When tribunes Pelopea can create
And Philomela praefects, who shall rule the state?

At that time the player was in high favour at court, and many of those who fawned upon him were daily raised to posts of honour. Juvenal therefore incurred the suspicion of having covertly satirized occurrences which were then passing, and, although eighty years old at that time, he was immediately removed from the city, being sent into honourable banishment as praefect of a cohort, which was under orders to proceed to a station at the extreme frontier of Egypt. That (538) sort of punishment was selected, as it appeared severe enough for an offence which was venial, and a mere piece of drollery. However, he died very soon afterwards, worn down by grief, and weary of his life.

THE LIFE OF PERSIUS.

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS was born the day before the Nones of December ^[4th Dec.], in the consulship of Fabius Persicus and L. Vitellius. He died on the eighth of the calends of December ^[24th Nov.] in the consulship of Rubrius Marius and Asinius Gallus. Though born at Volterra, in Etruria, he was a Roman knight, allied both by blood and marriage to persons of the highest rank. He ended his days at an estate he had at the eighth milestone on the Appian Way. His father, Flaccus, who died when he was barely six years old, left him under the care of guardians, and his mother, Fulvia Silenna, who afterwards married Fusius, a Roman knight, buried him also in a very few years. Persius Flaccus pursued his studies at Volterra till he was twelve years old, and then continued them at Rome, under Remmius Palaemon, the grammarian, and Verginius Flaccus, the rhetorician. Arriving at the age of twenty-one, he formed a friendship with Annaeus Cornutus, which lasted through life; and from him he learned the rudiments of philosophy. Among his earliest friends were Caesius Bassus, and Calpurnius Statura; the latter of whom died while Persius himself was yet in his youth. Servilius (539) Numanus, he revered as a father. Through Cornutus he was introduced to Annaeus, as well as to Lucan, who was of his own age, and also a disciple of Cornutus. At that time Cornutus was a tragic writer; he belonged to the sect of the Stoics, and left behind him some philosophical works. Lucan was so delighted with the writings of Persius Flaccus, that he could scarcely refrain from giving loud tokens of applause while the author was reciting them, and declared that they had the true spirit of poetry. It was late before Persius made the acquaintance of Seneca, and then he was not much struck with his natural endowments. At the house of Cornutus he enjoyed the society of two very learned and excellent men, who were then zealously devoting themselves to philosophical enquiries, namely, Claudius Agatarnus, a physician from Lacedaemon, and Petronius Aristocrates, of Magnesia, men whom he held in the highest esteem, and with whom he vied in their studies, as they were of his own age, being younger than Cornutus. During nearly the last ten years of his life he was much beloved by Thraseas, so that he sometimes travelled abroad in his company; and his cousin Arria was married to him.

Persius was remarkable for gentle manners, for a modesty amounting to bashfulness, a handsome form, and an attachment to his mother, sister, and aunt, which was most exemplary. He was frugal and chaste. He left his mother and sister twenty thousand sesterces, requesting his mother, in a written codicil, to present to Cornutus, as some say, one hundred sesterces, or as others, twenty

pounds of wrought silver, besides about seven hundred books, which, indeed, included his whole library. Cornutus, however, would only take the books, and gave up the legacy to the sisters, whom his brother had constituted his heirs.

He wrote seldom, and not very fast; even the work we possess he left incomplete. Some verses are wanting at the end of the book, but Cornutus thoughtlessly recited it, as if (540) it was finished; and on Caesius Bassus requesting to be allowed to publish it, he delivered it to him for that purpose. In his younger days, Persius had written a play, as well as an Itinerary, with several copies of verses on Thraseas' father-in-law, and Arria's mother, who had made away with herself before her husband. But Cornutus used his whole influence with the mother of Persius to prevail upon her to destroy these compositions. As soon as his book of Satires was published, all the world began to admire it, and were eager to buy it up. He died of a disease in the stomach, in the thirtieth year of his age. But no sooner had he left school and his masters, than he set to work with great vehemence to compose satires, from having read the tenth book of Lucilius; and made the beginning of that book his model; presently launching his invectives all around with so little scruple, that he did not spare cotemporary poets and orators, and even lashed Nero himself, who was then the reigning prince. The verse ran as follows:

Auriculas asini Mida rex habet;
King Midas has an ass's ears;

but Cornutus altered it thus;

Auriculas asini quis non habet?
Who has not an ass's ears?

in order that it might not be supposed that it was meant to apply to Nero.

THE LIFE OF HORACE.

HORATIUS FLACCUS was a native of Venusium, his father having been, by his own account, a freedman and collector of taxes, but, as it is generally believed, a dealer in salted (541) provisions; for some one with whom Horace had a quarrel, jeered him, by saying; “How often have I seen your father wiping his nose with his fist?” In the battle of Philippi, he served as a military tribune, which post he filled at the instance of Marcus Brutus, the general; and having obtained a pardon, on the overthrow of his party, he purchased the office of scribe to a quaestor. Afterwards insinuating himself first, into the good graces of Mecaenas, and then of Augustus, he secured no small share in the regard of both. And first, how much Mecaenas loved him may be seen by the epigram in which he says:

Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus jam diligo, Titium sodalem,
Ginno tu videas strigosiolem.

But it was more strongly exhibited by Augustus, in a short sentence uttered in his last moments: “Be as mindful of Horatius Flaccus as you are of me!” Augustus offered to appoint him his secretary, signifying his wishes to Mecaenas in a letter to the following effect: “Hitherto I have been able to write my own epistles to friends; but now I am too much occupied, and in an infirm state of health. I wish, therefore, to deprive you of our Horace: let him leave, therefore, your luxurious table and come to the palace, and he shall assist me in writing my letters.” And upon his refusing to accept the office, he neither exhibited the smallest displeasure, nor ceased to heap upon him tokens of his regard. Letters of his are extant, from which I will make some short extracts to establish this: “Use your influence over me with the same freedom as you would do if we were living together as friends. In so doing you will be perfectly right, and guilty of no impropriety; for I could wish that our intercourse should be on that footing, if your health admitted of it.” And again: “How I hold you in memory you may learn (542) from our friend Septimius, for I happened to mention you when he was present. And if you are so proud as to scorn my friendship, that is no reason why I should lightly esteem yours, in return.” Besides this, among other drolleries, he often called him, “his most immaculate penis,” and “his charming little man,” and loaded him from time to time with proofs of his munificence. He admired his works so much, and was so convinced of their enduring fame, that

he directed him to compose the Secular Poem, as well as that on the victory of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus over the Vindelici; and for this purpose urged him to add, after a long interval, a fourth book of Odes to the former three. After reading his “*Sermones*,” in which he found no mention of himself, he complained in these terms: “You must know that I am very angry with you, because in most of your works of this description you do not choose to address yourself to me. Are you afraid that, in times to come, your reputation will suffer; in case it should appear that you lived on terms of intimate friendship with me?” And he wrung from him the eulogy which begins with,

Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus:
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes: in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar. — Epist. ii. i.

While you alone sustain the important weight
Of Rome’s affairs, so various and so great;
While you the public weal with arms defend,
Adorn with morals, and with laws amend;
Shall not the tedious letter prove a crime,
That steals one moment of our Caesar’s time. — Francis.

In person, Horace was short and fat, as he is described by himself in his Satires, and by Augustus in the following letter: “Dionysius has brought me your small volume, which, little as it is, not to blame you for that, I shall judge favourably. You seem to me, however, to be afraid lest your volumes should be bigger than yourself. But if you are short in stature, you are corpulent enough. You may, therefore, (543) if you will, write in a quart, when the size of your volume is as large round as your paunch.”

It is reported that he was immoderately addicted to venery. [For he is said to have had obscene pictures so disposed in a bedchamber lined with mirrors, that, whichever way he looked, lascivious images might present themselves to his view.] He lived for the most part in the retirement of his farm, on the confines of the Sabine and Tiburtine territories, and his house is shewn in the neighbourhood of a little wood not far from Tibur. Some Elegies ascribed to him, and a prose Epistle apparently written to commend himself to Mecaenas, have been handed down to us; but I believe that neither of them are genuine works of his; for the Elegies are commonplace, and the Epistle is wanting in perspicuity, a fault which cannot be imputed to his style. He was born on the sixth of the ides of December

[27th December], in the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus; and died on the fifth of the calends of December [27th November], in the consulship of Caius Marcius Censorinus and Caius Asinius Gallus; having completed his fifty-ninth year. He made a nuncupatory will, declaring Augustus his heir, not being able, from the violence of his disorder, to sign one in due form. He was interred and lies buried on the skirts of the Esquiline Hill, near the tomb of Mecaenas.

(544) M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS, a native of Corduba, first tried the powers of his genius in an encomium on Nero, at the Quinquennial games. He afterwards recited his poem on the Civil War carried on between Pompey and Caesar. His vanity was so immense, and he gave such liberty to his tongue, that in some preface, comparing his age and his first efforts with those of Virgil, he had the assurance to say: "And what now remains for me is to deal with a gnat." In his early youth, after being long informed of the sort of life his father led in the country, in consequence of an unhappy marriage, he was recalled from Athens by Nero, who admitted him into the circle of his friends, and even gave him the honour of the quaestorship; but he did not long remain in favour. Smarting at this, and having publicly stated that Nero had withdrawn, all of a sudden, without communicating with the senate, and without any other motive than his own recreation, after this he did not cease to assail the emperor both with foul words and with acts which are still notorious. So that on one occasion, when easing his bowels in the common privy, there being a louder explosion than usual, he gave vent to the nemistych of Nero: "One would suppose it was thundering under ground," in the hearing of those who were sitting there for the same purpose, and who took to their heels in much consternation. In a poem also, which was in every one's hands, he severely lashed both the emperor and his most powerful adherents.

At length, he became nearly the most active leader in Piso's conspiracy; and while he dwelt without reserve in many quarters on the glory of those who dipped their hands in the (545) blood of tyrants, he launched out into open threats of violence, and carried them so far as to boast that he would cast the emperor's head at the feet of his neighbours. When, however, the plot was discovered, he did not exhibit any firmness of mind. A confession was wrung from him without much difficulty; and, humbling himself to the most abject entreaties, he even named his innocent mother as one of the conspirators; hoping that his want of natural affection would give him favour in the eyes of a parricidal prince. Having obtained permission to choose his mode of death, he wrote notes to his father, containing corrections of some of his verses, and, having made a full meal, allowed a physician to open the veins in his arm. I have also heard it said that his poems were offered for sale, and commented

upon, not only with care and diligence, but also in a trifling way.

THE LIFE OF PLINY.

PLINIUS SECUNDUS, a native of New Como, having served in (546) the wars with strict attention to his duties, in the rank of a knight, distinguished himself, also, by the great integrity with which he administered the high functions of procurator for a long period in the several provinces intrusted to his charge. But still he devoted so much attention to literary pursuits, that it would not have been an easy matter for a person who enjoyed entire leisure to have written more than he did. He comprised, in twenty volumes, an account of all the various wars carried on in successive periods with the German tribes. Besides this, he wrote a Natural History, which extended to seven books. He fell a victim to the calamitous event which occurred in Campania. For, having the command of the fleet at Misenum, when Vesuvius was throwing up a fiery eruption, he put to sea with his gallies for the purpose of exploring the causes of the phenomenon close on the spot . But being prevented by contrary winds from sailing back, he was suffocated in the dense cloud of dust and ashes. Some, however, think that he was killed by his slave, having implored him to put an end to his sufferings, when he was reduced to the last extremity by the fervent heat.

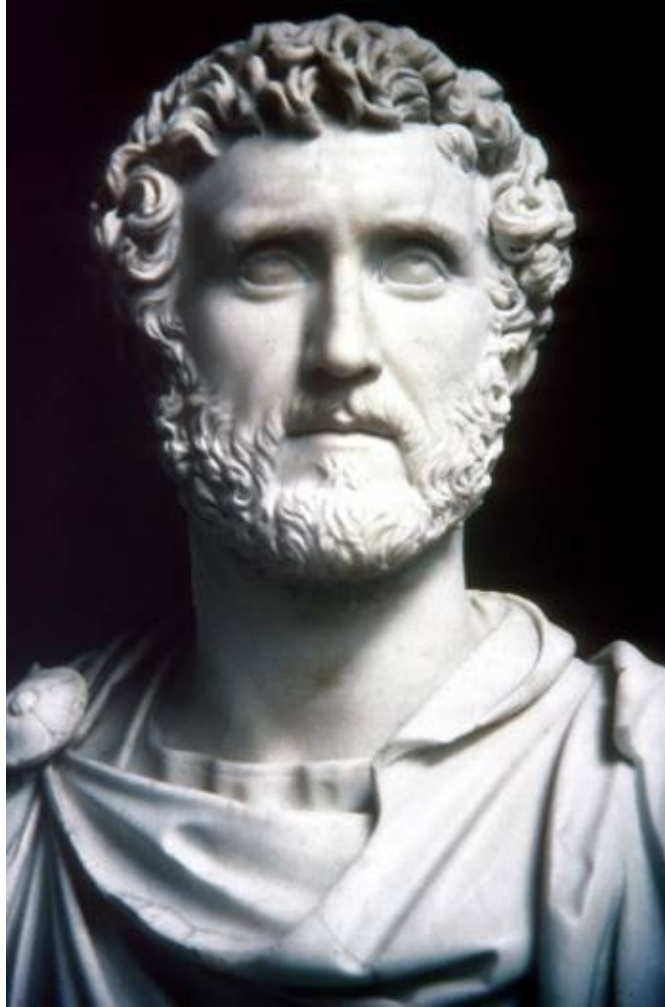
AUGUSTAN HISTORY



Translated by Susan H. Ballou

Suetonius' *The Twelve Caesars* served as a model for the *Historia Augusta*, a later collection of biographies of second and early third century Emperors by an unknown group of writers. Forming a continuation of Suetonius' work, the *Historia Augusta* is a collective biography, partly fictionalised, of Roman emperors and usurpers, beginning with Hadrian (117-138 AD) and culminating with Numerian, who died in 282 AD.

Traditionally the work was considered a compilation of writings by six different authors, collectively known as the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and was written during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine I, but the true authorship of the work has long been a matter of controversy among scholars. One major source of contention questions the nature of the sources that the texts use and how much of the content is in fact complete fiction. Nevertheless, the *Historia Augusta* is the only continuous account for this time period of Roman history and it serves as an example of how influential Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* was on subsequent historical writing.



A bust of Antoninus Pius, one of the Caesars to feature in the Augusta Historia

CONTENTS

[The Life of Hadrian](#)
[The Life of Aelius](#)
[The Life of Antoninus Pius](#)
[The Life of Marcus Aurelius](#)
[The Life of Lucius Verus](#)
[The Life of Avidius Cassius](#)
[The Life of Commodus](#)
[The Life of Pertinax](#)
[The Life of Didius Julianus](#)
[The Life of Septimius Severus](#)
[The Life of Pescennius Niger](#)
[The Life of Clodius Albinus](#)
[The Life of Antoninus Caracalla](#)
[The Life of Antoninus Geta](#)
[The Life of Opellius Macrinus](#)
[The Life of Diadumenianus](#)
[The Life of Elagabalus](#)
[The Life of Severus Alexander](#)
[The Two Maximini](#)
[Maximinus the Younger](#)
[The Three Gordians](#)
[Gordian the Second.](#)
[Gordian the Third](#)
[Maximus and Balbinus](#)
[The Two Valerians](#)
[The Two Gallieni](#)
[Saloninus Gallienus](#)
[The Lives of the Thirty Pretenders](#)
[The Life of Claudius](#)
[The Life of Aurelian](#)
[The Life of Tacitus](#)
[The Life of Probus](#)
[The Lives of](#)
[Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus](#)
[The Lives of Carus, Carinus and Numerian](#)



A contemporary coin displaying the Emperor Numerian, the last of the Caesars to be featured in the Historia Augusta

The Life of Hadrian

¹¹ The original home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum, the later, Spain; for Hadrian himself relates in his autobiography that his forefathers came from Hadria, but settled at Italica in the time of the Scipios. ² The father of Hadrian was Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer, a cousin of the Emperor Trajan; his mother was Domitia Paulina, a native of Cadiz; his sister was Paulina, the wife of Servianus, his wife was Sabina, and his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus, the first of his family to be a Roman senator.

³ Hadrian was born in Rome on the ninth day before the Kalends of February in the seventh consulship of Vespasian and the fifth of Titus. ⁴ Bereft of his father at the age of ten, he became the ward of Ulpus Trajanus, his cousin, then of praetorian rank, but afterwards emperor, and of Caelius Attianus, a knight. ⁵ He then grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him "Greekling." ² He returned to his native city in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica. ² Thenceforth he was treated by Trajan as his own son, and not long afterwards he was made one of the ten judges of the inheritance-court, and, later, tribune of the Second Legion, the Adjutrix. ³ After this, when Domitian's principate was drawing to a close, he was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia. ⁴ There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology. ⁵ When Trajan was adopted by Nerva, Hadrian was sent to convey to him the army's congratulations and was at once transferred to Upper Germany. ⁶ When Nerva died, he wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan, but as he was hastening to meet him he was detained by his brother-in law, Servianus, the same man who had revealed Hadrian's extravagance and indebtedness and thus stirred Trajan's anger against him. He was further delayed by the fact that his travelling-carriage had been designedly broken, but he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated^o Servianus' personal messenger. ⁷ And now he became a favourite of Trajan's, and yet, owing to the activity of the guardians of certain boys whom Trajan loved ardently, he was not free from . . . which Gallus fostered. ⁸ Indeed, at this time he was even anxious about the Emperor's attitude towards him, and consulted the Vergilian oracle. This was the lot given out:

But who is yonder man, by olive wreath
Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears?
I see a hoary head and beard. Behold
The Roman King whose laws shall stablish Rome
Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land
Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise . . .

Others, however, declare that this prophecy came to him from the Sibylline Verses. 9 Moreover, he received a further intimation of his subsequent power, in a response which issued from the temple of Jupiter at Nicephorium and has been quoted by Apollonius of Syria, the Platonist. 10 Finally, through the good offices of Sura, he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever, and he took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister — a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus, little desired by Trajan himself.

³¹ He held the quaestorship in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articuleius, and while holding this office he read a speech of the Emperor's to the senate and provoked a laugh by his somewhat provincial accent. He thereupon gave attention to the study of Latin until he attained the utmost proficiency and fluency. 2 After his quaestorship he served as curator of the acts of the senate, and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war on terms of considerable intimacy, 3 seeing, indeed, that falling in with Trajan's habits, as he says himself, he partook freely of wine, and for this was very richly rewarded by the Emperor. 4 He was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of Candidus and Quadratus, 5 and he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors. And down to this day the emperors do not wear cloaks when they appear in public before civilians. 6 In the second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown. 7 Because of this he was presented with a diamond which Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne. 8 He held the praetorship in the second consulship of Suburanus and Servianus, and again received from Trajan two million sesterces with which to give games. 9 Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia, where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators, who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power. 10 In return for these services he was made consul. While

he was holding this office he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan, and thereupon he ceased to be an object of contempt and neglect to Trajan's friends. 11 Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor. 4 He enjoyed, too, the favour of Plotina, and it was due to her interest in him that later, at the time of the campaign against Parthia, he was appointed the legate of the Emperor. 2 At this same time he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papus and Platorius Nepos, both of the senatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus, and of Turbo, all of equestrian rank. 3 And when Palma and Celsus, always his enemies, on whom he later took vengeance, fell under suspicion of aspiring to the throne, his adoption seemed assured; 4 and it was taken wholly for granted when, through Plotina's favour, he was appointed consul for the second time. 5 That he was bribing Trajan's freedmen and courting and corrupting his favourites all the while that he was in close attendance at court, was told and generally believed.

⁶ On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption. 7 On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the anniversary of his accession.

⁸ There was, to be sure, a widely prevailing belief that Trajan, with the approval of many of his friends, had planned to appoint as his successor not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus, even to the extent of saying to Priscus: "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me". 9 And, indeed, many aver that Trajan had purposed to follow the example of Alexander of Macedonia and die without naming a successor. Again, many others declare that he had meant to send an address to the senate, requesting this body, in case aught befell him, to appoint a ruler for the Roman empire, and merely appending the names of some from among whom the senate might choose the best. 10 And the statement has even been made that it was not until after Trajan's death that Hadrian was declared adopted, and then only by means of a trick of Plotina's; for she smuggled in someone who impersonated the Emperor and spoke in a feeble voice.

⁵¹ On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors, and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world. 2 For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks, and the Sarmatians to wage war, the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya and Palestine showed the spirit of rebellion. 3

Whereupon he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, following, as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent. 4 And Parthamasiris, appointed king of the Parthians by Trajan, he assigned as ruler to the neighbouring tribes, because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians.

5 Moreover, he showed at the outset such a wish to be lenient, that although Attianus advised him by letter in the first few days of his rule to put to death Baebius Macer, the prefect of the city, in case he opposed his elevation to power, also Laberius Maximus, then in exile on an island under suspicion of designs on the throne, and likewise Crassus Frugi, he nevertheless refused to harm them. 6 Later on, however, his procurator, though without an order from Hadrian, had Crassus killed when he tried to leave the island, on the ground that he was planning a revolt. 7 He gave a double donative to the soldiers in order to ensure a favourable beginning to his principate. 8 He deprived Lusius Quietus of the command of the Moorish tribesmen, who were serving under him, and then dismissed him from the army, because he had fallen under the suspicion of having designs on the throne; and he appointed Marcus Turbo, after his reduction of Judaea, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.

9 After taking these measures he set out from Antioch to view the remains of Trajan, which were being escorted by Attianus, Plotina, and Matidia. 10 He received them formally and sent them on to Rome by ship and at once returned to Antioch; he then appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum.

6 1 Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honours for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honours than Hadrian had requested. 2 In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession, explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor. 3 Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph. 4 Also he refused for the present the title of Father of his Country, offered to him at the time of his accession and again later on, giving as his reason the fact that Augustus had not won it until late in life. 5 Of the crown-money for his triumph he remitted Italy's contribution, and lessened that of the provinces, all the while setting forth grandiloquently and in great detail the straits of the public treasury.

⁶ Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia. ⁷ He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcius Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia. ⁸ When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.

^{7.1} A plot to murder him while sacrificing was made by Nigrinus, with Lusius and a number of others as accomplices, even though Hadrian had destined Nigrinus for the succession; but Hadrian successfully evaded this plot. ² Because of this conspiracy Palma was put to death at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiae, Nigrinus at Faventia, and Lusius on his journey homeward, all by order of the senate, but contrary to the wish of Hadrian, as he says himself in his autobiography. ³ Whereupon Hadrian entrusted the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt. He then hastened to Rome in order to win over public opinion, which was hostile to him because of the belief that on one single occasion he had suffered four men of consular rank to be put to death. In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people, although in his absence three aurei had already been given to each of the citizens. ⁴ In the senate, too, he cleared himself of blame for what had happened, and pledged himself never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the senate. ⁵ He established a regular imperial post, in order to relieve the local officials of such a burden. ⁶ Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse, and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased. ⁷ He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-purse, and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury. ⁸ He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money. ⁹ He supplemented the property of senators impoverished through no fault of their own, making the allowance in each case proportionate to the number of children, so that it might be enough for a senatorial career; to many, indeed, he paid punctually on the date the amount allotted for their living. ¹⁰ Sums of money sufficient to enable men to hold office he bestowed, not on his friends alone, but also on many far and wide, ¹¹ and by his donations he helped a number of women to sustain life. ¹² He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

⁸¹ The foremost members of the senate he admitted to close intimacy with the emperor's majesty. 2 All circus-games decreed in his honour he refused, except those held to celebrate his birthday. 3 Both in meetings of the people and in the senate he used to say that he would so administer the commonwealth that men would know that it was not his own but the people's. 4 Having himself been consul three times, he reappointed many to the consulship for the third time and men without number to a second term; 5 his own third consulship he held for only four months, and during his term he often administered justice. He always attended regular meetings of the senate if he was present in Rome or even in the neighbourhood. 7 In the appointment of senators he showed the utmost caution and thereby greatly increased the dignity of the senate, and when he removed Attianus from the post of prefect of the guard and created him a senator with consular honours, he made it clear that he had no greater honour which he could bestow upon him. 8 Nor did he allow knights to try cases involving senators whether he was present at the trial or not. 9 For at that time it was customary for the emperor, when he tried cases, to call to his council both senators and knights and give a verdict based on their joint decision. 10 Finally, he denounced those emperors who had not shown this deference to the senators. 11 On his brother-in-law Servianus, to whom he showed such respect that he would advance to meet him as he came from his chamber, he bestowed a third consulship, and that without any request or entreaty on Servianus' part; but nevertheless he did not appoint him as his own colleague, since Servianus had been consul twice before Hadrian, and the Emperor did not wish to have second place.

⁹¹ And yet, at the same time, Hadrian abandoned many provinces won by Trajan, and also destroyed, contrary to the entreaties of all, the theatre which Trajan had built in the Campus Martius. 2 These measures, unpopular enough in themselves, were still more displeasing to the public because of his pretence that all acts which he thought would be offensive had been secretly enjoined upon him by Trajan. 3 Unable to endure the power of Attianus and formerly his guardian, he was eager to murder him. He was restrained, however, by the knowledge that he already laboured under the odium of murdering four men of consular rank, although, as a matter of fact, he always attributed their execution to the designs of Attianus. 4 And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter's request, he contrived to make him request it, and at once transferred the power to Turbo; 5 °at the same time Similis also, the other prefect, received a successor, namely Septicius Clarus.

⁶ After Hadrian had removed from the prefecture the very men to whom he owed the imperial power, he departed for Campania, where he aided all the towns of the region by gifts and benefactions and attached all the foremost men

to his train of friends. 7 But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets. 8 In short, everything that he did was in the manner of a private citizen. 9 On his mother-in law he bestowed especial honour by means of gladiatorial games and other ceremonies.

¹⁰¹ After this he travelled to the provinces of Gaul, and came to the relief of all the communities with various acts of generosity; 2 and from there he went over into Germany. Though more desirous of peace than of war, he kept the soldiers in training just as if war were imminent, inspired them by proofs of his own powers of endurance, actually led a soldier's life among the maniples, and, after the example of Scipio Aemilianus, Metellus, and his own adoptive father Trajan, cheerfully ate out of doors such camp-fare as bacon, cheese and vinegar. And that the troops might submit more willingly to the increased harshness of his orders, he bestowed gifts on many and honours on a few. 3 For he reestablished the discipline of the camp, which since the time of Octavian had been growing slack through the laxity of his predecessors. He regulated, too, both the duties and the expenses of the soldiers, and now no one could get a leave of absence from camp by unfair means, for it was not popularity with the troops but just deserts that recommended a man for appointment as tribune. 4 He incited others by the example of his own soldierly^o spirit; he would walk as much as twenty miles fully armed; he cleared the camp of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grottos, and bowers, 5 generally wore the commonest clothing, would have no gold ornaments on his sword-belt or jewels on the clasp, would scarcely consent to have his sword furnished with an ivory hilt, 6 visited the sick soldiers in their quarters, selected the sites for camps, conferred the centurion's wand on those only who were hardy and of good repute, appointed as tribunes only men with full beards or of an age to give to the authority of the tribuneship the full measure of prudence and maturity, 7 permitted no tribune to accept a present from a soldier, banished luxuries on every hand, and, lastly, improved the soldiers' arms and equipment. 8 Furthermore, with regard to length of military service he issued an order that no one should violate ancient usage by being in the service at an earlier age than his strength warranted, or at a more advanced one than common humanity permitted. He made it a point to be acquainted with the soldiers and to know their numbers. 11 Besides this, he strove to have an accurate knowledge of the military stores, and the receipts from the provinces he examined with care in order to make good any deficit that might occur in any

particular instance. But more than any other emperor he made it a point not to purchase or maintain anything that was not serviceable.

² And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain, and there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

³ He removed from office Septicius Clarus, the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded. And, as he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen. ⁴ Moreover, his vigilance was not confined to his own household but extended to those of his friends, and by means of his private agents he even pried into all their secrets, and so skilfully that they were never aware that the Emperor was acquainted with their private lives until he revealed it himself. ⁵ In this connection, the insertion of an incident will not be unwelcome, showing that he found out much about his friends. ⁶ The wife of a certain man wrote to her husband, complaining that he was so preoccupied by pleasures and baths that he would not return home to her, and Hadrian found this out through his private agents. And so, when the husband asked for a furlough, Hadrian reproached him with his fondness for his baths and his pleasures. Whereupon the man exclaimed: "What, did my wife write you just what she wrote to me?" ⁷ And, indeed, as for this habit of Hadrian's, men regard it as a most grievous fault, and add to their criticism the statements which are current regarding the passion for males and the adulteries with married women to which he is said to have been addicted, adding also the charge that he did not even keep faith with his friends.

^{12 1} After arranging matters in Britain he crossed over to Gaul, for he was rendered anxious by the news of a riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis; for Apis had been discovered again after an interval of many years, and was causing great dissension among the communities, each one earnestly asserting its claim as the place best fitted to be the seat of his worship. ² During this same time he reared a basilica of marvellous workmanship at Nîmes in honour of Plotina. ³ After this he travelled to Spain and spent the winter at Tarragona, and here he restored at his own expense the temple of Augustus. ⁴ To this place, too, he called all the inhabitants of Spain for a general meeting, and when they refused to submit to a levy, the Italian settlers jestingly, to use the very words of Marius Maximus, and the others very vigorously, he took measures characterized by skill and discretion. ⁵ At this same time he incurred

grave danger and won great glory; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarragona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them. Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm.

⁶ During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade. ⁷ He appointed a king for the Germans, suppressed revolts among the Moors, and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving. ⁸ The war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal conference.

¹³¹ After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece, and, following the example of Hercules and Philip, had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He bestowed many favours on the Athenians and sat as president of the public games. ² And during this stay in Greece care was taken, they say, that when Hadrian was present, none should come to a sacrifice armed, whereas, as a rule, many carried knives. ³ Afterwards he sailed to Sicily, and there he climbed Mount Aetna to see the sunrise, which is many-hued, they say, like the rainbow. ⁴ Thence he returned to Rome, and from there he crossed over to Africa, where he showed many acts of kindness to the provinces. ⁵ Hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory.

⁶ Finally, after his return to Rome from Africa, he immediately set out for the East, journeying by way of Athens. Here he dedicated the public works which he had begun in the city of the Athenians, such as the temple to Olympian Jupiter and an altar to himself; and in the same way, while travelling through Asia, he consecrated the temples called by his name. ⁷ Next, he received slaves from the Cappadocians for service in the camps. ⁸ To petty rulers and kings he made offers of friendship, and even to Osdroes, king of the Parthians. To him he also restored his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to return the throne captured at the same time. ⁹ And when some of the kings came to him, he treated them in such a way that those who had refused to come regretted it. He took this course especially on account of Pharasmanes, who had haughtily scorned his invitation. ¹⁰ Furthermore, as he went about the provinces he punished procurators and governors as their actions demanded, and indeed with such severity that it was believed that he incited those who brought the accusations. ¹⁴ In the course of these travels he conceived such a hatred for the

people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order that Antioch might not be called the chief city of so many communities. 2 At this time also the Jews began war, because they were forbidden to practice circumcision. 3 As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius, which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant. 4 He then travelled through Arabia and finally came to Pelusium, where he rebuilt Pompey's tomb on a more magnificent scale. 5 During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous, his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman. 6 Concerning this incident there are varying rumours; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others — what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggest. 7 But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian's request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency, but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.

(14) 8 In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert. 9 Of his knowledge of flute-playing and singing he even boasted openly. He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. He composed love-poems too. 10 He was also a connoisseur of arms, had a thorough knowledge of warfare, and knew how to use gladiatorial weapons. 11 He was, in the same person, austere and genial, dignified and playful, dilatory and quick to act, niggardly and generous, deceitful and straightforward, cruel and merciful, and always in all things changeable.

¹⁵ 1 His friends he enriched greatly, even though they did not ask it, while to those who did ask, he refused nothing. 2 And yet he was always ready to listen to whispers about his friends, and in the end he treated almost all of them as enemies, even the closest and even those whom he had raised to the highest of honours, such as Attianus and Nepos and Septicius Clarus. 3 Eudaemon, for example, who had been his accomplice in obtaining the imperial power, he reduced to poverty; 4 Polaenus and Marcellus he drove to suicide; 5 Heliodorus he assailed in a most slanderous pamphlet; 6 Titianus he allowed to be accused as an accomplice in an attempt to seize the empire and even to be outlawed; 7 Ummidius Quadratus, Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted vigorously 8 and in order to prevent Servianus, his brother-in law, from surviving him, he compelled him to commit suicide, although the man was then in his ninetieth year. 9 And he even took vengeance on freedmen and sometimes on soldiers. 10 And although he was very deft at prose and at verse and very accomplished in all the arts, yet he used to subject the teachers of these arts, as though more learned than they, to ridicule, scorn, and humiliation. 11 With these very professors and

philosophers he often debated by means of pamphlets or poems issued by both sides in turn. 12 And once Favorinus, when he had yielded to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, raised a merry laugh among his friends. For when they reproached him for having done wrong in yielding to Hadrian in the matter of a word used by reputable authors, he replied: 13 "You are urging a wrong course, my friends, when you do not suffer me to regard as the most learned of men the one who has thirty legions".

¹⁶ 1 So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography; this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names. For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality. 2 He wrote *Catachannae*, a very obscure work in imitation of Antimachus. 3 And when the poet Florus wrote to him:

I don't want to be a Caesar,
Stroll about among the Britons,
Lurk about among the
And endure the Scythian winters,"

⁴ he wrote back

I don't want to be a Florus,
Stroll about among the taverns,
Lurk about among the cook-shops
And endure the round fat insects."

⁵ Furthermore, he loved the archaic style of writing, and he used to take part in debates. 6 He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Caelius to Sallust; and with the same self-assurance he expressed opinions about Homer and Plato. 7 In astrology he considered himself so proficient that on the Kalends of January he would actually write down all that might happen to him in the whole ensuing year, and in the year in which he died, indeed, he wrote down everything that he was going to do, down to the very hour of his death.

⁸ However ready Hadrian might have been to criticize musicians, tragedians, comedians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he nevertheless bestowed both honours and riches upon all who professed these arts, though he always tormented them with his questions. 9 And although he was himself responsible for the fact that many of them left his presence with their feelings hurt, to see anyone with hurt feelings, he used to say, he could hardly endure. 10 He treated with the greatest friendship the philosophers Epictetus and Heliodorus, and various grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians — not to mention all by name — painters and astrologers; and among them Favorinus, many claim, was conspicuous above all the rest. 11 Teachers who seemed unfit for their profession he presented with riches and honours and then dismissed from

the practice of their profession.

¹⁷ ¹ Many whom he had regarded as enemies when a private citizen, when emperor he merely ignored; for example, on becoming emperor, he said to one man whom he had regarded as a mortal foe, "You have escaped". 2 When he himself called any to military service, he always supplied them with horses, mules, clothing, cost of maintenance, and indeed their whole equipment. 3 At the Saturnalia and Sigillaria he often surprised his friends with presents, and he gladly received gifts from them and again gave others in return. 4 In order to detect dishonesty in his caterers, when he gave banquets with several tables he gave orders that platters from the other tables, even the lowest, should be set before himself. 5 He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts. He often bathed in the public baths, even with the meanest crowd. And a jest of his made in the bath became famous. 6 For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance. 7 But another time, when he saw a number of old men rubbing themselves against the wall for the purpose of arousing the generosity of the Emperor, he ordered them to be called out and then to rub one another in turn. 8 His love for the common people he loudly expressed. So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world. 9 Cold and bad weather he could bear with such endurance that he never covered his head. 10 He showed a multitude of favours to many kings, but from a number he even purchased peace, and by some he was treated with scorn; 11 to many he gave huge gifts, but none greater than to the king of the Hiberi, for to him he gave an elephant and a band of fifty men, in addition to magnificent presents. 12 And having himself received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, including some cloaks embroidered with gold, he sent into the arena three hundred condemned criminals dressed in gold-embroidered cloaks for the purpose of ridiculing the gifts of the king.

¹⁸ ¹ When he tried cases, he had in his council not only his friends and the members of his staff, but also jurists, in particular Juventius Celsus, Salvus Julianus, Neratius Priscus, and others, only those, however, whom the senate had in every instance approved. 2 Among other decisions he ruled that in no community should any house be demolished for the purpose of transporting any building-materials to another city. 3 To the child of an outlawed person he granted a twelfth of the property. 4 Accusations for *lèse-majesté* he did not admit. 5 Legacies from persons unknown to him he refused, and even those left to him by acquaintances he would not accept if they had any children. 6 In

regard to treasure-trove, he ruled that if anyone made a find on his own property he might keep it, if on another's land, he should turn over half to the proprietor thereof, if on the state's, he should share the find equally with the privy-purse. 7 He forbade masters to kill their slaves, and ordered that any who deserved it should be sentenced by the courts. 8 He forbade anyone to sell a slave or a maid-servant to a procurer or trainer of gladiators without giving a reason therefor. 9 He ordered that those who had wasted their property, if legally responsible, should be flogged in the amphitheatre and then let go. Houses of hard labour for slaves and free he abolished. 10 He provided separate baths for the sexes. 11 He issued an order that, if a slave-owner were murdered in his house, no slaves should be examined save those who were near enough to have had knowledge of the murder.

¹⁹ ¹ In Etruria he held a praetorship while emperor. In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir, in Naples demarch, in his native city duumvir with the powers of censor. This office he held at Hadria, too, his second native city, as it were, and at Athens he was archon.

² In almost every city he built some building and gave public games. 3 At Athens he exhibited in the stadium a hunt of a thousand wild beasts, 4 but he never called away from Rome a single wild beast-hunter or actor. 5 In Rome, in addition to popular entertainments of unbounded extravagance, he gave spices to the people in honour of his mother-in law, and in honour of Trajan he caused essences of balsam and saffron to be poured over the seats of the theatre. 6 And in the theatre he presented plays of all kinds in the ancient manner and had the court-players appear before the public. 7 In the Circus he had many wild beasts killed and often a whole hundred of lions. 8 He often gave the people exhibitions of military Pyrrhic dances, and he frequently attended gladiatorial shows. 9 He built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan. 10 At Rome he restored the Pantheon, the Voting-enclosure, the Basilica of Neptune, very many temples, the Forum of Augustus, the Baths of Agrippa, and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders. 11 Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the banks of the Tiber, and the temple of the Bona Dea. 12 With the aid of the architect Decrianus he raised the Colossus and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants. 13 This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

²⁰ ¹ Most democratic in his conservations, even with the very humble, he denounced all who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness. ² In the Museum at Alexandria he propounded many questions to the teachers and answered himself what he had propounded. ³ Marius Maximus says that he was naturally cruel and performed so many kindnesses only because he feared that he might meet the fate which had befallen Domitian.

⁴ Though he cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works, he gave the name of Hadrianopolis to many cities, as, for example, even to Carthage and a section of Athens; ⁵ and he also gave his name to aqueducts without number. ⁶ He was the first to appoint a pleader for the privy-purse.

⁷ Hadrian's memory was vast and his ability was unlimited; for instance, he personally dictated his speeches and gave opinions on all questions. ⁸ He was also very witty, and of his jests many still survive. The following one has even become famous: When he had refused a request to a certain grey-haired man, and the man repeated the request but this time with dyed hair, Hadrian replied: "I have already refused this to your father." ⁹ Even without the aid of a nomenclator he could call by name a great many people, whose names he had heard but once and then all in a crowd; indeed, he could correct the nomenclators when they made mistakes, as they not infrequently did, ¹⁰ and he even knew the names of the veterans whom he had discharged at various times. He could repeat from memory, after a rapid reading, books which to most men were not known at all. ¹¹ He wrote, dictated, listened, and, incredible as it seems, conversed with his friends, all at one and the same time. He had as complete a knowledge of the state-budget in all its details as any careful householder has of his own household. ¹² His horses and dogs he loved so much that he provided burial-places for them, ¹³ and in one locality he founded a town called Hadrianotherae, because once he had hunted successfully there and killed a bear.

²¹ ¹ He always inquired into the actions of all his judges, and persisted in his inquiries until he satisfied himself of the truth about them. ² He would not allow his freedmen to be prominent in public affairs or to have any influence over himself, and he declared that all his predecessors were to blame for the faults of their freedmen; he also punished all his freedmen who boasted of their influence over him. ³ With regard to his treatment of his slaves, the following incident, stern but almost humorous, is still related. Once when he saw one of his slaves walk away from his presence between two senators, he sent someone to give him a box on the ear and say to him: "Do not walk between those whose slave you may some day be". ⁴ As an article of food he was singularly fond of

tetrapharmacum, which consisted of pheasant, sow's udders, ham, and pastry.

⁵ During his reign there were famines, pestilence, and earthquakes. The distress caused by all these calamities he relieved to the best of his ability, and also he aided many communities which had been devastated by them. ⁶ There was also an overflow of the Tiber. ⁷ To many communities he gave Latin citizenship, and to many others he remitted their tribute.

⁸ There were no campaigns of importance during his reign, and the wars that he did wage were brought to a close almost without arousing comment. ⁹ The soldiers loved him much on account of his very great interest in the army and for his great liberality to them besides. ¹⁰ The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king whom Trajan had set over them. ¹¹ The Armenians were permitted to have their own king, whereas under Trajan they had had a governor, ¹² and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed. ¹³ The Albanians and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him. ¹⁴ The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

^{22 1} He very often assigned guardians. Discipline in civil life he maintained as rigorously as he did in military. ² He ordered senators and knights to wear the toga whenever they appeared in public except when they were returning from a banquet, ³ and he himself, when in Italy, always appeared thus clad. ⁴ At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga. ⁵ The cost of a banquet he determined on each occasion, all with the utmost care, and he reduced the sums that might be expended to the amounts prescribed by the ancient laws. ⁶ He forbade the entry into Rome of heavily laden waggons, and did not permit riding on horseback in cities. ⁷ None but invalids were allowed to bathe in the public baths before the eighth hour of the day. ⁸ He was the first to put knights in charge of the imperial correspondence and of the petitions addressed to the emperor. ⁹ Those men whom he saw to be poor and innocent he enriched of his own accord, but those who had become rich through sharp practice he actually regarded with hatred. He despised foreign cults, ¹⁰ but native Roman ones he observed most scrupulously; moreover, he always performed the duties of pontifex maximus. ¹¹ He tried a great number of lawsuits himself both in Rome and in the provinces, and to his council he called consuls and praetors and the foremost of the senators. ¹² He drained the Fucine Lake. ¹³ He appointed four men of consular rank as judges for all Italy. ¹⁴ When he went to Africa it rained on his arrival for the first time in the space of five years, and for this he was beloved by the Africans.

²³ 1 After traversing, as he did, all parts of the world with bare head and often in severe storms and frosts, he contracted an illness which confined him to his bed. 2 And becoming anxious about a successor he thought first of Servianus. 3 Afterwards, however, as I have said, he forced him to commit suicide; and Fuscus, too, he put to death on the ground that, being spurred on by prophecies and omens, he was hoping for the imperial power. 4 Carried away by suspicion, he held in the greatest abhorrence Platorius Nepos, whom he had formerly so loved that, once, when he went to see him while ill and was refused admission, he nevertheless let him go unpunished. 5 Also he hated Terentius Gentianus, but even more vehemently, because he saw that he was then beloved by the senate. 6 At last, he came to hate all those of whom he had thought in connection with the imperial power, as though they were really about to be emperors. 7 However, he controlled all the force of his innate cruelty down to the time when in his Tiburtine Villa he almost met his death through a hemorrhage. 8 Then he threw aside all restraint and compelled Servianus to kill himself, on the ground that he aspired to the empire, merely because he gave a feast to the royal slaves, sat in a royal chair placed close to his bed, and, though an old man of ninety, used to arise and go forward to meet the guard of soldiers. He put many others to death, either openly or by treachery, 9 and indeed, when his wife Sabina died, the rumour arose that the Emperor had given her poison.

¹⁰ Hadrian then determined to adopt Ceionius Commodus, son-in law of Nigrinus, the former conspirator, and this in spite of the fact that his sole recommendation was his beauty. 11 Accordingly, despite the opposition of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus Verus and called him Aelius Verus Caesar. 12 On the occasion of the adoption he gave games in the Circus and bestowed largess upon the populace and the soldiers. 13 He dignified Commodus with the office of praetor and immediately placed him in command of the Pannonian provinces, and also conferred on him the consulship together with money enough to meet the expenses of the office. He also appointed Commodus to a second consulship. 14 And when he saw that the man was diseased, he used often to say: "We have leaned against a tottering wall and have wasted the four hundred million sesterces which we gave to the populace and the soldiers on the adoption of Commodus". 15 Moreover, because of his ill-health, Commodus could not even make a speech in the senate thanking Hadrian for his adoption. 16 Finally, too large a quantity of medicine was administered to him, and thereupon his illness increased, and he died in his sleep on the very Kalends of January. Because of the date Hadrian forbade public mourning for him, in order that the vows for the state might be assumed as usual.

²⁴ 1 After the death of Aelius Verus Caesar, Hadrian was attacked by a very

severe illness, and thereupon he adopted Arrius Antoninus (who was afterwards called Pius), imposing upon him the condition that he adopt two sons, Annius Verus and Marcus Antoninus. 2 These were the two who afterwards ruled the empire together, the first joint Augusti. 3 And as for Antoninus, he was called Pius, it is said, because he used to give his arm to his father-in law when weakened by old age. 4 However, others assert that this surname was given to him because, as Hadrian grew more cruel, he rescued many senators from the Emperor; 5 others, again, that it was because he bestowed great honours upon Hadrian after his death. 6 The adoption of Antoninus was lamented by many at that time, particularly by Catilius Severus, the prefect of the city, who was making plans to secure the throne for himself. 7 When this fact became known, a successor was appointed for him and he was deprived of his office.

⁸ But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword. 9 When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, together with the prefects, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed. 10 The Emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death; however, the man was saved by Antoninus. 11 Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire. 12 Once more, however, after making his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him. 13 He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not have to administer it.

^{25 1} About this time there came a certain woman, who said that she had been warned in a dream to coax Hadrian to refrain from killing himself, for he was destined to recover entirely, but that she had failed to do this and had become blind; she had nevertheless been ordered a second time to give the same message to Hadrian and to kiss his knees, and was assured of the recovery of her sight if she did so. 2 The woman then carried out the command of the dream, and received her sight after she had bathed her eyes with the water in the temple from which she had come. 3 Also a blind old man from Pannonia came to Hadrian when he was ill with fever, and touched him; whereupon the man received his sight, and the fever left Hadrian. 4 All these things, however, Marius Maximus declares were done as a hoax.

⁵ After this Hadrian departed for Baiae, leaving Antoninus at Rome to carry on the government. 6 But he received no benefit there, and he thereupon sent for Antoninus, and in his presence he died there at Baiae on the sixth day before the Ides of July. 7 Hated by all, he was buried at Puteoli on an estate that had

belonged to Cicero.

⁸ Just before his death, he compelled Servianus, then ninety years old, to kill himself, as has been said before, in order that Servianus might not outlive him, and, as he thought, become emperor. He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death; these, however, were spared by Antoninus. ⁹ And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:

O blithe little soul, thou, flitting away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play.”

¹⁰ Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.

¹¹ He lived 62 years, 5 months, 17 days. He ruled 20 years, 11 months.

²⁶ ¹ He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face; and he was very strongly built. ² He rode and walked a great deal and always kept himself in training by the use of arms and the javelin. ³ He also hunted, and he used often to kill a lion with his own hand, but once in a hunt he broke his collar-bone and a rib; these hunts of his he always shared with his friends. ⁴ At his banquets he always furnished, according to the occasion, tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces, players on the sambuca, readers, or poets. ⁵ His villa at Tibur was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.

⁶ The premonitions of his death were as follows: On his last birthday, when he was commending Antoninus to the gods, his bordered toga fell down without apparent cause and bared his head. ⁷ His ring, on which his portrait was carved, slipped of its own accord from his finger. ⁸ On the day before his birthday some one came into the senate wailing; by his presence Hadrian was as disturbed as if he were speaking about his own death, for no one could understand what he was saying. ⁹ Again, in the senate, when he meant to say, “after my son’s death,” he said, “after mine”. ¹⁰ Besides, he dreamed that he had asked his father for a soporific; he also dreamed that he had been overcome by a lion.

²⁷ ¹ Much was said against him after his death, and by many persons. ² The senate wished to annul his acts, and would have refrained from naming him “the Deified” had not Antoninus requested it. ³ Antoninus, moreover, finally built a

temple for him at Puteoli to take the place of a tomb, and he also established a quinquennial contest and flamens and sodales and many other institutions which appertain to the honour of one regarded as a god. 4 It is for this reason, as has been said before, that many think that Antoninus received the surname Pius.

The Life of Aelius

To Diocletian Augustus, his devoted servant, Aelius Spartianus, greeting:

¹ It is my purpose, Diocletian Augustus, greatest of a long line of rulers, to present to the knowledge of your Divine Majesty, not only those who have held as ruling emperors the high post which you maintain — I have done this as far as the Deified Hadrian — but also those who either have borne the name of Caesar, though never hailed emperors or Augusti, or have attained in some other fashion to the fame of the imperial power or the hope of gaining it. ² Among these I must tell first and foremost of Aelius Verus, who through his adoption by Hadrian became a member of the imperial family, and was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. ³ Since I can tell but little of him, and the prologue should not be more extensive than the play, I shall now proceed to tell of the man himself.

² ¹ The life of Ceionius Commodus, also called Aelius Verus, adopted by Hadrian after his journey through the world, when he was burdened by old age and weakened by cruel disease, contains nothing worthy of note except that he was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. ² This was conferred, not by last will and testament, as was previously the custom, nor yet in the fashion in which Trajan was adopted, but well nigh in the same manner as in our own time your Clemency conferred the name of Caesar on Maximianus and on Constantius, as on true sons of the imperial house and heirs apparent of your August Majesty.

³ Now whereas I must needs tell something of the name of the Caesars, particularly in a life of the man who received this name alone of the imperial titles, men of the greatest learning and scholarship aver that he who first received the name of Caesar was called by this name, either because he slew in battle an elephant, which in the Moorish tongue is called caesai, ⁴ or because he was brought into the world after his mother's death and by an incision in her abdomen, or because he had a thick head of hair when he came forth from his mother's womb, or, finally, because he had bright grey eyes and was vigorous beyond the wont of human beings. ⁵ At any rate, whatever be the truth, it was a happy fate which ordained the growth of a name so illustrious, destined to last as long as the universe endures.

⁶ This man, then, of whom I shall write, was at first called Lucius Aurelius Verus, but on his adoption by Hadrian he passed into the family of the Aelii, that is, into Hadrian's, and received the name of Caesar. ⁷ His father was Ceionius Commodus, whom some have called Verus, others, Lucius Aurelius, and many,

Annius. 8 His ancestors, all men of the highest rank, had their origin for the most part in Etruria or Faventia. 9 Of his family, however, we will speak at greater length in the life of his son, Lucius Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus, whom Antoninus was ordered to adopt. 10 For all that pertains to the family-tree should be included in the work which deals with a prince of whom there is more to be told.

³ ¹ Aelius Verus was adopted by Hadrian at the time when, as we have previously said, the Emperor's health was beginning to fail and he was forced to take thought for the succession. 2 He was at once made praetor and appointed military and civil governor of the provinces of Pannonia; afterwards he was created consul, and then, because he had been chosen to succeed to the imperial power, he was named for a second consulship. 3 On the occasion of his adoption largess was given to the populace, three hundred million sesterces were distributed among the soldiers, and races were held in the Circus; in short, nothing was omitted which could signalize the public rejoicing. 4 He had, moreover, such influence with Hadrian, even apart from the affection resulting from his adoption, which seemed a firm enough tie between them, that he was the only one who obtained his every desire, even when expressed in a letter. 5 Besides, in the province to which he had been appointed he was by no means a failure; 6 for he carried on a campaign with success, or rather, with good fortune, and achieved the reputation, if not of a pre-eminent, at least of an average, commander.

⁷ Verus had, however, such wretched health that Hadrian immediately regretted the adoption, and since he often considered others as possible successors, he might have removed him altogether from the imperial family had Verus chanced to live longer. 8 In fact, it is reported by those who have set down in writing all the details of Hadrian's life, that the Emperor was acquainted with Verus' horoscope, and that he adopted a man whom he did not really deem suitable to govern the empire merely for the purpose of gratifying his own desires, and, some even say, of complying with a sworn agreement said to have been contracted on secret terms between himself and Verus. 9 For Marius Maximus represents Hadrian as so expert in astrology, as even to assert that he knew all about his own future, and that he actually wrote down beforehand what he was destined to do on every day down to the hour of his death. 4 Furthermore, it is generally known that he often said about Verus:

"This hero Fate will but display to earth
Nor suffer him to stay."

² And once when Hadrian was reciting these verses while strolling about in his garden, one of the literary men, in whose brilliant company he delighted,

happened to be present and proceeded to add,

“The race of Rome,
Would seem to You, O Gods, to be too great,
Were such gifts to endure.”

³ Thereupon the Emperor remarked, it is said, “The life of Verus will not admit of these lines,” and added,

“Bring lilies with a bounteous hand;
And I the while will scatter rosy blooms,
Thus doing honour to our kinsman’s soul
With these poor gifts — though useless be the task.”

⁴ At the same time, too, Hadrian, it is reported, remarked with a laugh: “I seem to have adopted, not a son, but a god”. ⁵ Yet when one of these same literary men who was present tried to console him, saying: “What if a mistake has been made in casting the horoscope of this man who, as we believe, is destined to live”? Hadrian is said to have answered: “It is easy for you to say that, when you are looking for an heir to your property, not to the Empire”. ⁶ This makes it clear that he intended to choose another heir, and at the end of his life to remove Verus from the government of the state. However, fortune aided his purpose. ⁷ For after Verus had returned from his province, and had finished composing, either by his own efforts or with the help of imperial secretaries or the rhetoricians, a very pretty speech, still read nowadays, wherein he intended to convey his thanks to his father Hadrian on the Kalends of January, he swallowed a potion which he believed would benefit him and died on that very day of January. ⁸ All public lamentation for him was forbidden by Hadrian because it was the time for assuming the vows for the state.

^{5 1} Verus was a man of joyous life and well versed in letters, and he was endeared to Hadrian, as the malicious say, rather by his beauty than by his character. ² In the palace his stay was but a short one; in his private life, though there was little to be commended, yet there was little to be blamed. Furthermore, he was considerate of his family, well-dressed, elegant in appearance, a man of regal beauty, with a countenance that commanded respect, a speaker of unusual eloquence, deft at writing verse, and, moreover, not altogether a failure in public life. ³ His pleasures, many of which are recorded by his biographers, were not indeed discreditable but somewhat luxurious. ⁴ For it is Verus who is said to have been the inventor of the tetrpharmacum, or rather pentapharmacum, of which Hadrian was thereafter always fond, namely, a mixture of sows’ udders, pheasant, peacock, ham in pastry and wild boar. ⁵ Of this article of food Marius Maximus gives a different account, for he calls it, not pentapharmacum, but tetrpharmacum, as we have ourselves described it in our biography of Hadrian.

6 There was also another kind of pleasure, it is said, of which Verus was the inventor. 7 He constructed, namely, a bed provided with four high cushions and all inclosed with a fine net; this he filled with rose-leaves, from which the white parts had been removed, and then reclined on it with his mistresses, burying himself under a coverlet made of lilies, himself anointed with perfumes from Persia. 8 Some even relate that he made couches and tables of roses and lilies, these flowers all carefully cleansed, a practice, which, if not creditable, at least did not make for the destruction of the state. 9 Furthermore, he always kept the *Recipes* of Caelius Apicius and also Ovid's *Amores* at his bedside, and declared that Martial, the writer of Epigrams, was his Vergil. 10 Still more trivial was his custom of fastening wings on many of his messengers after the fashion of Cupids, and often giving them the names of the winds, calling one Boreas, another Notus, others Aquilo, or Circius, or some other like name, and forcing them to bear messages without respite or mercy. 11 And when his wife complained about his amours with others, he said to her, it is reported: "Let me indulge my desires with others; for wife is a term of honour, not of pleasure."

¹² His son was Antoninus Verus, who was adopted by Marcus, or rather, with Marcus, and received an equal share with him in the imperial power. 13 For these are the men who first received the name of Augustus conjointly, and whose names are inscribed in the lists of the consuls, not as two Antonini but as two Augusti. 14 And such was the impression created by the novelty and the dignity of this fact that in some of the lists the order of the consuls begins with the names of these emperors.

⁶¹ On the occasion of the adoption of Verus, Hadrian bestowed a vast sum of money on the populace and the soldiery. 2 But being a rather sagacious man, when he saw that Verus was in such utterly wretched health that he could not brandish a shield of any considerable weight, he remarked, it is said: 3 "We have lost the three hundred million sesterces which we paid out to the army and to the people, for we have indeed leaned against a tottering wall, and one which can hardly bear even our weight, much less that of the Empire". 4 This remark, indeed, Hadrian made to his prefect, 5 but the man repeated it, and as a result Aelius Caesar grew worse every day from anxiety, as a man does who had lost hope. Thereupon Hadrian appointed a successor for the prefect who had divulged the remark, wishing to give the impression that he had qualified his harsh words. 6 But it profited him nothing, for Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius Caesar (for he was called by all these names) died and was accorded an emperor's funeral, nor did he derive any benefit from his imperial position save honour at his death. 7 Hadrian, then, mourned his death as might a good father, not a good emperor. For when his friends anxiously asked who

could now be adopted, Hadrian is said to have replied to them: “I decided that even when Verus was still alive,” 8 thereby showing either his good judgment or his knowledge of the future. 9 After Verus’ death Hadrian was in doubt for a time as to what he should do, but finally he adopted Antoninus, who had received the surname Pius. And he imposed on Antoninus the condition that he in turn should adopt Marcus and Verus, and should give his daughter in marriage to Verus, rather than to Marcus. 10 Nor did Hadrian live long thereafter, but succumbed to weakness and illnesses of various kinds, all the while declaring that a prince ought to die, not in an enfeebled condition, but in full vigour.

⁷¹ Hadrian gave orders that colossal statues of Verus should be set up all over the world, and in some cities he even had temples built. 2 Finally, out of regard for him, Hadrian gave his son Verus (who had remained in the imperial household after his father’s death) to Antoninus Pius, as I have already said, to be adopted as his son along with Marcus, treating the boy as if he were his own grandson; and he often remarked: “Let the Empire retain something of Verus”. 3 This indeed contradicts all that very many authors have written with regard to Hadrian’s regret for his adoption of Verus, since, save for a kindly character, there was nothing in character of the younger Verus capable of shedding lustre on the imperial family.

⁴ These are the facts about Verus Caesar which have seemed worthy of being consigned to letters. 5 I was unwilling to leave him unmentioned for this reason that it is my purpose to set forth in single books the lives of all the successors of Caesar the Dictator, that is, the Deified Julius, whether they were called Caesars or Augusti or princes, and of all those who came into the family by adoption, whether it was as sons or as relatives of emperors that they were immortalized by the name of Caesar, and thereby to satisfy my own sense of justice, even if there be many who will feel no compelling need of seeking such information.

The Life of Antoninus Pius

^{1 1} Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius was descended, on his father's side, from a family which came from the country of Transalpine Gaul, more specifically, from the town of Nîmes. ² His grandfather was Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who after various offices of honour attained to a second consulship and the prefecture of the city; ³ his father was Aurelius Fulvus, also consul, and a stern and upright man. ⁴ His mother was Arria Fadilla; her mother was Boionia Procilla and her father Arrius Antoninus, twice consul and a righteous man, who pitied Nerva that he assumed the imperial power. ⁵ Julia Fadilla was his mother's daughter, ⁶ his stepfather being Julius Lupus, a man of consular rank. ⁷ His father-in law was Annius Verus and his wife Annia Faustina, who bore him two sons and two daughters, of whom the elder was married to Lamia Silanus and the younger to Marcus Antoninus.

⁸ Antoninus himself was born at an estate at Lanuvium on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of October in the twelfth consulship of Domitian and first of Cornelius Dolabella. He was reared at Lorium on the Aurelian Way, where he afterwards built the palace whose ruins stand there to day. ⁹ He passed his childhood first with his paternal grandfather, then later with his maternal; and he showed such a dutiful affection toward all his family, that he was enriched by legacies from even his cousins, his stepfather, and many still more distant kin.

^{2 1} In personal appearance he was strikingly handsome, in natural talent brilliant, in temperament kindly; he was aristocratic in countenance and calm in nature, a singularly gifted speaker and an elegant scholar, conspicuously thrifty, a conscientious land-holder, gentle, generous, and mindful of others' rights. He possessed all these qualities, moreover, in the proper mean and without ostentation, ² and, in fine, was praiseworthy in every way and, in the minds of all good men, well deserving of comparison with Numa Pompilius. ³ He was given the name of Pius by the senate, either because, when his father-in law was old and weak, he lent him a supporting hand in his attendance at the senate (which act, indeed, is not sufficient as a token of great dutifulness, since a man were rather undutiful who did not perform this service than dutiful if he did), ⁴ or because he spared those men whom Hadrian in his ill-health had condemned to death, ⁵ or because after Hadrian's death he had unbounded and extraordinary honours decreed for him in spite of opposition from all, ⁶ or because, when Hadrian wished to make away with himself, by great care and watchfulness he prevented him from so doing, ⁷ or because he was in fact very kindly by nature

and did no harsh deed in his own time. 8 He also loaned money at four per cent, the lowest rate ever exacted, in order that he might use his fortune to aid many.

⁹ As quaestor he was generous, as praetor illustrious, and in the consulship he had as colleague Catilius Severus. 10 His life as a private citizen he passed mostly on his estates but he was well-known everywhere. 11 He was chosen by Hadrian from among the four men of consular rank under whose jurisdiction Italy was placed, to administer that particular part of Italy in which the greater part of his own holdings lay; from this it was evident that Hadrian had regard for both the fame and the tranquillity of such a man.

^{3 1} An omen of his future rule occurred while he was administering Italy; for when he mounted the tribunal, among other greetings some one cried, "God save thee, Augustus". 2 His proconsulship in Asia he conducted in such a fashion that he alone excelled his grandfather; 3 and in this proconsulship, too, he received another omen foretelling his rule; for at Tralles a priestess, being about to greet him after the custom of the place (for it was their custom to greet the proconsuls by their title), instead of saying "Hail, proconsul," said "Hail, imperator"; 4 at Cyzicus, moreover, a crown was transferred from an image of a god to a statue of him. 5 After his consulship, again, a marble bull was found hanging in his garden with its horns attached to the boughs of a tree, and lightning from a clear sky struck his home without inflicting damage, and in Etruria certain large jars that had been buried were found above the ground again, and swarms of bees settled on his statues throughout all Etruria, and frequently he was warned in dreams to include an image of Hadrian among his household gods.

⁶ While setting out to assume his proconsular office he lost his elder daughter. 7 About the licence and loose living of his wife a number of things were said, which he heard with great sorrow and suppressed. 8 On returning from his proconsulship he lived for the most part at Rome, being a member of the councils of Hadrian, and in all matters concerning which Hadrian sought his advice, ever urging the more merciful course.

^{4 1} The manner of his adoption, they say, was somewhat thus: After the death of Aelius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and named Caesar, a day was set for the meeting of the senate, 2 and to this Arrius Antoninus came, supporting the steps of his father-in law. 3 For this act, it is said, Hadrian adopted him. But this could not have been the only reason for the adoption, nor ought it to have been, especially since Antoninus had always done well in his administration of public office, and in his proconsulship had shown himself a man of worth and dignity. 4 At any rate, when Hadrian announced a desire to adopt him, he was given time for deciding whether he wished to be adopted. 5 This condition was attached to his adoption, that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take

Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus whom Hadrian had previously adopted. 6 He was adopted on the fifth day before the Kalends of March, while returning thanks in the senate for Hadrian's opinion concerning him, 7 and he was made colleague to his father in both the proconsular and the tribunician power. 8 It is related as his first remark, that when he was reproved by his wife because he was not sufficiently generous to his household in some trifling matter, he said: "Foolish woman, now that we have gained an empire, we have lost even what we had before". 9 To the people he gave largess on his own account 10 and also paid the moneys that his father had promised. He contributed a large amount of money, too, to Hadrian's public works, and of the crown-gold which had been presented to him on the occasion of his adoption, he returned all of Italy's share, and half of their share to the provinces.

⁵ 1 His father, as long as he lived, he obeyed most scrupulously, and when Hadrian passed away at Baiae he bore his remains to Rome with all piety and reverence, and buried him in the gardens of Domitia; moreover, though all opposed the measure, he had him placed among the deified. 2 On his wife Faustina he permitted the senate to bestow the name of Augusta, and for himself accepted the surname Pius. The statues decreed for his father, mother, grandparents and brothers, then dead, he accepted readily; nor did he refuse the circus-games ordered for his birthday, though he did refuse other honours. In honour of Hadrian he set up a superb shield and established a college of priests.

³ After his accession to the throne he removed none of the men whom Hadrian had appointed to office, and, indeed, was so steadfast and loyal that he retained good men in the government of provinces for terms of seven and even nine years. 4 He waged a number of wars, but all of them through his legates. For Lollius Urbicus, his legate, overcame the Britons and built a second wall, one of turf, after driving back the barbarians. Through other legates or governors, he forced the Moors to sue for peace, and crushed the Germans and the Dacians and many other tribes, and also the Jews, who were in revolt. 5 In Achaëa also and in Egypt he put down rebellions and many a time sharply checked the Alani in their raiding. 6 His procurators were ordered to levy only a reasonable tribute, and those who exceeded a proper limit were commanded to render an account of their acts, nor was he ever pleased with any revenues that were onerous to the provinces. 2 Moreover, he was always willing to hear complaints against his procurators.

³ He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned, saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so. 4 The imperial pomp he

reduced to the utmost simplicity and thereby gained the greater esteem, though the palace-attendants opposed this course, for they found that since he made no use of go-betweens, they could in no wise terrorize men or take money for decisions about which there was no concealment. 5 In his dealings with the senate, he rendered it, as emperor, the same respect that he had wished another emperor to render him when he was a private man. 6 When the senate offered him the title of Father of his Country, he at first refused it, but later accepted it with an elaborate expression of thanks. 7 On the death of his wife Faustina, in the third year of his reign, the senate deified her, and voted her games and a temple and priestesses and statues of silver and of gold. These the Emperor accepted, and furthermore granted permission that her statue be erected in all the circuses; 8 and when the senate voted her a golden statue, he undertook to erect it himself. 9 At the instance of the senate, Marcus Antoninus, now quaestor, was made consul; 10 also Annius Verus, he who was afterwards entitled Antoninus, was appointed quaestor before the legal age. 11 Never did he resolve on measures about the provinces or render a decision on any question without previously consulting his friends, and in accordance with their opinions he drew up his final statement. 12 And indeed he often received his friends without the robes of state and even in the performance of domestic duties.

⁷¹ With such care did he govern all peoples under him that he looked after all things and all men as if they were his own. As a result, the provinces all prospered in his reign, 2 informers were abolished, 3 the confiscation of goods was less frequent than ever before, and only one man was condemned as guilty of aspiring to the throne. 4 This was Atilius Titianus, and it was the senate itself that conducted his prosecution, while the Emperor forbade any investigation about the fellow-conspirators of Atilius and always aided his son to attain all his desires. Priscianus did indeed die for aspiring to the throne, but by his own hand, and about his conspiracy also the Emperor forbade any investigation.

⁵ The board of Antoninus Pius was rich yet never open to criticism, frugal yet not stingy; his table was furnished by his own slaves, his own fowlers and fishers and hunters. 6 A bath, which he had previously used himself, he opened to the people without charge, nor did he himself depart in any way from the manner of life to which he had been accustomed when a private man. 7 He took away salaries from a number of men who held obvious sinecures, saying there was nothing meaner, nay more unfeeling, than the man who nibbled at the revenues of the state without giving any service in return; 8 for the same reason, also, he reduced the salary of Mesomedes, the lyric poet. The budgets of all the provinces and the sources of revenue he knew exceedingly well. 9 He settled his private fortune on his daughter, but presented the income of it to the state. 10

Indeed, the superfluous trappings of royal state and even the crown-lands he sold, living on his own private estates and varying his residence according to the season. 11 Nor did he undertake any expedition other than the visiting of his lands in Campania, averring that the equipage of an emperor, even of one over frugal, was a burdensome thing to the provinces. 12 And yet he was regarded with immense respect by all nations, for, making his residence in the city, as he did, for the purpose of being in a central location, he was able to receive messages from every quarter with equal speed.

^{8 1} He gave largess to the people, and, in addition, a donation to the soldiers, and founded an order of destitute girls, called *Faustinianae* in honour of *Faustina*. 2 Of the public works that were constructed by him the following remain to day: the temple of *Hadrian* at *Rome*, so called in honour of his father, the *Graecostadium*, restored by him after its burning, the *Amphitheatre*, repaired by him, the tomb of *Hadrian*, the temple of *Agrippa*, and the *Pons Sublicius*, 3 also the *Pharus*, the port at *Caieta*, and the port at *Tarracina*, all of which he restored, the bath at *Ostia*, the aqueduct at *Antium*, and the temples at *Lanuvium*. 4 Besides all this, he helped many communities to erect new buildings and to restore the old; and he even gave pecuniary aid to Roman magistrates and senators to assist them in the performance of their duties.

⁵ He declined legacies from those who had children of their own and was the first to establish the rule that bequests made under fear of penalty should not be valid. 6 Never did he appoint a successor to a worthy magistrate while yet alive, except in the case of *Orfitus*, the prefect of the city, and then only at his own request. 7 For under him *Gavius Maximus*, a very stern man, reached his twentieth year of service as prefect of the guard; he was succeeded by *Tattius Maximus*, 8 and at his death *Antoninus* appointed two men in his place, *Fabius Cornelius Repentinus* and *Furius Victorinus*, 9 the former of whom, however, was ruined by the scandalous tale that he had gained his office by the favour of the Emperor's mistress. 10 So rigidly did he adhere to his resolve that no senator should be executed in his reign, that a confessed parricide was merely marooned on a desert island, and that only because it was against the laws of nature to let such a one live. 11 He relieved a scarcity of wine and oil and wheat with loss to his own private treasury, by buying these and distributing them to the people free.

^{9 1} The following misfortunes and prodigies occurred in his reign: the famine, which we have just mentioned, the collapse of the *Circus*, an earthquake whereby towns of *Rhodes* and of *Asia* were destroyed — all of which, however, the Emperor restored in splendid fashion, — and a fire at *Rome* which consumed three hundred and forty tenements and dwellings. 2 The town of *Narbonne*, the

city of Antioch, and the forum of Carthage also burned. 3 Besides, the Tiber flooded its banks, a comet was seen, a two-headed child was born, and a woman gave birth to quintuplets. 4 There was seen, moreover, in Arabia, a crested serpent larger than the usual size, which ate itself from the tail to the middle; and also in Arabia there was a pestilence, while in Moesia barley sprouted from the tops of trees. 5 And besides all this, in Arabia four lions grew tame and of their own accord yielded themselves to capture.

⁶ Pharasmenes, the king, visited him at Rome and showed him more respect than he had shown Hadrian. He appointed Pacorus king of the Lazi, induced the king of the Parthians to forego a campaign against the Armenians merely by writing him a letter, and solely by his personal influence brought Abgarus the king back from the regions of the East. 7 He settled the pleas of several kings. The royal throne of the Parthians, which Trajan had captured, he refused to return when their king asked for it, 8 and after hearing the dispute between Rhoemetalces and the imperial commissioner, sent the former back his kingdom of the Bosphorus. 9 He sent troops to the Black Sea to bring aid to Olbiopolis against the Tauroscythians and forced the latter to give hostages to Olbiopolis. 0 No one has ever had such prestige among foreign nations as he, for he was ever a lover of peace, even to such a degree that he was continually quoting the saying of Scipio in which he declared that he would rather save a single citizen than slay a thousand foes.

^{10 1} When the senate declared that the months of September and October should be called respectively Antoninus and Faustinus, Antoninus refused. 2 The wedding of his daughter Faustina, whom he espoused to Marcus Antoninus, he made most noteworthy, even to the extent of giving a donative to the soldiers. 3 He made Verus Antoninus consul after his quaestorship. 4 On one occasion, he sent word to Apollonius, whom he had summoned from Chalcis, to come to the House of Tiberius (where at the time he was staying) in order that he might put Marcus Antoninus in his charge, but Apollonius replied "The master ought not come to the pupil, but the pupil to the master". Whereupon the Emperor ridiculed him, saying "It was easier, then, for Apollonius to come to Rome from Chalcis than from his house to my palace". The greed of this man he had noticed even in the matter of his salary. 5 It is related of him, too, as an instance of his regard for his family, that when Marcus was mourning the death of his tutor and was restrained by the palace servants from this display of affection, the Emperor said: "Let him be only a man for once; for neither philosophy nor empire takes away natural feeling".

⁶ On his prefects he bestowed both riches and consular honours. 7 If he convicted any of extortion he nevertheless delivered up the estates to their

children, providing only that the children should restore to the provinces what their fathers had taken. 8 He was very prone to acts of forgiveness. 9 He held games at which he displayed elephants and the animals called corocottae and tigers and rhinoceroses, even crocodiles and hippopotami, in short, all the animals of the whole earth; and he presented at a single performance as many as a hundred lions together with tigers.

¹¹ His friends he always treated, while on the throne, just as though he were a private citizen, for they never combined with his freedmen to sell false hopes of favours, and indeed he treated his freedmen with the greatest strictness. 2 He was very fond of the stage, found great delight in fishing and hunting and in walks and conversation with his friends, and was wont to pass vintage-time in company with his friends in the manner of an ordinary citizen. 3 Rhetoricians and philosophers throughout all the provinces he rewarded with honours and money. The orations which have come down in his name, some say, are really the work of others, according to Marius⁹ Maximus, however, they were his own. 4 He always shared his banquets, both public and private, with his friends; 5 and never did he perform sacrifices by proxy except when he was ill. 6 When he sought offices for himself or for his sons all was done as by a private individual. 7 He himself was often present at the banquets of his intimates, 8 and among other things it is a particular evidence of his graciousness that when, on a visit at the house of Homullus, he admired certain porphyry columns and asked where they came from, Homullus replied “When you come to another’s house, be deaf and dumb,” and he took it in good part. In fact, the jibes of this same Homullus, which were many, he always took in good part.

^{12 1} A number of legal principles were established by Antoninus with the aid of certain men, experts in jurisprudence, namely, Vindius Verus, Salvius Valens, Volusius Maecianus, Ulpius Marcellus, and Diavolenus. 2 Rebellions, wherever they occurred, he suppressed not by means of cruelty, but with moderation and dignity. 3 He forbade the burial of bodies within the limits of any city; he established a maximum cost for gladiatorial games; and he very carefully maintained the imperial post. Of everything that he did he rendered an account, both in the senate and by proclamation.

⁴ He died in the seventieth year of his age, but his loss was felt as though he had been but a youth. They say his death was somewhat as follows: after he had eaten too freely some Alpine cheese at dinner he vomited during the night, and was taken with a fever the next day. 5 On the second day, as he saw that his condition was becoming worse, in the presence of his prefects he committed the state and his daughter to Marcus Antoninus, and gave orders that the golden statue of Fortune, which was wont to stand in the bed-chamber of the emperor,

be given to him. 6 Then he gave the watchword to the officer of the day as “Equanimity,” and so, turning as if to sleep, gave up the ghost at Lorium. 7 While he was delirious with fever, he spoke of nothing save the state and certain kings with whom he was angry. 8 To his daughter he left his private fortune, and in his will he remembered all his household with suitable legacies.

^{13 1} He was a handsome man, and tall in stature; but being a tall man, when he was bent by old age he had himself swathed with splints of linden-wood bound on his chest in order that he might walk erect. 2 Moreover, when he was old, he ate dry bread before the courtiers came to greet him, in order that he might sustain his strength. His voice was hoarse and resonant, yet agreeable.

³ He was deified by the senate, while all men vied with one another to give him honour, and all extolled his devoutness, his mercy, his intelligence, and his righteousness. All honours were decreed for him which were ever before bestowed on the very best of emperors. 4 He well deserved the flamen and games and temple and the Antonine^o priesthood. Almost alone of all emperors he lived entirely unstained by the blood of either citizen or foe so far as was in his power, and he was justly compared to Numa, whose good fortune and piety and tranquillity and religious rites he ever maintained.

The Life of Marcus Aurelius

¹ ¹ Marcus Antoninus, devoted to philosophy as long as he lived and pre-eminent among emperors in purity of life, ² was the son of Annius Verus, who died while praetor. His grandfather, named Annius Verus also, attained to a second consulship, was prefect of the city, and was enrolled among the patricians by Vespasian and Titus while they were censors. ³ Annius Libo, a consul, was his uncle, Galeria Faustina Augusta, his aunt. His mother was Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who served as consul twice. ⁴ Annius Verus, from the town of Succuba in Spain, who was made a senator and attained to the dignity of praetor, was his father's grandfather; his great-grandfather on his mother's side was Catilius Severus, who twice held the consulship and was prefect of the city. His father's mother was Rupilia Faustina, the daughter of Rupilius Bonus, a man of consular rank.

⁵ Marcus himself was born at Rome on the sixth day before the Kalends of May in the second consulship of his grandfather and the first of August, in a villa on the Caelian Hill. ⁶ His family, in tracing its origin back to the beginning, established its descent from Numa, or so Marius Maximus tells, and likewise from the Sallentine king Malemnus, the son of Dasummus, who founded Lupiae. ⁷ He was reared in the villa where he was born, and also in the home of his grandfather Verus close to the dwelling of Lateranus. ⁸ He had a sister younger than himself, named Annia Cornificia; his wife, who was also his cousin, was Annia Faustina. ⁹ At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was named Catilius Severus after his mother's grandfather. ¹⁰ After the death of his real father, however, Hadrian called him Annius Verissimus, and, after he assumed the toga virilis, Annius Verus. When his father died he was adopted and reared by his father's father.

² ¹ He was a solemn child from the very beginning; and as soon as he passed beyond the age when children are brought up under the care of nurses, he was handed over to advanced instructors and attained to a knowledge of philosophy. ² In his more elementary education, he received instruction from Euphron in literature and from Geminus in drama, in music and likewise in geometry from Andron; on all of whom, as being spokesmen of the sciences, he afterwards conferred great honours. ³ Besides these, his teachers in grammar were the Greek Alexander of Cotiaeum, and the Latins Trosius Aper, Pollio, and Eutychius Proculus of Sicca; ⁴ his masters in oratory were the Greeks Aninius Macer, Caninius Celer and Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius Fronto. ⁵

Of these he conferred high honours on Fronto, even asking the senate to vote him a statue; but indeed he advanced Proculus also — even to a proconsulship, and assumed the burdens of the office himself.

⁶ He studied philosophy with ardour, even as a youth. For when he was twelve years old he adopted the dress and, a little later, the hardiness of a philosopher, pursuing his studies clad in a rough Greek cloak and sleeping on the ground; at his mother's solicitation, however, he reluctantly consented to sleep on a couch strewn with skins. ⁷ He received instruction, furthermore, from the teacher of that Commodus who was destined later to be a kinsman of his, namely Apollonius of Chalcedon, the Stoic; ³ and such was his ardour for this school of philosophy, that even after he became a member of the imperial family, he still went to Apollonius' residence for instruction. ² In addition, he attended the lectures of Sextus of Chaeronea, the nephew of Plutarch, and of Junius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, and Cinna Catulus, all Stoics. ³ He also attended the lectures of Claudius Severus, an adherent of the Peripatetic school, but he received most instruction from Junius Rusticus, whom he ever revered and whose disciple he became, a man esteemed in both private and public life, and exceedingly well acquainted with the Stoic system, ⁴ with whom Marcus shared all his counsels both public and private, whom he greeted with a kiss prior to the prefects of the guard, ⁵ whom he even appointed consul for a second term, and whom after his death he asked the senate to honour with statues. On his teachers in general, moreover, he conferred great honours, for he even kept golden statues of them in his chapel, and made it a custom to show respect for their tombs by personal visits and by offerings of sacrifices and flowers. ⁶ He studied jurisprudence as well, in which he heard Lucius Volusius Maecianus, ⁷ and so much work and labour did he devote to his studies that he impaired his health — the only fault to be found with his entire childhood. ⁸ He attended also the public schools of rhetoricians. Of his fellow-pupils he was particularly fond of Seius Fuscianus and Aufidius Victorinus, of the senatorial order, and Baebius Longus and Calenus, of the equestrian. ⁹ He was very generous to these men, so generous, in fact, that on those whom he could not advance to public office on account of their station in life, he bestowed riches.

^{4 1} He was reared under the eye of Hadrian, who called him Verissimus, as we have already related, and did him the honour of enrolling him in the equestrian order when he was six years old ² and appointing him in his eighth year to the college of the Salii. ³ While in this college, moreover, he received an omen of his future rule; for when they were all casting their crowns on the banqueting-couch of the god, according to the usual custom, his crown, as if placed there by his hand, fell on the brow of Mars. ⁴ In this priesthood he was leader of the

dance, seer, and master, and consequently both initiated and dismissed a great number of people; and in these ceremonies no one dictated the formulas to him, for all of them he had learned by himself.

⁵ In the fifteenth year of his life he assumed the toga virilis, and straightway, at the wish of Hadrian, was betrothed to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus. 6 Not long after this he was made prefect of the city during the Latin Festival, and in this position he conducted himself very brilliantly both in the presence of the magistrates and at the banquets of the Emperor Hadrian. 7 Later, when his mother asked him to give his sister part of the fortune left him by his father, he replied that he was content with the fortune of his grandfather and relinquished all of it, further declaring that if she wished, his mother might leave her own estate to his sister in its entirety, in order that she might not be poorer than her husband. 8 So complaisant was he, moreover, that at times, when urged, he let himself be taken to hunts or the theatre or the spectacles. 9 Besides, he gave some attention to painting, under the teacher Diognetus. He was also fond of boxing and wrestling and running and fowling, played ball very skilfully, and hunted well. 10 But his ardour for philosophy distracted him from all these pursuits and made him serious and dignified, not ruining, however, a certain geniality in him, which he still manifested toward his household, his friends, and even to those less intimate, but making him, rather, austere, though not unreasonable, modest, though not inactive, and serious without gloom.

^{5 1} Such was his character, then, when, after the death of Lucius Caesar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus. 2 And it was on the day that Verus was adopted that he dreamed that he had shoulders of ivory, and when he asked if they were capable of bearing a burden, he found them much stronger than before. 3 When he discovered, moreover, that Hadrian had adopted him, he was appalled rather than overjoyed, and when told to move to the private home of Hadrian, reluctantly departed from his mother's villa. 4 And when the members of his household asked him why he was sorry to receive royal adoption, he enumerated to them the evil things that sovereignty involved.

⁵ At this time he first began to be called Aurelius instead of Annius, since, according to the law of adoption, he had passed into the Aurelian family, that is, into the family of Antoninus. 6 And so he was adopted in his eighteenth year, and at the instance of Hadrian exception was made for his age and he was appointed quaestor for the year of the second consulship of Antoninus, now his

father. 7 Even after his adoption into the imperial house, he still showed the same respect to his own relatives that he had borne them as a commoner, 8 was as frugal and careful of his means as he had been when he lived in a private home, and was willing to act, speak, and think according to his father's principles.

⁶ 1 When Hadrian died at Baiae and Pius departed to bring back his remains, Marcus was left at Rome and discharged his grandfather's funeral rites, and, though quaestor, presented a gladiatorial spectacle as a private citizen. 2 Immediately after Hadrian's death Pius, through his wife, approached Marcus, and, breaking his betrothal with the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus, . . . he was willing to espouse one so much his junior in years, he replied, after deliberating the question, that he was. 3 And when this was done, Pius designated him as his colleague in the consulship, though he was still only quaestor, gave him the title of Caesar, appointed him while consul-elect one of the six commanders of the equestrian order and sat by him when he and his five colleagues were producing their official games, bade him take up his abode in the House of Tiberius and there provided him with all the pomp of a court, though Marcus objected to this, and finally took him into the priesthoods at the bidding of the senate. 4 Later, he appointed him consul for a second term at the same time that he began his fourth. 5 And all this time, when busied with so many public duties of his own, and while sharing his father's activities that he might be fitted for ruling the state, Marcus worked at his studies eagerly.

⁶ At this time he took Faustina to wife and, after begetting a daughter, received the tribunician power and the proconsular power outside the city, with the added right of making five proposals in the senate. 7 Such was his influence with Pius that the Emperor was never quick to promote anyone without his advice. 8 Moreover, he showed great deference to his father, though there were not lacking those who whispered things against him, 9 especially Valerius Homullus, who, when he saw Marcus' mother Lucilla worshipping in her garden before a shrine of Apollo, whispered, "Yonder woman is now praying that you may come to your end, and her son rule." All of which influenced Pius not in the least, 10 such was Marcus' sense of honour and such his modesty while heir to the throne. 7 He had such regard for his reputation, moreover, that even as a youth he admonished his procurators to do nothing high-handed and often refused sundry legacies that were left him, returning them to the nearest kin of the deceased. 2 Finally, for three and twenty years he conducted himself in his father's home in such a manner that Pius felt more affection for him day by day, 3 and never in all these years, save for two nights on different occasions, remained away from him.

For these reasons, then, when Antoninus Pius saw that the end of his life was

drawing near, having summoned his friends and prefects, he commended Marcus to them all and formally named him as his successor in the empire. He then straightway gave the watch-word to the officer of the day as “Equanimity,” and ordered that the golden statue of Fortune, customarily kept in his own bed-chamber, be transferred to the bed-chamber of Marcus. 4 Part of his mother’s fortune Marcus then gave to Ummidius Quadratus, the son of his sister, because the latter was now dead.

⁵ Being forced by the senate to assume the government of the state after the death of the Deified Pius, Marcus made his brother his colleague in the empire, giving him the name Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus and bestowing on him the titles Caesar and Augustus. 6 Then they began to rule the state on equal terms, and then it was that the Roman Empire first had two emperors, when Marcus shared with another the empire he had inherited. Next, he himself took the name Antoninus, 7 and just as though he were the father of Lucius Commodus, he gave him the name Verus, adding also the name Antoninus; he also betrothed him to his daughter Lucilla, though legally he was his brother. 8 In honour of this union they gave orders that girls and boys of newly-named orders should be assigned a share in the distribution of grain.

⁹ And so, when they had done those things which had to be done in the presence of the senate, they set out together for the praetorian camp, and in honour of their joint rule promised twenty thousand sesterces apiece to the common soldiers and to the others money in proportion. 10 The body of their father they laid in the Tomb of Hadrian with elaborate funeral rites, and on a holiday which came thereafter an official funeral train marched in parade. 11 Both emperors pronounced panegyrics for their father from the Rostra, and they appointed a flamen for him chosen from their own kinsmen and a college of Aurelian priests from their closest friends.

^{8 1} And now, after they had assumed the imperial power, the two emperors acted in so democratic a manner that no one missed the lenient ways of Pius; for though Marullus, a writer of farces of the time, irritated them by his jests, he yet went unpunished. 2 They gave funeral games for their father. 3 And Marcus abandoned himself to philosophy, at the same time cultivating the good-will of the citizens. 4 But now to interrupt the emperor’s happiness and repose, there came the first flood of the Tiber — the severest one of their time — which ruined many houses in the city, drowned a great number of animals, and caused a most severe famine; 5 all these disasters Marcus and Verus relieved by their own personal care and aid. 6 At this time, moreover, came the Parthian war, which Vologaesius planned under Pius and declared under Marcus and Verus, after the rout of Attidius Cornelianus, than governor of Syria. 7 And besides this, war was

threatening in Britain, and the Chatti had burst into Germany and Raetia. 8 Against the Britons Calpurnius Agricola was sent; against the Chatti, Aufidius Victorinus. 9 But to the Parthian war, with the consent of the senate, Marcus despatched his brother Verus, while he himself remained at Rome, where conditions demanded the presence of an emperor. 10 Nevertheless, he accompanied Verus as far as Capua, honouring him with a retinue of friends from the senate and appointing also all his chiefs-of staff. 11 And when, after returning to Rome, he learned that Verus was ill at Canusium he hastened to see him, after assuming vows in the senate, which, on his return to Rome after learning that Verus had set sail, he immediately fulfilled. 12 Verus, however, after he had come to Syria, lingered amid the debaucheries of Antioch and Daphne and busied himself with gladiatorial bouts and hunting. And yet, for waging the Parthian war through his legates, he was acclaimed Imperator, 13 while meantime Marcus was at all hours keeping watch over the workings of the state, and, though reluctantly and sorely against his will, but nevertheless with patience, was enduring the debauchery of his brother. 14 In a word, Marcus, though residing at Rome, planned and executed everything necessary to the prosecution of the war.

⁹¹ In Armenia the campaign was successfully prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors. This name Marcus refused at first, by reason of his modesty, but afterwards accepted. 2 When the Parthian war was finished, moreover, each emperor was called Parthicus; but this name also Marcus refused when first offered, though afterwards he accepted it. 3 And further, when the title “Father of his Country” was offered him in his brother’s absence, he deferred action upon it until the latter should be present. 4 In the midst of this war he entrusted his daughter, who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with the latter’s uncle, Civica. 5 Immediately thereafter he returned to Rome, recalled by the talk of those who said that he wished to appropriate to himself the glory of finishing the war and had therefore set out for Syria. 6 He wrote to the proconsul, furthermore, that no one should meet his daughter as she made her journey.

⁷ In the meantime, he put such safeguards about suits for personal freedom — and he was the first to do so — as to order that every citizen should bestow names upon his free-born children within thirty days after birth and declare them to the prefects of the treasury of Saturn. 8 In the provinces, too, he established the use of public records, in which entries concerning births were to be made in the same manner as at Rome in the office of the prefects of the treasury, the

purpose being that if any one born in the provinces should plead a case to prove freedom, he might submit evidence from these records. 9 Indeed, he strengthened this entire law dealing with declarations of freedom, and he enacted other laws dealing with money-lenders and public sales.

¹⁰ 1 He made the senate the judge in many inquiries and even in those which belonged to his own jurisdiction. With regard to the status of deceased persons, he ordered that any investigations must be made within five years. 2 Nor did any of the emperors show more respect to the senate than he. To do the senate honour, moreover, he entrusted the settling of disputes to many men of praetorian and consular rank who then held no magistracy, in order that their prestige might be enhanced through their administration of law. 3 He enrolled in the senate many of his friends, giving them the rank of aedile or praetor; 4 and on a number of poor but honest senators he bestowed the rank of tribune or aedile. 5 Nor did he ever appoint anyone to senatorial rank whom he did not know well personally. 6 He granted senators the further privilege that whenever any of them was to be tried on a capital charge, he would examine the evidence behind closed doors and only after so doing would bring the case to public trial; nor would he allow members of the equestrian order to attend such investigations. 7 He always attended the meetings of the senate if he was in Rome, even though no measure was to be proposed, and if he wished to propose anything himself, he came in person even from Campania. 8 More than this, when elections were held he often remained even until night, never leaving the senate-chamber 9 until the consul announced, "We detain you no longer, Conscript Fathers". Further, he appointed the senate judge in appeals made from the consul.

¹⁰ To the administration of justice he gave singular care. He added court-days to the calendar until he had set 230 days for the pleading of cases and judging of suits, 11 and he was the first to appoint a special praetor in charge of the praetor of wards, in order that greater care might be exercised in dealing with trustees; for previously the appointment of trustees had been in the hands of the consuls. 12 As regards guardians, indeed, he decided that all youths might have them appointed without being obliged to show cause therefor, whereas previously they were appointed under the Plaetorian Law, or in cases of prodigality or madness.

¹¹ In the matter of public expenditures he was exceedingly careful, and he forbade all libels on the part of false informers, putting the mark of infamy on such as made false accusations. He scorned such accusations as would swell the privy-purse. 2 He devised many wise measures for the support of the state-poor, and, that he might give a wider range to the senatorial functions, he appointed supervisors for many communities from the senate. 3 In times of famine he

furnished the Italian communities with food from the city; indeed, he made careful provision for the whole matter of the grain-supply. 4 He limited gladiatorial shows in every way, and lessened the cost of free theatrical performances also, decreeing that though an actor might receive five aurei, nevertheless no one who gave a performance should expend more than ten. 5 The streets of the city and the highways he maintained with the greatest care. As for the grain-supply, for that he provided laboriously. 6 He appointed judges for Italy and thereby provided for its welfare, after the plan of Hadrian, who had appointed men of consular rank to administer the law; 7 and he made scrupulous provision, furthermore, for the welfare of the provinces of Spain, which, in defiance of the policy of Trajan, had been exhausted by levies from the Italian settlers. 8 Also he enacted laws about inheritance-taxes, about the property of freedmen held in trust, about property inherited from the mother, about the succession of the sons to the mother's share, and likewise that senators of foreign birth should invest a fourth part of their capital in Italy. 9 And besides this, he gave the commissioners of districts and streets power either themselves to punish those who fleeced anyone of money beyond his due assessment, or to bring them to the prefect of the city for punishment. 10 He engaged rather in the restoration of old laws than in the making of new, and ever kept near him prefects with whose authority and responsibility he framed his laws. He made use of Scaevola also, a man particularly learned in jurisprudence.

^{12 1} Toward the people he acted just as one acts in a free state. 2 He was at all times exceedingly reasonable both in restraining men from evil and in urging them to good, generous in rewarding and quick to forgive, thus making bad men good, and good men very good, and he even bore with unruffled temper the insolence of not a few. 3 For example, when he advised a man of abominable reputation, who was running for office, a certain Vetrasinus, to stop the town-talk about himself, and Vetrasinus replied that many who had fought with him in the arena were now praetors, the Emperor took it with good grace. 4 Again, in order to avoid taking an easy revenge on any one, instead of ordering a praetor who had acted very badly in certain matters to resign his office, he merely entrusted the administration of the law to the man's colleague. 5 The privy-purse never influenced his judgment in law-suits involving money. 6 Finally, if he was firm, he was also reasonable.

⁷ After his brother had returned victorious from Syria, the title "Father of his Country" was decreed to both, inasmuch as Marcus in the absence of Verus had conducted himself with great consideration toward both senators and commons. 8 Furthermore, the civic crown was offered to both; and Lucius demanded that Marcus triumph with him, and demanded also that the name Caesar should be

given to Marcus' sons. 9 But Marcus was so free from love of display that though he triumphed with Lucius, nevertheless after Lucius' death he called himself only Germanicus, the title he had won in his own war. 10 In the triumphal procession, moreover, they carried with them Marcus' children of both sexes, even his unmarried daughters; 11 and they viewed the games held in honour of the triumph clad in the triumphal robe. 12 Among other illustrations of his unfailing consideration towards others this act of kindness is to be told: After one lad, a rope-dancer, had fallen, he ordered mattresses spread under all rope-dancers. This is the reason why a net is stretched them to day.

¹³ While the Parthian war was still in progress, the Marcomannic war broke out, after having been postponed for a long time by the diplomacy of the men who were in charge there, in order that the Marcomannic war might not be waged until Rome was done with the war in the East. 14 Even at the time of the famine the Emperor had hinted at this war to the people, and when his brother returned after five years' service, he brought the matter up in the senate, saying that both emperors were needed for the German war. 13 So great was the dread of this Marcomannic war, that Antoninus summoned priests from all sides, performed foreign religious ceremonies, and purified the city in every way, and he was delayed thereby from setting out to the seat of war. 2 The Roman ceremony of the feast of the gods was celebrated for seven days. 3 And there was such a pestilence, besides, that the dead were removed in carts and waggons. 4 About this time, also, the two emperors ratified certain very stringent laws on burial and tombs, in which they even forbade any one to build a tomb at his country-place, a law still in force. 5 Thousands were carried off by the pestilence, including many nobles, for the most prominent of whom Antoninus erected statues. 6 Such, too, was his kindliness of heart that he had funeral ceremonies performed for the lower classes even at the public expense; and in the case of one foolish fellow, who, in a search with divers confederates for an opportunity to plunder the city, continually made speeches from the wild fig-tree on the Campus Martius, to the effect that fire would fall down from heaven and the end of the world would come should he fall from the tree and be turned into a stork, and finally at the appointed time did fall down and free a stork from his robe, the Emperor, when the wretch was hailed^o before him and confessed all, pardoned him.

¹⁴ 1 Clad in the military cloak the two emperors finally set forth, for now not only were the Victuali and Marcomanni throwing everything into confusion, but other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians and had retreated before them, were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received. 2 And not a little good resulted from that expedition, even by the time they had

advanced as far as Aquileia, for several kings retreated, together with their peoples, and put to death the authors of the trouble. 3 And the Quadi, after they had lost their king, said that they would not confirm the successor who had been elected until such a course was approved by our emperors. 4 Nevertheless, Lucius went on, though reluctantly, after a number of peoples had sent ambassadors to the legates of the emperors asking pardon for the rebellion. 5 Lucius, it is true, thought they should return, because Furius Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, had been lost, and part of his army had perished; Marcus, however, held that they should press on, thinking that the barbarians, in order that they might not be crushed by the size of so great a force, were feigning a retreat and using other ruses which afford safety in war, held that they should persist in order that they might not be overwhelmed by the mere burden of their vast preparations. 6 Finally, they crossed the Alps, and pressing further on, completed all measures necessary for the defence of Italy and Illyricum. 7° They then decided, at Lucius' insistence, that letters should first be sent ahead to the senate and that Lucius should then return to Rome. 8 But on the way, after they had set out upon their journey, Lucius died from a stroke of apoplexy while riding in the carriage with his brother.

^{15 1} It was customary with Marcus to read, listen to, and sign documents at the circus-games; because of this habit he was openly ridiculed, it is said, by the people.

² The freedmen Geminus and Agaclytus were very powerful in the reign of Marcus and Verus.

³ Such was Marcus' sense of honour, moreover, that although Verus' vices mightily offended him, he concealed and defended them; he also deified him after his death, aided and advanced his aunts and sisters by means of honours and pensions, honoured Verus himself with many sacrifices, 4 consecrated a flamen for him and a college of Antonine priests, and gave him all honours that are appointed for the deified. 5 There is no emperor who is not the victim of some evil tale, and Marcus is no exception. For it was bruited about, in truth, that he put Verus out of the way, either with poison — by cutting a sow's womb with a knife smeared on one side with poison, and then offering the poisoned portion to his brother to eat, while keeping the harmless portion for himself — 6 or, at least, by employing the physician Posidippus, who bled Verus, it is said, unseasonably. After Verus' death Cassius revolted from Marcus.

¹⁶ Such was Marcus' kindness toward his own family that he bestowed the insignia of every office on all his kin, while on his son, and an accursed and foul one he was, he hastened to bestow the name of Caesar, then afterward the priesthood, and, a little later, the title of imperator and a share in a triumph and

the consulship. 2 It was at this time that Marcus, though acclaimed imperator, ran on foot in the Circus by the side of the triumphal car in which his son was seated.

³ After the death of Verus, Marcus Antoninus held the empire alone, a nobler man by far and more abounding in virtues, ⁴ especially as he was no longer hampered by Verus' faults, neither by those of excessive candour and hot-headed plain speaking, from which Verus suffered through natural folly, nor by those others which had particularly irked Marcus Antoninus even from his earliest years, the principles and habits of a depraved mind. ⁵ Such was Marcus' own repose of spirit that neither in grief nor in joy did he ever change countenance, being wholly given over to the Stoic philosophy, which he had not only learned from all the best masters, but also acquired for himself from every source. ⁶ For this reason Hadrian would have taken him for his own successor to the throne had not his youth prevented. ⁷ This intention, indeed, seems obvious from the fact that he chose Marcus to be the son-in law of Pius, in order that the direction of the Roman state might some time at least come into his hands, as to those of one well worthy.

¹⁷ Toward the provinces from then on he acted with extreme restraint and consideration. He carried on a successful campaign against the Germans. 2 He himself singled out the Marcomannic war — a war which surpassed any in the memory of man — and waged it with both valour and success, and that at a time when a grievous pestilence had carried away thousands of civilians and soldiers. 3 And so, by crushing the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and even the Quadi, he freed the Pannonias from bondage, and with Commodus his son, whom he had previously named Caesar, triumphed at Rome, as we told above. 4 When he had drained the treasury for this war, moreover, and could not bring himself to impose any extraordinary tax on the provincials, he held a public sale in the Forum of the Deified Trajan of the imperial furnishings, and sold goblets of gold and crystal and murra, even flagons made for kings, his wife's silken gold-embroidered robes, and, indeed, even certain jewels which he had found in considerable numbers in a particularly holy cabinet of Hadrian's. ⁵ This sale lasted for two months, and such a store of gold was realised thereby, that after he had conducted the remainder of the Marcomannic war in full accordance with his plans, he gave the buyers to understand that if any of them wished to return his purchases and recover his money, he could do so. Nor did he make it unpleasant for anyone who did or did not return what he had bought. At this time, also, he granted permission to the more prominent men to hold banquets with the same pomp that he used himself and with servants similar to his own. 7 In the matter of public games, furthermore, he was so liberal as to present a

hundred lions together in one performance and have them all killed with arrows.

^{18 1} After he had ruled, then, with the good-will of all, and had been named and beloved variously as brother, father, or son by various men according to their several ages, in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life he closed his last day. 2 Such love for him was manifested on the day of the imperial funeral that none thought that men should lament him, since all were sure that he had been lent by the gods and had now returned to them. 3 Finally, before his funeral was held, so many say, the senate and people, not in separate places but sitting together, as was never done before or after, hailed him as a gracious god.

⁴ This man, so great, so good, and an associate of the gods both in life and in death, left one son Commodus; and had he been truly fortunate he would not have left a son. 5 It was not enough, indeed, that people of every age, sex, degree and rank in life, gave him all honours given to the gods, but also whosoever failed to keep the Emperor's image in his home, if his fortune were such that he could or should have done so, was deemed guilty of sacrilege. 6 Even to day, in fine, statues of Marcus Antoninus stand in many a home among the household gods. 7 Nor were there lacking men who observed that he foretold many things by dreams and were thereby themselves enabled to predict events that did come to pass. Therefore a temple was built for him and priests were appointed, dedicated to the service of the Antonines, both Sodales and flamens, and all else that the usage of old time decreed for a consecrated temple.

^{19 1} Some say, and it seems plausible, that Commodus Antoninus, his son and successor, was not begotten by him, but in adultery; 2 they embroider this assertion, moreover, with a story current among the people. On a certain occasion, it was said, Faustina, the daughter of Pius and wife of Marcus, saw some gladiators pass by, and was inflamed for love of one of them; and afterwards, when suffering from a long illness, she confessed the passion to her husband. 3 And when Marcus reported this to the Chaldeans, it was their advice that Faustina should bathe in his blood and thus couch with her husband. 4 When this was done, the passion was indeed allayed, but their son Commodus was born a gladiator, not really a prince; 5 for afterwards as emperor he fought almost a thousand gladiatorial bouts before the eyes of the people, as shall be related in his life. 6 This story is considered plausible, as a matter of fact, for the reason that the son of so virtuous a prince had habits worse than any trainer of gladiators, any play-actor, any fighter in the arena, anything brought into existence from the offscourings of all dishonour and crime. 7 Many writers, however, state that Commodus was really begotten in adultery, since it is generally known that Faustina, while at Caieta, used to choose out lovers from

among the sailors and gladiators. 8 When Marcus Antoninus was told about this, that he might divorce, if not kill her, he is reported to have said “If we send our wife away, we must also return her dowry”. 9 And what was her dowry? the Empire, which, after he had been adopted at the wish of Hadrian, he had inherited from his father-in law Pius.

¹⁰ But truly such is the power of the life, the holiness, the serenity, and the righteousness of a good emperor that not even the scorn felt for his kin can sully his own good name. 11 For since Antoninus held ever to his moral code and was moved by no man’s whispered machinations, men thought no less of him because his son was a gladiator, his wife infamous. 12 Even now he is called a god, which ever has seemed and even now seems right to you, most venerable Emperor Diocletian, who worship him among your divinities, not as you worship the others, but as one apart, and who often say that you desire, in life and gentleness, to be such a one as Marcus, even though, as far as philosophy is concerned, Plato himself, were he to return to life, could not be such a philosopher. So much, then, for these matters, told briefly and concisely.

²⁰ 1 But as for the acts of Marcus Antoninus after the death of his brother, they are as follows: First of all, he conveyed his body to Rome and laid it in the tomb of his fathers. 2 Then divine honours were ordered for Verus. Later, while rendering thanks to the senate for his brother’s deification, he darkly hinted that all the strategic plans whereby the Parthians had been overcome were his own. 3 He added, besides, certain statements in which he indicated that now at length he would make a fresh beginning in the management of the state, now that Verus, who had seemed somewhat negligent, was removed. 4 And the senate took this precisely as it was said, so that Marcus seemed to be giving thanks that Verus had departed this life. 5 Afterwards he bestowed many privileges and much honour and money on all Verus’ sisters, kin, and freedmen. For he was exceedingly solicitous about his good reputation, indeed he was wont to ask what men really said of him, and to correct whatever seemed justly blamed.

⁶ Just before setting out for the German war, and before the period of mourning had yet expired, he married his daughter to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight, and now advanced in years, a native of Antioch, whose birth was not sufficiently noble (though Marcus later made him consul twice), 7 since Marcus’ daughter was an Augusta and the daughter of an Augusta. Indeed, Faustina and the girl who was given in marriage were both opposed to this match.

²¹ 1 Against the Mauri, when they wasted almost the whole of Spain, matters were brought to a successful conclusion by his legates; 2 and when the warriors of the Bucolici did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by

Avidius Cassius, who later attempted to seize the throne. 3 Just before his departure, while he was living in retreat at Praeneste, Marcus lost his seven-year old son, by name Verus Caesar, from an operation on a tumour under his ear. 4 For no more than five days did he mourn him; and even during this period, when consulted on public affairs he gave some time to them. And because the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus were then in progress 5 and he did not wish to have them interrupted by public mourning, he merely ordered that statues should be decreed for his dead son, that a golden image of him should be carried in procession at the Circus, and that his name should be inserted in the song of the Salii.

⁶ And since the pestilence was still raging at this time, he both zealously revived the worship of the gods and trained slaves for military service — just as had been done in the Punic war — whom he called Volunteers, after the example of the Volones. 7 He armed gladiators also, calling them the Compliant, and turned even the bandits of Dalmatia and Dardania into soldiers. He armed the Diogmitae, besides, and even hired auxiliaries from among the Germans for service against Germans. 8 And besides all this, he proceeded with all care to enrol legions for the Marcomannic and German war. 9 And lest all this prove burdensome to the provinces, he held an auction of the palace furnishings in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, as we have related, and sold there, besides robes and goblets and golden flagons, even statues and paintings by great artists. 10 He overwhelmed the Marcomanni while they were crossing the Danube, and restored the plunder to the provincials. 2 Then, from the borders of Illyricum even into Gaul, all the nations banded together against us — the Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri and Quadi, the Suebians, Sarmatians, Lacringes and Buri, these and certain others together with the Victuali, namely, Osi, Bessi, Cobotes, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alani, Peucini, and finally, the Costoboci. Furthermore, war threatened in Parthia and Britain. 2 Thereupon, by immense labour on his own part, while his soldiers reflected his energy, and both legates and prefects of the guard led the host, he conquered these exceedingly fierce peoples, accepted the surrender of the Marcomanni, and brought a great number of them to Italy.

³ Always before making any move, he conferred with the foremost men concerning matters not only of war but also of civil life. 4 This saying particularly was ever on his lips: “It is juster that I should yield to the counsel of such a number of such friends than that such a number of such friends should yield to my wishes, who am but one”. 5 But because Marcus, as a result of his system of philosophy, seemed harsh in his military discipline and indeed in his life in general, he was bitterly assailed; 6 to all who spoke ill of him, however, he made reply either in speeches or in pamphlets. 7 And because in this German,

or Marcomannic, war, or rather I should say in this “War of Many Nations,” many nobles perished, for all of whom he erected statues in the Forum of Trajan, 8 his friends often urged him to abandon the war and return to Rome. He, however, disregarded this advice and stood his ground, nor did he withdraw before he had brought all the wars to a conclusion. 9 Several proconsular provinces he changed into consular, and several consular provinces into proconsular or praetorian, according to the exigencies of war. 10 He checked disturbances among the Sequani by a rebuke and by his personal influence; 11 and in Spain, likewise, he quieted the disturbances which had arisen in Lusitania. 12 And having summoned his son Commodus to the border of the empire, he gave him the toga virilis, in honour of which he distributed largess among the people, and appointed him consul before the legal age.

²³ 1 He was always displeased at hearing that anyone had been outlawed by the prefect of the city. 2 He himself was very sparing of the public money in giving largess — a fact which we mention rather in praise than in disparagement — 3 but nevertheless he gave financial assistance to the deserving, furnished aid to towns on the brink of ruin, and, when necessity demanded, cancelled tribute or taxes. 4 And while absent from Rome he left forceful instructions that the amusements of the Roman people should be provided for by the richest givers of public spectacles, 5 because, when he took the gladiators away to the war, there was talk among the people that he intended to deprive them of their amusements and thereby drive them to the study of philosophy. 6 Indeed, he had ordered that the actors of pantomimes should begin their performances nine days later than usual in order that business might not be interfered with. 7 There was talk, as we mentioned above, about his wife’s intrigues with pantomimists; however, he cleared her of all these charges in his letters. 8 He forbade riding and driving within the limits of any city. He abolished common baths for both sexes. He reformed the morals of the matrons and young nobles which were growing lax. He separated the sacred rites of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia. 9 There was a report, furthermore, that certain men masquerading as philosophers had been making trouble both for the state and for private citizens; but this charge he refuted.

²⁴ 1 It was customary with Antoninus to punish all crimes with lighter penalties than were usually inflicted by the laws; although at times, toward those who were clearly guilty of serious crimes he remained implacable. 2 He himself held those trials of distinguished men which involved the death-penalty, and always with the greatest justice. Once, indeed, he rebuked a praetor who heard the pleas of accused men in too summary a fashion, and ordered him to hold the trials again, saying that it was a matter of concern to the honour of the accused that

they should be heard by a judge who really represented the people. 3 He scrupulously observed justice, moreover, even in his dealings with captive enemies. He settled innumerable foreigners on Roman soil. 4 By his prayers he summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy, and successfully besought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst.

⁵ He wished to make a province of Marcomannia and likewise of Sarmatia, and he would have done so 6 had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East. This man proclaimed himself emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina, who was now in despair over her husband's death; 7 others, however, say that Cassius proclaimed himself emperor after spreading false rumours of Antoninus' death, and indeed he had called him the Deified. 8 Antoninus was not much disturbed by this revolt, nor did he adopt harsh measures against Cassius' dear ones. 9 The senate, however, declared Cassius a public enemy and confiscated his property to the public treasury. 25 The Emperor, then, abandoning the Sarmatian and Marcomannic wars, set out against him. 2 At Rome there was a panic for fear that Cassius would arrive during Antoninus' absence; but he was speedily slain and his head was brought to Antoninus. 3 Even then, Marcus did not rejoice at Cassius' death, and gave orders that his head should be buried. 4 Maecianus, Cassius' ally, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed, was killed by the army; likewise his prefect of the guard — for he had appointed one — was also slain. 5 Marcus then forbade the senate to impose any heavy punishment upon those who had conspired in this revolt; 6 and at the same time, in order that his reign might escape such a stain, he requested that during his rule no senator should be executed. 7 Those who had been exiled, moreover, he ordered to be recalled; and there were only a very few of the centurions who suffered the death-penalty. 8 He pardoned the communities which had sided with Cassius, and even went so far as to pardon the citizens of Antioch, who had said many things in support of Cassius and in opposition to himself. 9 But he did abolish their games and public meetings, including assemblies of every kind, and issued a very severe edict against the people themselves. 10 And yet a speech which Marcus delivered to his friends, reported by Marius Maximus, brands them as rebels. 11 And finally, he refused to visit Antioch when he journeyed to Syria, 12 nor would he visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius. Later on, however, he did visit Antioch. Alexandria, when he stayed there, he treated with clemency.

^{26 1} He conducted many negotiations with kings, and ratified peace with all the kings and satraps of Persia when they came to meet him. 2 He was exceedingly beloved by all the eastern provinces, and on many, indeed, he left the imprint of philosophy. 3 While in Egypt he conducted himself like a private citizen and a

philosopher at all the stadia, temples, and in fact everywhere. And although the citizens of Alexandria had been outspoken in wishing Cassius success, he forgave everything and left his daughter among them. 4 And now, in the village of Halala, in the foothills of Mount Taurus, he lost his wife Faustina, who succumbed to a sudden illness. 5 He asked the senate to decree her divine honours and a temple, and likewise delivered a eulogy of her, although she had suffered grievously from the reputation of lewdness. Of this, however, Antoninus was either ignorant or affected ignorance. 6 He established a new order of Faustinian girls in honour of his dead wife, 7 expressed his pleasure at her deification by the senate, 8 and because she had accompanied him on his summer campaign, called her “Mother of the Camp”. 9 And besides this, he made the village where Faustina died a colony, and there built a temple in her honour. This, however, was afterwards consecrated to Elagabalus.

¹⁰ With characteristic clemency, he suffered rather than ordered the execution of Cassius, 11 while Heliodorus, the son of Cassius, was merely banished, and others of his children exiled but allowed part of their father’s property. 12 Cassius’s sons, moreover, were granted over half their father’s estate and were enriched besides with sums of gold and silver, while the women of the family were presented with jewels. Indeed, Alexandria, Cassius’ daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in law, were allowed to travel wherever they wished, and were even put under the protection of the Emperor’s uncle by marriage. 13 And further than this, he grieved at Cassius’ death, saying that he had wished to complete his reign without shedding the blood of a single senator.

^{27 1} After he had settled affairs in the East he came to Athens, and had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries in order to prove that he was innocent of any wrong-doing, and he entered the sanctuary unattended. 2 Afterwards, when returning to Italy, he encountered a violent storm on the way. 3 Then, reaching Italy by way of Brundisium, he donned the toga and bade his troops do likewise, nor indeed during his reign were the soldiers ever clad in the military cloak. 4 When he reached Rome he triumphed, then hastened to Lavinium. 5 Presently he appointed Commodus his colleague in the tribunician power, bestowed largess upon the people, and gave marvellous games; shortly thereafter he remedied many civil abuses, 6 and set a limit to the expense of gladiatorial shows. 7 Ever on his lips was a saying of Plato’s, that those states prospered where the philosophers were kings or the kings philosophers. 8 He united his son in marriage with the daughter of Bruttius Praesens, performing the ceremony in the manner of ordinary citizens; and in celebration of the marriage he gave largess to the people.

⁹ He then turned his attention to completing the war, in the conduct of which

he died. During this time the behaviour of his son steadily fell away from the standard the Emperor had set for himself. 10 For three years thereafter he waged war with the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians, and the Quadi, and had he lived a year longer he would have made these regions provinces. 11 Two days before his death, it is said, he summoned his friends and expressed the same opinion about his son that Philip expressed about Alexander when he too thought poorly of his son, and added that it grieved him exceedingly to leave a son behind him. 12 For already Commodus had made it clear that he was base and cruel.

²⁸ 1 He died in the following manner: When he began to grow ill, he summoned his son and besought him first of all not to think lightly of what remained of the war, lest he seem a traitor to the state. 2 And when his son replied that his first desire was good health, he allowed him to do as he wished, only asking him to wait a few days and not leave at once. 3 Then, being eager to die, he refrained from eating or drinking, and so aggravated the disease. 4 On the sixth day he summoned his friends, and with derision for all human affairs and scorn for death, said to them: "Why do you weep for me, instead of thinking about the pestilence and about death which is the common lot of us all?" 5 And when they were about to retire he groaned and said: "If you now grant me leave to go, I bid you farewell and pass on before." 6 And when he was asked to whom he commended his son he replied: "To you, if he prove worthy, and to the immortal gods". 7 The army, when they learned of his sickness, lamented loudly, for they loved him singularly. 8 On the seventh day he was weary and admitted only his son, and even him he at once sent away in fear that he would catch the disease. 9 And when his son had gone, he covered his head as though he wished to sleep and during the night he breathed his last. 10 It is said that he foresaw that after his death Commodus would turn out as he actually did, and expressed the wish that his son might die, lest, as he himself said, he should become another Nero, Caligula, or Domitian.

²⁹ 1 It is held to Marcus' discredit that he advanced his wife's lovers, Tertullus and Tutilius and Orfitus and Moderatus, to various offices of honour, although he had caught Tertullus in the very act of breakfasting with his wife. 2 In regard to this man the following dialogue was spoken on the stage in the presence of Antoninus himself. The Fool asked the Slave the name of his wife's lover and the Slave answered "Tullus" three times; and when the Fool kept on asking, the Slave replied, "I have already told you thrice Tullus is his name". 3 But the city-populace and others besides talked a great deal about this incident and found fault with Antoninus for his forbearance.

⁴ Previous to his death, and before he returned to the Marcomannic war, he

swore in the Capitol that no senator had been executed with his knowledge and consent, and said that had he known he would have spared even the insurgents. 5 Nothing did he fear and deprecate more than a reputation for covetousness, a charge of which he tried to clear himself in many letters. 6 Some maintain — and held it a fault — that he was insincere and not as guileless as he seemed, indeed not as guileless as either Pius or Verus had been. 7 Others accused him of encouraging the arrogance of the court by keeping his friends from general social intercourse and from banquets.

⁸ His parents were deified at his command, and even his parents' friends, after their death, he honoured with statues.

⁹ He did not readily accept the version of those who were partisans in any matter, but always searched long and carefully for the truth.

¹⁰ After the death of Faustina, Fabia tried to manoeuvre a marriage with him. But he took a concubine instead, the daughter of a steward of his wife's, rather than put a stepmother over so many children.

The Life of Lucius Verus

^{1 1} Most men, I well know, who have enshrined in literature and history the lives of Marcus and Verus, have made Verus known to their readers first, following the order, not of their reigns, but of their lives. ² I, however, have thought, since Marcus began to rule first and Verus only afterwards and Verus died while Marcus still lived on, that Marcus' life should be related first, and then that of Verus.

³ °Now, Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus — called Aelius by the wish of Hadrian, Verus and Antoninus because of his relationship to Antoninus — is not to be classed with either the good or the bad emperors. ⁴ For, in the first place, it is agreed that if he did not bristle with vices, no more did he abound in virtues; and, in the second place, he enjoyed, not unrestricted power, but a sovereignty on like terms and equal dignity with Marcus, from whom he differed, however, as far as morals went, both in the laxity of his principles and the excessive licence of his life. ⁵ For in character he was utterly ingenuous and unable to conceal a thing.

⁶ His real father, Lucius Aelius Verus (who was adopted by Hadrian), was the first man to receive the name of Caesar and die without reaching a higher rank. ⁷ His grandfathers and great-grandfathers and likewise many other of his ancestors were men of consular rank. ⁸ Lucius himself was born at Rome while his father was praetor, on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of January, the birthday of Nero as well — who also held the throne. ⁹ His father's family came mostly from Etruria, his mother's from Faventia.

^{2 1} Such, then, was his real ancestry; but when his father was adopted by Hadrian he passed into the Aelian family, and when his father Caesar died, he still stayed in the family of Hadrian. ² By Hadrian he was given in adoption to Aurelius, when Hadrian, making abundant provision for the succession, wished to make Pius his son and Marcus his grandson; ³ °and he was given on the condition that he should espouse the daughter of Pius. She was later given to Marcus, however, as we have related in his life, because Verus seemed too much her junior in years, ⁴ while Verus took to wife Marcus' daughter Lucilla. He was reared in the House of Tiberius, ⁵ and received instruction from the Latin grammarian Scaurinus (the son of the Scaurus who had been Hadrian's teacher in grammar), the Greeks Telephus, Hephæstio, Harpocrates, the rhetoricians Apollonius, Caninius Celer, Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius Fronto, his teachers in philosophy being Apollonius and Sextus. ⁶ For all of these he

cherished a deep affection, and in return he was beloved by them, and this despite his lack of natural gifts in literary studies. 7 In his youth he loved to compose verses, and later on in life, orations. And, in truth, he is said to have been a better orator than poet, or rather, to be strictly truthful, a worse poet than speaker. 8 Nor are there lacking those who say that he was aided by the wit of his friends, and that the things credited to him, such as they are, were written by others; and in fact it is said that he did keep in his employ a number of eloquent and learned men. 9 Nicomedes was his tutor. He was devoted to pleasure, too care-free, and very clever, within proper bounds, at every kind of frolic, sport, and raillery. 10 At the age of seven he passed into the Aurelian family, and was moulded by the manners and influence of Marcus. He loved hunting and wrestling, and indeed all the sports of youth. 11 And at the age of three and twenty he was still a private citizen in the imperial household.

³¹ On the day when Verus assumed the toga virilis Antoninus Pius, who on that same occasion dedicated a temple to his father, gave largess to the people; 2 and Verus himself, when quaestor, gave the people a gladiatorial spectacle, at which he sat between Pius and Marcus. 3 Immediately after his quaestorship he was made consul, with Sextius Lateranus as his colleague, and a number of years later he was created consul for a second term together with his brother Marcus. 4 For a long time, however, he was merely a private citizen and lacked the marks of honour with which Marcus was continually being decorated. 5 For he did not have a seat in the senate until he was quaestor, and while travelling, he rode, not with his father, but with the prefect of the guard, nor was any title added to his name as a mark of honour save only that he was called the son of Augustus. 6 He was fond of circus-games no less than of gladiatorial spectacles. And although he was weakened by such follies of debauchery and extravagance, nevertheless Pius retained him as a son, for the reason, it seems, that Hadrian, wishing to call the youth his grandson, had ordered Pius to adopt him. Towards Pius, so far as it appears, Verus showed loyalty rather than affection. 7 Pius, however, loved the frankness of his nature and his unspoiled way of living, and encouraged Marcus to imitate him in these. 8 When Pius died, Marcus bestowed all honours upon Verus, even granting him a share in the imperial power; he made him his colleague, moreover, when the senate had presented the sovereignty to him alone.

^{4 1} After investing him the sovereignty, then, and installing him in the tribunician power, and after rendering him the further honour of the consulship, Marcus gave instructions that he be named Verus, transferring his own name to him, whereas previously he had been called Commodus. 2 In return for this, Verus obeyed Marcus, whenever he entered upon any undertaking, as a

lieutenant obeys a proconsul or a governor obeys the emperor. 3 For, at the beginning, he addressed the soldiers in his brother's behalf as well as his own, and in consideration of the joint rule he conducted himself with dignity and observed the moral standard that Marcus had set up.

⁴ When he set out for Syria, however, his name was smirched not only by the licence of an unbridled life, but also by adulteries and by love-affairs with young men. 5 Besides, he is said to have been so depraved as to install a cook-shop in his home after he returned from Syria, and to repair thither after Marcus' banquets and have all manner of foul persons serve him. 6 It is said, moreover, that he used to dice the whole night through, after he had taken up that vice in Syria, and that he so rivalled Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius in their vices as to wander about at night through taverns and brothels with only a common travelling-cap for a head-covering, revel with various rowdies, and engage in brawls, concealing his identity the while; and often, they say, when he returned, his face was beaten black and blue, and once he was recognised in a tavern even though he had hidden himself. 7 It was his wont also to hurl large coins into the cook-shops and therewith smash the cups. 8 He was very fond also of charioteers, favouring the "Greens". 9 He held gladiatorial bouts rather frequently at his banquets, and after continuing the meal far into the night he would fall asleep on the banqueting-couch, so that he had to be lifted up along with the covers and carried to his bedroom. 10 He never needed much sleep, however; and his digestion was excellent.

¹¹ But Marcus, though he was not without knowledge of these happenings, with characteristic modesty pretended ignorance for fear of censuring his brother. 5 One such banquet, indeed, became very notorious. This was the first banquet, it is said, at which couches were placed for twelve, although there is a very well-known saying about the proper number of those present at a banquet that "seven make a dinner, nine make a din". 2 Furthermore, the comely lads who did the serving were given as presents, one to each guest; carvers and platters, too, were presented to each, and also live animals either tame or wild, winged or quadruped, of whatever kind were the meats that were served, 3 and even goblets of murra or of Alexandrine crystal were presented to each man for each drink, as often as they drank. Besides this, he gave golden and silver and even jeweled cups, and garlands, too, entwined with golden ribbons and flowers out of season, golden vases with ointments made in the shape of perfume-boxes, 4 and even carriages, together with mules and muleteers, and trappings of silver, wherewith they might return home from the banquet. 5 The estimated cost of the whole banquet, it is reported, was six million sesterces. 6 And when Marcus heard of this dinner, they say, he groaned and bewailed the fate of the empire. 7

After the banquet, moreover, they dined until dawn. 8 And all this was done after the Parthian war, whither Marcus had sent him, it is said, either that he might commit his debaucheries away from the city and the eyes of all citizens, or that he might learn economy by his travels, or that he might return reformed through the fear inspired by war, or, finally, that he might come to realize that he was an emperor. 9 But how much good all this did is shown not only by the rest of his life, but also by this banquet of which we have just told.

⁶ 1 Such interest did Verus take in the circus-games that frequently even in his province he despatched and received letters pertaining to them. 2 And finally, even at Rome, when he was present and seated with Marcus, he suffered many insults from the “Blues,” because he had outrageously, as they maintained, taken sides against them. 3 For he had a golden statue made of the “Green” horse Volucer, and this he always carried around with him; 4 indeed, he was wont to put raisins and nuts instead of barley in this horse’s manger and to order him brought to him, in the House of Tiberius, covered with a blanket dyed with purple, and he built him a tomb, when he died, on the Vatican Hill. 5 It was because of this horse that gold pieces and prizes first began to be demanded for horses, 6 and in such honour was this horse held, that frequently a whole peck of gold pieces was demanded for him by the faction of the “Greens”.

⁷ When Verus set out for the Parthian war, Marcus accompanied him as far as Capua; from there on he gorged himself in everyone’s villa, and in consequence he was taken sick at Canusium, becoming very ill, so that his brother hastened thither to see him. 8 And now in the course of this war there were revealed many features of Verus’ life that were weak and base. 9 For while a legate was being slain, while legions were being slaughtered, while Syria meditated revolt, and the East was being devastated, Verus was hunting in Apulia, travelling about through Athens and Corinth accompanied by orchestras and singers, and dallying through all the cities of Asia that bordered on the sea, and those cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia that were particularly notorious for their pleasure-resorts. 7 And when he came to Antioch, there he gave himself wholly to riotous living. His generals, meanwhile, Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus for four years conducted the war until they advanced to Babylon and Media, and recovered Armenia. 2 He, however, gained the names Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus; and these were proffered to Marcus also, who was then living at Rome. 3 For four years, moreover, Verus passed his winters at Laodicea, his summers at Daphne, and the rest of the time at Antioch. 4 As far as the Syrians were concerned, he was an object for ridicule, and many of the jibes which they uttered against him on the stage are still preserved. 5 Always, during the Saturnalia and on holidays he admitted his more pampered slaves to his dining-

room. 6 Finally, however, at the insistence of his staff he set out for the Euphrates, 7 but soon, in order to receive his wife Lucilla, who had been sent thither by her father Marcus, he returned to Ephesus, going there chiefly in order that Marcus might not come to Syria with her and discover his evil deeds. For Marcus had told the senate that he himself would conduct his daughter to Syria. 8 Then, after the war was finished, he assigned kingdoms to certain kings, and provinces to certain members of his staff, to be ruled, 9 and returned to Rome for a triumph, reluctantly, however, since he was leaving in Syria what almost seemed his own kingdom. His triumph he shared with his brother, and from the senate he accepted the names which he had received in the army. 10 It is said, furthermore, that he shaved off his beard while in Syria to humour the whim of a low-born mistress; and because of this many things were said against him by the Syrians.

^{8.1} It was his fate to seem to bring a pestilence with him to whatever provinces he traversed on his return, and finally even to Rome. 2 It is believed that this pestilence originated in Babylonia, where a pestilential vapour arose in a temple of Apollo from a golden casket which a soldier had accidentally cut open, and that it spread thence over Parthia and the whole world. 3 Lucius Verus, however, is not to blame for this so much as Cassius, who stormed Seleucia in violation of an agreement, after it had received our soldiers as friends. 4 This act, indeed, many excuse, and among them Quadratus, the historian of the Parthian war, who blames the Seleucians as the first to break the agreement.

⁵ Such respect did Verus have for Marcus, that on the day of the triumph, which they celebrated together, he shared with his brother the names which had been granted to himself. 6 After he had returned from the Parthian war, however, Verus exhibited less regard for his brother; for he pampered his freedmen shamefully, and settled many things without his brother's counsel. 7 Besides all this, he brought actors out of Syria as proudly as though he were leading kings to a triumph. The chief of these was Maximinus, on whom he bestowed the name Paris. 8 Furthermore, he built an exceedingly notorious villa on the Clodian Way, and here he not only reviled himself for many days at a time in boundless extravagance together with his freedmen and friends of inferior rank in whose presence he felt no shame, but he even invited Marcus. 9 Marcus came, in order to display to his brother the purity of his own moral code as worthy of respect and imitation, and for five days, staying in the same villa, he busied himself continuously with the examination of law-cases, while his brother, in the meantime, was either banqueting or preparing banquets. 10 Verus maintained also the actor Agrippus, surnamed Memphius, whom he had brought with him from Syria, almost as a trophy of the Parthian war, and named Apolaustius. 11

He had brought with him, too, players of the harp and the flute, actors and jesters from the mimes, jugglers, and all kinds of slaves in whose entertainment Syria and Alexandria find pleasure, and in such numbers, indeed, that he seemed to have concluded a war, not against Parthians, but against actors.

⁹ This diversity in their manner of life, as well as many other causes, bred dissensions between Marcus and Verus — or so it was bruited about by obscure rumours although never established on the basis of manifest truth. ² But, in particular, this incident was mentioned: Marcus sent a certain Libo, a cousin of his, as his legate to Syria, and there Libo acted more insolently than a respectful senator should, saying that he would write to his cousin if he happened to need any advice. But Verus, who was there in Syria, could not suffer this, and when, a little later, Libo died after a sudden illness accompanied by all the symptoms of poisoning, it seemed probable to some people, though not to Marcus, that Verus was responsible for his death; and this suspicion strengthened the rumours of dissensions between the Emperors.

³ Verus' freedmen, furthermore, had great influence with him, as we related in the Life of Marcus, namely Geminus and Agaclytus. ⁴ To the latter of these he gave the widow of Libo in marriage against the wishes of Marcus; indeed, when Verus celebrated the marriage ceremony Marcus did not attend the banquet. ⁵ Verus had other unscrupulous freedmen as well, Coedes and Eclectus and others. ⁶ All of these Marcus dismissed after Verus' death, under pretext of doing them honour, with the exception of Eclectus, and he afterwards slew Marcus' son, Commodus.

⁷ When the German war broke out, the two Emperors went to the front together, for Marcus wished neither to send Lucius to the front alone, nor yet, because of his debauchery, to leave him in the city. ⁸ When they had come to Aquileia, they proceeded to cross the Alps, though this was contrary to Lucius' desire; for as long as they remained in Aquileia he did nothing but hunt and banquet while Marcus made all the plans. ⁹ As far as this war was concerned, we have very fully discussed in the Life of Marcus what was accomplished by the envoys of the barbarians when they sued for peace and what was accomplished by our generals. ¹⁰ When the war in Pannonia was settled, they returned to Aquileia at Lucius' insistence, and then, because he yearned for the pleasures of the city, they hastened cityward. ¹¹ But not far from Altinum, Lucius, while in his carriage, was suddenly stricken with the sickness which they call apoplexy, and after he had been set down from his carriage and bled, he was taken to Altinum, and here he died, after living for three days unable to speak.

^{10 1} There was gossip to the effect that he had violated his mother-in law Faustina. And it is said that his mother-in law killed him treacherously by having

poison sprinkled on his oysters, because he had betrayed to the daughter the amour he had had with the mother. 2 However, there arose also that other story related in the Life of Marcus, one utterly inconsistent with the character of such a man. 3 Many, again, fastened the crime of his death upon his wife, since Verus had been too complaisant to Fabia, and her power his wife Lucilla could not endure. 4 Indeed, Lucius and his sister Fabia did become so intimate that gossip went so far as to claim that they had entered into a conspiracy to make away with Marcus, 5 and that when this was betrayed to Marcus by the freedman Agaclytus, Faustina circumvented Lucius in fear that he might circumvent her.

⁶ Verus was well-proportioned in person and genial of expression. His beard was allowed to grow long, almost in the style of the barbarians; he was tall, and stately in appearance, for his forehead projected somewhat over his eyebrows. 7 He took such pride in his yellow hair, it is said, that he used to sift gold-dust on his head in order that his hair, thus brightened, might seem even yellower. 8 He was somewhat halting in speech, a reckless gambler, ever of an extravagant mode of life, and in many respects, save only that he was not cruel or given to acting, a second Nero. 9 Among other articles of extravagance he had a crystal goblet, named Volucer after that horse of which he had been very fond, that surpassed the capacity of any human draught.

¹¹ He lived forty-two years, and, in company with his brother, reigned eleven. His body was laid in the Tomb of Hadrian, where Caesar, his real father, was also buried.

² There is a well-known story, which Marcus' manner of life will not warrant, that Marcus handed Verus part of a sow's womb which he had poisoned by cutting it with a knife smeared on one side with poison. 3 But it is wrong even to think of such a deed in connection with Marcus, although the plans and deeds of Verus may have well deserved it; 4 nor shall we leave the matter undecided, but rather reject it discarded and disproved, since from the time of Marcus onward, with the exception of your Clemency, Diocletian Augustus, not even flattery, it seems, has been able to fashion such an emperor.

The Life of Avidius Cassius

¹ ¹ Avidius Cassius is said, according to the statements of some, to have belonged to the family of the Cassii, but only on his mother's side. His father was Avidius Severus, the first of the family to hold public office, who at first commanded in the ranks, but later attained to the highest honours of the state. ² Quadratus mentions him in his history, and certainly with all respect, for he declares that he was a very distinguished man, both indispensable to the state and influential with Marcus himself; ³ for he succumbed to the decrees of fate, it is said, when Marcus had already begun to rule.

⁴ Now Cassius, sprung, as we have said, from the family of the Cassii who conspired against Gaius Julius, secretly hated the principate and could not brook even the title of emperor, saying that the name of empire was all the more onerous because an emperor could not be removed from the state except by another emperor. ⁵ In his youth, they say, he tried to wrest the empire from Pius too, but through his father, a righteous and worthy man, he escaped detection in this attempt to seize the throne, though he continued to be suspected by Pius' generals. ⁶ Against Verus he organized a genuine conspiracy, as a letter of Verus' own, which I append, makes clear. ⁷ Extract from the letter of Verus: "Avidius Cassius is avid for the throne, as it seems to me and as was well-known in the reign of my grandfather, your father; I wish you would have him watched. ⁸ Everything we do displeases him, he is amassing no inconsiderable wealth, and he laughs at our letters. He calls you a philosophical old woman, me a half-witted spendthrift. Consider what should be done. ⁹ I do not dislike the man, but look to it lest you take too little heed for yourself and for your children when you keep in active service a man whom the soldiers are glad to hear and glad to see." ² Marcus' answer concerning Avidius Cassius: "I have read your letter, which is that of a disquieted man rather than that of a general, and one not worthy of our times. ² For if the empire is divinely decreed to be his, we cannot slay him even should we so desire. Remember what your great-grandfather used to say, 'No one ever kills his successor'. And if this is not the case, he will of himself fall into the toils of fate without any act of cruelty on our part. ³ Add that we cannot judge a man guilty whom no one has accused, and whom, as you say yourself, the soldiers love. ⁴ Furthermore, in cases of treason it is inevitable that even those who have been proved guilty seem to suffer injustice. ⁵ °For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said, 'Unhappy is the lot of emperors, who are never believed when they accuse anyone of pretending to the throne,

until after they are slain'. 6 I have preferred, moreover, to quote this as his, rather than as Domitian's, who is reported to have said it first, for good sayings when uttered by tyrants have not as much weight as they deserve. 7 So let Cassius keep his own ways, especially as he is an able general and a stern and brave man, and since the state has need of him. 8 And as for your statement that I should take heed for my children by killing him, by all means let my children perish, if Avidius be more deserving of love than they and if it profit the state for Cassius to live rather than the children of Marcus." Thus did Verus, thus did Marcus, write about Cassius.

^{3 1} But let us briefly portray the nature and character of the man; for not very much can be known about those men whose lives no one has dared to render illustrious through fear of those by whom they were overcome. 2 We will add, moreover, how he came to the throne, and how he was killed, and where he was conquered. 3 For I have undertaken, Diocletian Augustus, to set down in writing the lives of all who have held the imperial title whether rightfully or without right, in order that you may become acquainted with all the emperors that have ever worn the purple.

⁴ Such was his character, then, that sometimes he seemed stern and savage, sometimes mild and gentle, often devout and again scornful of sacred things, addicted to drink and also temperate, a lover of eating yet able to endure hunger, a devotee of Venus and a lover of chastity. 5 Nor were there lacking those who called him a second Catiline, and indeed he rejoiced to hear himself thus called, and added that he would really be a Sergius if he killed the philosopher, meaning by that name Antoninus. 6 For the emperor was so illustrious in philosophy that when he was about to set out for the Marcomannic war, and everyone was fearful that some ill-luck might befall him, he was asked, not in flattery but in all seriousness, to publish his "Precepts of Philosophy"; 7 and he did not fear to do so, but for three days discussed the books of his "Exhortations" one after the other. 8 Moreover, Avidius Cassius was a strict disciplinarian and wished to be called a Marius.

^{4 1} And since we have begun to speak of his strictness, there are many indications of what must be called savagery, rather than strictness, on his part. 2 For, in the first place, soldiers who had forcibly seized anything from the provincials he crucified on the very spot where they had committed the crime. 3 He was the first, moreover, to devise the following means of punishment: after erecting a huge post, 180 feet high, and binding condemned criminals on it from top to bottom, he built a fire at its base, and so burned some of them and killed the others by the smoke, the pain, and even by the fright. 4 Besides this, he had men bound in chains, ten together, and thrown into rivers or even the sea. 5

Besides this, he cut off the hands of many deserters, and broke the legs and hips of others, saying that a criminal alive and wretched was a more terrible example than one who had been put to death. 6 Once when he was commanding the army, a band of auxiliaries, at the suggestion of their centurions and without his knowledge, slaughtered 3,000 Sarmatians, who were camping somewhat carelessly on the bank of the Danube, and returned to him with immense plunder. But when the centurions expected a reward because they had slain such a host of the enemy with a very small force while the tribunes were passing their time in indolence and were even ignorant of the whole affair, he had them arrested and crucified, and punished them with the punishment of slaves, for which there was no precedent; "It might," he said, "have been an ambush, and the barbarians' awe for the Roman Empire might have been lost." 7 And when a fierce mutiny arose in the camp, he issued forth clad only in a wrestler's loin-cloth and said: "Strike me if you dare, and add the crime of murder to breach of discipline". 8 Then, as all grew quiet, he was held in well deserved fear, because he had shown no fear himself. 9 This incident so strengthened discipline among the Romans and struck such terror into the barbarians, that they besought the absent Antoninus for a hundred years' peace, since they had seen even those who conquered, if they conquered wrongfully, sentenced to death by the decision of a Roman general.

⁵¹ Many of the stern measures he took to put down the licence of the soldiers are recorded in the works of Aemilius Parthenianus, who has related the history of the pretenders to the throne from ancient times even to the present. 2 For example, after openly beating them with the lictors' rods in the forum and in the midst of the camp, he beheaded those who deserve it with the axe, and in numerous instances cut off his soldiers' hands. 3 He forbade the soldiers, moreover, to carry anything when on the march save lard and biscuit and vinegar, and if he discovered anything else he punished the breach of discipline with no light hand. 4 There is a letter concerning Cassius that the Deified Marcus wrote to his prefect, running somewhat as follows: 5 "I have put Avidius Cassius in command of the Syrian legions, which are running riot in luxury and conducting themselves with the morals of Daphne; concerning these legions Caesonius Vectilianus has written that he found them all accustomed to bathe in hot water. 6 And I think I have made no mistake, for you too know Cassius, a man of true Cassian strictness and rigour. 7 Indeed, the soldiers cannot be controlled except by the ancient discipline. You know what the good poet says, a line universally quoted:

'The state of Rome is rooted in the men and manners of the olden time.'

⁸ Do you take care only that provisions are abundantly provided for the

legions, for if I have judged Avidius correctly I know that they will not be wasted.” The prefect’s answer to Marcus runs: 9 “You planned wisely, Sire, when you put Cassius in command of the Syrian legions. 10 Nothing benefits Grecianized soldiers like a man who is somewhat strict. 11 He will certainly do away with all warm baths, and will strike all the flowers from the soldiers’ heads and necks and breasts. 12 Food for the soldiers is all provided; and nothing is lacking under an able general, for but little is either asked or expended.” 6 And Cassius did not disappoint the expectation that had been formed of him, for he immediately had the proclamation made at assembly, and posted notices on the walls, that if any one were discovered at Daphne in his uniform he would return without it. 2 Regularly once a week he inspected his soldiers’ equipment, even their clothes and shoes and leggings, and he banished all dissipation from the camp and issued an order that they would pass the winter in their tents if they did not mend their ways; and they would have done so, had they not conducted themselves more respectably. 3 Once a week there was a drill of all the soldiers, in which they even shot arrows and engaged in contests in the use of arms. 4 For he said that it was shameful that soldiers should not be trained, while athletes, wild beast fighters and gladiators were, for the soldiers’ future labours, if familiar to them, would be less onerous.

⁵ And so, having stiffened military discipline, he conducted affairs in Armenia and Arabia and Egypt with the greatest success. 6 He was well loved by all the eastern nations, especially by the citizens of Antioch, who even acquiesced in his rule, as Marius Maximus relates in his *Life of the Deified Marcus*. 7 And when the warriors of the *Bucolici* did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by Cassius, as Marius Maximus also relates in the second book of those he published on the *Life of Marcus*.

^{7.1} Finally, while in the East, he proclaimed himself emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina, who now despaired of Marcus’ health and was afraid that she would be unable to protect her infant children by herself, and that some one would arise and seize the throne and make away with the children. 2 Others, however, say that Cassius employed an artifice with the soldiers and provincials to overcome their love for Marcus so that they would join him, saying that Marcus had met his end. 3 And, indeed, he called him “the Deified,” it is said, in order to lessen their grief for him.

⁴ When his plan of making himself emperor had been put into effect, he forthwith appointed prefect of the guard the man who had invested him with the imperial insignia. This man was later put to death by the army against the wishes of Antoninus. The army also slew Maecianus, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed; he had joined Cassius in the hope of sharing the sovereignty with

him, and he too was slain against the wishes and without the knowledge of Antoninus.

⁵ For all that, Antoninus was not seriously angered on learning of this revolt, nor did he vent his rage on Cassius' children or on his kin. ⁶ The senate, however, pronounced him a public enemy and confiscated his property. But Antoninus was unwilling that this should be forfeited to the privy-purse, and so, at the bidding of the senate, it was delivered to the public treasury. ⁷ And there was no slight consternation at Rome; for many said that Avidius Cassius would advance on the city in the absence of Antoninus, who was singularly loved by all but the profligates, and that he would ravage it like a tyrant, especially because of the senators who had declared him an enemy to the state and confiscated his property. ⁸ The love felt for Antoninus was most clearly manifested in the fact that it was with the consent of all save the citizens of Antioch that Avidius was slain. ⁹ Antoninus, indeed, did not so much order his execution as suffer it; for it was clear to all that he would have spared him had it been in his power. ⁸ And when his head was brought to Antoninus he did not rejoice or exult, but rather was grieved that he had lost an opportunity for showing mercy; for he said that he had wished to take him alive, so that he might reproach him with the kindness he had shown him in the past, and then spare his life. ² Finally, when some one said that Antoninus deserved blame because he was so indulgent toward his enemy and his enemy's children and kin, and indeed toward every one whom he had found concerned in the outbreak, and added furthermore, "What if Cassius had been successful?" the Emperor said, it is reported: "We have not worshipped the gods in such a manner, or lived such lives, that he could overcome us". ³ Thereupon he pointed out that in the case of all the emperors who had been slain there had been reasons why they deserved to die, and that no emperor, generally recognized as good, had been conquered or slain by a pretender, ⁴ adding that Nero had deserved to die and Caligula had forfeited his life, while neither Otho nor Vitellius had really wished to rule. ⁵ He expressed similar sentiments concerning Galba also, saying that in an emperor avarice was the most grievous of all failings. ⁶ And lastly, he said, no rebels had succeeded in overcoming either Augustus, or Trajan, or Hadrian, or his own father, and, although there had been many of them, they had been killed either against the wishes or without the knowledge of those emperors. ⁷ Antoninus himself, moreover, asked the senate to refrain from inflicting severe punishment on those men who were implicated in the rebellion; he made this request at the very same time in which he requested that during his reign no senator be punished with capital punishment — an act which won him the greatest affection. ⁸ Finally, after he had punished a very few centurions, he gave orders that those who had been exiled should be

recalled. 9 The citizens of Antioch also had sided with Avidius Cassius, but these, together with certain other states which had aided Cassius, he pardoned, though at first he was deeply angered at the citizens of Antioch and took away their games and many of the distinctions of the city, all of which he afterwards restored. 2 To the sons of Avidius Cassius Antoninus he^o presented half of their father's property, and his daughters he even graced with gold and silver and jewels. 3 To Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in law, he gave unrestricted permission to travel wherever they liked. 4 And they lived not as the children of a pretender but as members of the senatorial order and in the greatest security, as was shown by orders he gave that not even in a law-suit should they be taunted with the fortunes of their family, and by his convicting certain people of personal affront who had been insulting to them. He even put them under the protection of his uncle by marriage.

⁵ If any one wishes, moreover, to know the whole of this story, let him read the second book of Marius Maximus on the life of Marcus, in which he relates everything that Marcus did as sole emperor after the death of Verus. 6 For it was during this time that Cassius rebelled, as a letter written to Faustina shows, from which the following is an extract: 7 "Verus told me the truth about Avidius, that he desired to rule. For I presume you heard what Verus' messengers reported about him. 8 Come, then, to our Alban villa, so that with the help of the gods we may prepare for everything, and do not be afraid." 9 It would appear from this that Faustina knew nothing of the affair, though Marius Maximus, wishing to defame her, says that it was with her connivance that Cassius attempted to seize the throne. 10 Indeed, we have also a letter of hers to her husband in which she urged Marcus to punish Cassius severely. 11 A copy of Faustina's letter to Marcus reads: "I shall come to our Alban villa to morrow, as you command. Yet I urge you now, if you love your children, to punish those rebels with all severity. 12 For soldiers and generals have an evil habit of crushing others if they are not crushed themselves." 10 Another letter of this same Faustina to Marcus reads similarly: "When Celsus revolted, my mother, Faustina, urged your father, Pius, to deal righteously first with his own kin, and then with strangers. 2 For no emperor is righteous who does not take thought for his wife and children. 3 You can see how young our son Commodus is; our son-in law Pompeianus is an elderly man and a foreigner besides. Consider well what you will do about Avidius Cassius and his accomplices. 5 Do not show forbearance to men who have shown no forbearance to you and would show none either to me or to your children, should they be victorious. 6 I shall follow you on your way presently; I have not been able to come to the Formian villa because our dear Fadilla was ill. 7 However, if I shall fail to find you at Formiae, I will follow on to Capua, a city

which can furnish help to me and our children in our sickness. 8 Please send the physician Soteridas to Formiae. I have no confidence in Pisitheus, who does not know how to treat a young girl. 9 Calpurnius has brought me a sealed letter: I shall reply to it, if I linger on here, through Caecilius, the old eunuch, a man to be trusted, as you know. 10 I shall also report through him, in a verbal message, what Cassius' wife and children and son-in law are said to be circulating about you."

¹¹ From these letters it can be seen that Faustina was not in collusion with Cassius, but, on the contrary, earnestly demanded his punishment; for, indeed, it was she who urged on Antoninus the necessity of vengeance when he was inclined to take no action and was considering more merciful measures. 2 The following letter tells what Antoninus wrote to her in reply: 3 "Truly, my Faustina, you are over-anxious about your husband and children. For while I was at Formiae I re-read the letter wherein you urged me to take vengeance on Avidius' accomplices. 4 I, however, shall spare his wife and children and son-in law, and I will write to the senate forbidding any immoderate confiscation or cruel punishment. 5 For there is nothing which endears a Roman emperor to mankind as much as the quality of mercy. 6 This quality caused Caesar to be deified and made Augustus a god, and it was this characteristic, more than any other, that gained your father his honourable name of Pius. 7 Indeed, if the war had been settled in accordance with my desires, Avidius would not have been killed. 8 So do not be anxious;

'Over me the gods keep guard, the gods hold dear my righteousness.'

I have named our son-in law Pompeianus consul for next year." Thus did Antoninus write to his wife.

^{12 1} It is of interest, moreover, to know what sort of a message he sent to the senate. 2 An extract from the message of Marcus Antoninus: "So then, in return for this manifestation of joy at our victory, Conscript Fathers, receive my son-in law as consul — Pompeianus, I mean, who has come to an age that were long since rewarded with the consulship, had there not stood in the way certain brave men, to whom it was right to give what was due them from the state. 3 And now, as to Cassius' revolt, I pray and beseech you, Conscript Fathers, lay aside your severity, and preserve the righteousness and mercy that are mine — nay rather I should say, yours — and let the senate put no man to death. 4 Let no senator be punished; let the blood of no distinguished man be shed; let those who have been exiled return to their homes; let those who have been outlawed recover their estates. 5 Would that I could also recall many from the grave! Vengeance for a personal wrong is never pleasing in an emperor, for the juster the vengeance is, the harsher it seems. 6 Wherefore, you will grant pardon to the sons and son-in

law and wife of Avidius Cassius. For that matter, why should I say pardon? They have done nothing. 7 Let them live, therefore, free from all anxiety, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live in possession of their parents' property, granted to each in due proportion; let them enjoy gold, silver, and raiment; let them be rich; let them be free from anxiety; let them, unrestricted and free to travel wheresoever they wish, carry in themselves before the eyes of all nations everywhere an example of my forbearance, an example of yours. 8 Nor is it any great act of mercy, Conscrip't Fathers, to grant pardon to the wives and children of outlawed men. 9 I do beseech you to save these conspirators, men of the senatorial and equestrian orders, from death, from proscription, from terror, from disgrace, from hatred, and, in short, from every harm, and to grant this to my reign, 10 that whoever, in the cause of the pretender, has fallen in the strife may, though slain, still be esteemed."

¹³¹ The senate honoured this act of mercy with these acclamations: 2 "God save you, righteous Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. 3 You have desired what was lawful, we have done what was fitting. We ask lawful power for Commodus. Strengthen your offspring. Make our children free from care. No violence troubles righteous rule. 4 We ask the tribunician power for Commodus Antoninus. We beseech your presence. 5 All praise to your philosophy, your patience, your principles, your magnanimity, your innocence! You conquer your foes within, your prevail over those without, the gods are watching over you," and so forth.

⁶ And so the descendants of Avidius Cassius lived unmolested and were admitted to offices of honour. But after his deified father's death Commodus Antoninus ordered them all to be burned alive, as if they had been caught in a rebellion.

⁸ So much have we learned concerning Avidius Cassius. 9 His character, as we have said before, was continually changing, though inclined, on the whole, to severity and cruelty. 10 Had he gained the throne, he would have made not a merciful and kind emperor but a beneficent and excellent one. 14 For we have a letter of his, written to his son-in law after he had declared himself emperor, that reads somewhat as follows: 2 "Unhappy state, unhappy, which suffers under men who are eager for riches and men who have grown rich! 3 Marcus is indeed the best of men, but one who wishes to be called merciful and hence suffers to live men whose manner of life he cannot sanction. 4 Where is Lucius Cassius, whose name we bear in vain? Where is that other Marcus, Cato the Censor? Where is all the rigour of our fathers? Long since indeed has it perished, and now it is not even desired. 5 Marcus Antoninus philosophizes and meditates on first principles, and on souls and virtue and justice, and takes no thought for the state.

6 There is need, rather, for many swords, as you see for yourself, and for much practical wisdom, in order that the state may return to its ancient ways. 7 And truly in regard to those governors of provinces — can I deem proconsuls or governors those who believe that their provinces were given them by the senate and Antoninus only in order that they might revel and grow rich? 8 You have heard that our philosopher's prefect of the guard was a beggar and a pauper three days before his appointment, and then suddenly became rich. How, I ask you, save from the vitals of the state and the purses of the provincials? Well then, let them be rich, let them be wealthy. In time they will stuff the imperial treasury; only let the gods favour the better side, let the men of Cassius restore to the state a lawful government." This letter of his shows how stern and how strict an emperor he would have been.

The Life of Commodus

¹¹ The ancestry of Commodus Antoninus has been sufficiently discussed in the life of Marcus Antoninus. ² As for Commodus himself, he was born, with his twin brother Antoninus, at Lanuvium — where his mother's father was born, it is said — on the day before the Kalends of September, while his father and uncle were consuls. ³ Faustina, when pregnant with Commodus and his brother, dreamed that she gave birth to serpents, one of which, however, was fiercer than the other. ⁴ But after she had given birth to Commodus and Antoninus, the latter, for whom the astrologers had cast a horoscope as favourable as that of Commodus, lived to be only four years old. ⁵ After the death of Antoninus, Marcus tried to educate Commodus by his own teaching and by that of the greatest and the best of men. ⁶ In Greek literature he had Onesicrates as his teacher, in Latin, Antistius Capella; his instructor in rhetoric was Ateius Sanctus.

⁷ However, teachers in all these studies profited him not in the least — such is the power, either of natural character, or of the tutors maintained in a palace. For even from his earliest years he was base and dishonourable, and cruel and lewd, defiled of mouth, moreover, and debauched. ⁸ Even then he was an adept in certain arts which are not becoming in an emperor, for he could mould goblets and dance and sing and whistle, and he could play the buffoon and the gladiator to perfection. ⁹ In the twelfth year of his life, at Centumcellae, he gave a forecast of his cruelty. For when it happened that his bath was drawn too cool, he ordered the bathkeeper to be cast into the furnace; whereupon the slave who had been ordered to do this burned a sheep-skin in the furnace, in order to make him believe by the stench of the vapour that the punishment had been carried out.

¹⁰ While yet a child he was given the name of Caesar, along with his brother Verus, and in his fourteenth year he was enrolled in the college of priests. ² When he assumed the toga, he was elected one of the leaders of the equestrian youths, the trossuli, and even while still clad in the youth's praetexta he gave largess and presided in the Hall of Trajan. ² He assumed the toga on the Nones of July — the day on which Romulus vanished from the earth — at the time when Cassius revolted from Marcus. ³ After he had been commended to the favour of the soldiers he set out with his father for Syria and Egypt, and with him he returned to Rome. ⁴ Afterward he was granted exemption from the law of the appointed year and made consul, and on the fifth day before the Kalends of December, in the consulship of Pollio and Aper, he was acclaimed Imperator together with his father, and celebrated a triumph with him. ⁵ For this, too, the

senate had decreed. Then he set out with his father for the German war.

⁶ The more honourable of those appointed to supervise his life he could not endure, but the most evil he retained, and, if any were dismissed, he yearned for them even to the point of falling sick. ⁷ When they were reinstated through his father's indulgence, he always maintained eating-houses and low resorts for them in the imperial palace. He never showed regard for either decency or expense. ⁸ He dined in his own home. He herded together women of unusual beauty, keeping them like purchased prostitutes in a sort of brothel for the violation of their chastity. He imitated the hucksters that strolled about from market to market. ⁹ He procured chariot-horses for his own use. He drove chariots in the garb of a professional charioteer, lived with gladiators, and conducted himself like a procurer's servant. Indeed, one would have believed him born rather to a life of infamy than to the high place to which Fortune advanced him.

^{3 1} His father's older attendants he dismissed, and any friends that were advanced in years he cast aside. The son of Salvius Julianus, the commander of the troops, he tried to lead into debauchery, but in vain, and he thereupon plotted against Julianus. ³ He degraded the most honourable either by insulting them directly or giving them offices far below their deserts. ⁴ He was alluded to by actors as a man of depraved life, and he thereupon banished them so promptly that they did not again appear on the stage. ⁵ He abandoned the war which his father had almost finished and submitted to the enemy's terms, and then he returned to Rome. ⁶ After he had come back to Rome he led the triumphal procession with Saoterus, his partner in depravity, seated in his chariot, and from time to time he would turn around and kiss him openly, repeating this same performance even in the orchestra. ⁷ And not only was he wont to drink until dawn and squander the resources of the Roman Empire, but in the evening he would ramble through taverns and brothels. ⁸ He sent out to rule the provinces men who were either his companions in crime or were recommended to him by criminals. ⁹ He became so detested by the senate that he in his turn was moved with cruel passion for the destruction of that great order, and from having been despised he became bloodthirsty.

^{4 1} Finally the actions of Commodus drove Quadratus and Lucilla, with the support of Tarrutenius Paternus, the prefect of the guard, to form a plan for his assassination. ² The task of slaying him was assigned to Claudius Pompeianus, a kinsman. ³ But he, as soon as he had an opportunity to fulfil his mission, strode up to Commodus with a drawn sword, and, bursting out with these words, "This dagger the senate sends thee," betrayed the plot like a fool, and failed to accomplish the design, in which many others along with himself were

implicated. 4 After this fiasco, first Pompeianus and Quadratus were executed, and then Norbana and Norbanus and Paralius; and the latter's mother and Lucilla were driven into exile.

⁵ Thereupon the prefects of the guard, perceiving that the aversion in which Commodus was held was all on account of Saoterus, whose power the Roman people could not endure, courteously escorted this man away from the Palace under pretext of a sacrifice, and then, as he was returning to his villa, had him assassinated by their private agents. 6 But this deed enraged Commodus more than the plot against himself. 7 Paternus, the instigator of this murder, who was believed to have been an accomplice in the plot to assassinate Commodus and had certainly sought to prevent any far-reaching punishment of that conspiracy, was now, at the instigation of Tigidius, dismissed from the command of the praetorian guard by the expedient of conferring on him the honour of the broad stripe. 8 And a few days thereafter, Commodus accused him of plotting, saying that the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed to the son of Julianus with the understanding that Julianus would be raised to the throne. On this pretext he executed Paternus and Julianus, and also Vitruvius Secundus, a very dear friend of Paternus, who had charge of the imperial correspondence. 9 Besides this, he exterminated the whole house of the Quintilii, because Sextus, the son of Condius, by pretending death, it was said, had made his escape in order to raise a revolt. 10 Vitrasia Faustina, Velius Rufus, and Egnatius Capito, a man of consular rank, were all slain. 11 Aemilius Iuncus and Atilius Severus, the consuls, were driven into exile. And against many others he vented his rage in various ways.

^{5 1} After this Commodus never appeared in public readily, and would never receive messages unless they had previously passed through the hands of Perennis. 2 For Perennis, being well acquainted with Commodus' character, discovered the way to make himself powerful, 3 namely, by persuading Commodus to devote himself to pleasure while he, Perennis, assumed all the burdens of the government — an arrangement which Commodus joyfully accepted. 4 Under this agreement, then, Commodus lived, rioting in the Palace amid banquets and in baths along with 300 concubines, gathered together for their beauty and chosen from both matrons and harlots, and with minions, also 300 in number, whom he had collected by force and by purchase indiscriminately from the common people and the nobles solely on the basis of bodily beauty. 5 Meanwhile, dressed in the garb of an attendant at the sacrifice, he slaughtered the sacrificial victims. He fought in the arena with foils, but sometimes, with his chamberlains acting as gladiators, with sharpened swords. By this time Perennis had secured all the power for himself. 6 He slew

whomsoever he wished to slay, plundered a great number, violated every law, and put all the booty into his own pocket. 7 Commodus, for his part, killed his sister Lucilla, after banishing her to Capri. 8 After debauching his other sisters, as it is said, he formed an amour with a cousin of his father, and even gave the name of his mother to one of his concubines. 9 His wife, whom he caught in adultery, he drove from his house, then banished her, and later put her to death. 10 By his orders his concubines were debauched before his own eyes, 11 and he was not free from the disgrace of intimacy with young men, defiling every part of his body in dealings with persons of either sex.

¹² At this time Claudius also, whose son had previously come into Commodus' presence with a dagger, was slain, ostensibly by bandits, and many other senators were put to death, and also certain women of wealth. 13 And not a few provincials, for the sake of their riches, were charged with crimes by Perennis and then plundered or even slain; 14 some, against whom there was not even the imputation of a fictitious crime, were accused of having been unwilling to name Commodus as their heir.

^{6 1} About this time the victories in Sarmatia won by other generals were attributed by Perennis to his own son. 2 Yet in spite of his great power, suddenly, because in the war in Britain he had dismissed certain senators and had put men of the equestrian order in command of the soldiers, this same Perennis was declared an enemy to the state, when the matter was reported by the legates in command of the army, and was thereupon delivered up to the soldiers to be torn to pieces. 3 In his place of power Commodus put Cleander, one of his chamberlains.

⁴ After Perennis and his son were executed, Commodus rescinded a number of measures on the ground that they had been carried out without his authority, pretending that he was merely re-establishing previous conditions. 5 However, he could not maintain this penitence for his misdeeds longer than thirty days, and he actually committed more atrocious crimes through Cleander than he had done through the aforesaid Perennis. 6 Although Perennis was succeeded in general influence by Cleander, his successor in the prefecture was Niger, who held this position as prefect of the guard, it is said, for just six hours. 7 In fact, prefects of the guard were changed hourly and daily, Commodus meanwhile committing all kinds of evil deeds, worse even than he had committed before. 8 Marcius Quartus was prefect of the guard for five days. Thereafter, the successors of these men were either retained in office or executed, according to the whim of Cleander. 9 At his nod even freedmen were enrolled in the senate and among the patricians, and now for the first time there were twenty-five consuls in a single year. Appointments to the provinces were uniformly sold; 10 in fact, Cleander

sold everything for money. He loaded with honours men who were recalled from exile; he rescinded decisions of the courts. 11 Indeed, because of Commodus' utter degeneracy, his power was so great that he brought Burrus, the husband of Commodus' sister, who was denouncing and reporting to Commodus all that was being done, under the suspicion of pretending to the throne, and had him put to death; and at the same time he slew many others who defended Burrus. 12 Among these Aebutianus was slain, the prefect of the guard; in his place Cleander himself was made prefect, together with two others whom he himself chose. 13 Then for the first time were there three prefects of the guard, among whom was a freedman, called the "Bearer of the Dagger".

⁷¹ However, a full worthy death was at last meted out to Cleander also. For when, through his intrigues, Arrius Antoninus was put to death on false charges as a favour to Attalus, whom Arrius had condemned during his proconsulship in Asia, Commodus could not endure the hatred of the enraged people and gave Cleander over to the populace for punishment. 2 At the same time Apolaustus and several other freedmen of the court were put to death. Among other outrages Cleander had debauched certain of Commodus' concubines, and from them had begotten sons, 3 who, together with their mothers, were put to death after his downfall.

⁴ As successors to Cleander Commodus appointed Julianus and Regillus, both of whom he afterwards condemned. 5 After these men had been put to death he slew the two Silani, Servilius and Dulus, together with their kin, then Antius Lupus and the two Petronii, Mamertinus and Sura, and also Mamertinus' son Antoninus, whose mother was his own sister; 6 after these, six former consuls at one time, Allius Fuscus, Caelius Felix, Lucceius Torquatus, Larcius Euripianus, Valerius Bassianus and Pactumeius Magnus, all with their kin; 7 in Asia Sulpicius Crassus, the proconsul, Julius Proculus, together with their kin, and Claudius Lucanus, a man of consular rank; and in Achaia his father's cousin, Annia Faustina, and innumerable others. 8 He had intended to kill fourteen others also, since the revenues of the Roman empire were insufficient to meet his expenditures.

⁸¹ Meanwhile, because he had appointed to the consulship a former lover of his mother's, the senate mockingly gave Commodus the name Pius; and after he had executed Perennis, he was given the name Felix, as though, amid the multitudinous executions of many citizens, he were a second Sulla. 2 And this same Commodus, who was called Pius, and who was called Felix, is said to have feigned a plot against his own life, in order that he might have an excuse for putting many to death. 3 Yet as a matter of fact, there were no rebellions save that of Alexander, who soon killed himself and his near of kin, and that of

Commodus' sister Lucilla. 4 He was called Britannicus by those who desired to flatter him, whereas the Britons even wished to set up an emperor against him. 5 He was called also the Roman Hercules, on the ground that he had killed wild beasts in the amphitheatre the Lanuvium; and, indeed, it was his custom to kill wild beasts on his own estate. 6 He had, besides, an insane desire that the city of Rome should be renamed Colonia Commodiana. This mad idea, it is said, was inspired in him while listening to the blandishments of Marcia. 7 He had also a desire to drive chariots in the Circus, 8 and he went out in public clad in the Dalmatian tunic and thus clothed gave the signal for the charioteers to start. 9 And in truth, on the occasion when he laid before the senate his proposal to call Rome Commodiana, not only did the senate gleefully pass this resolution, but also took the name "Commodian" to itself, at the same time giving Commodus the name Hercules, and calling him a god.

^{9 1} He pretended once that he was going to Africa, so that he could get funds for the journey, then got them and spent them on banquets and gaming instead. 2 He murdered Motilenus, the prefect of the guard, by means of poisoned figs. He allowed statues of himself to be erected with the accoutrements of Hercules; and sacrifices were performed to him as to a god. 3 He had planned to execute many more men besides, but his plan was betrayed by a certain young servant, who threw out of his bedroom a tablet on which were written the names of those who were to be killed.

4 He practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis. 5 In his passion for cruelty he actually ordered the votaries of Bellona to cut off one of their arms, 6 and as for the devotees of Isis, he forced them to beat their breasts with pine-cones even to the point of death. While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis, he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue. He struck with his club, while clad in a woman's garment or a lion's skin, not lions only, but many men as well. Certain men who were lame in their feet and others who could not walk, he dressed up as giants, encasing their legs from the knee down in wrappings and bandages to make them look like serpents, and then despatched them with his arrows. He desecrated the rites of Mithra with actual murder, although it was customary in them merely to say or pretend something that would produce an impression of terror.

^{10 1} Even as a child he was gluttonous and lewd. While a youth, he disgraced every class of men in his company and was disgraced in turn by them. 2 Whosoever ridiculed him he cast to the wild beasts. And one man, who had merely read the book by Tranquillus containing the life of Caligula, he ordered cast to the wild beasts, because Caligula and he had the same birthday. 3 And if

any one, indeed, expressed a desire to die, he had him hurried to death, however really reluctant.

In his humorous moments, too, he was destructive. 4 For example, he put a starling on the head of one man who, as he noticed, had a few white hairs, resembling worms, among the black, and caused his head to fester through the continual pecking of the bird's beak — the bird, of course, imagining that it was pursuing worms. 5 One corpulent person he cut open down the middle of his belly, so that his intestines gushed forth. 6 Other men he dubbed one-eyed or one-footed, after he himself had plucked out one of their eyes or cut off one of their feet. 7 In addition to all this, he murdered many others in many places, some because they came of his presence in the costume of barbarians, others because they were noble and handsome. 8 He kept among his minions certain men named after the private parts of both sexes, and on these he liked to bestow kisses. 9 He also had in his company a man with a male member larger than that of most animals, whom he called Onos. This man he treated with great affection, and even made him rich and appointed him to the priesthood of the Rural Hercules. 11 It is claimed that he often mixed human excrement with the most expensive foods, and he did not refrain from tasting them, mocking the rest of the company, as he thought. 2 He displayed two misshapen hunchbacks on a silver platter after smearing them with mustard, and then straightway advanced and enriched them. 3 He pushed into a swimming-pool his praetor prefect Julianus, although he was clad in his toga and accompanied by his staff; and he even ordered this same Julianus to dance naked before his concubines, clashing cymbals and making grimaces. 4 The various kinds of cooked vegetables he rarely admitted to his banquets, his purpose being to preserve unbroken the succession of dainties. 5 He used to bathe seven and eight times a day, and was in the habit of eating while in the baths. 6 He would enter the temples of the gods defiled with adulteries and human blood. 7 He even aped a surgeon, going so far as to bleed men to death with scalpels.

⁸ Certain months were renamed in his honour by his flatterers; for August they substituted Commodus, for September Hercules, for October Invictus, for November Exsuperatorius, and for December Amazonius, after his own surname. 9 He had been called Amazonius, moreover, because of his passion for his concubine Marcia, whom he loved to have portrayed as an Amazon, and for whose sake he even wished to enter the arena of Rome dressed as an Amazon.

¹⁰ He engaged in gladiatorial combats, and accepted the names usually given to gladiators with as much pleasure as if he had been granted triumphal decorations. 11 He regularly took part in the spectacles, and as often as he did so, ordered the fact to be inscribed in the public records. 12 It is said that he

engaged in gladiatorial bouts seven hundred and thirty-five times.

¹³ He received the name of Caesar on the fourth day before the Ides of the month usually called October, which he later named Hercules, in the consulship of Pudens and Pollio. ¹⁴ He was called Germanicus on the Ides of “Hercules” in the consulship of Maximus and Orfitus. ¹² He was received into all the sacred colleges as a priest on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of “Invictus,” in the consulship of Piso and Julianus. ² He set out for Germany on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of the month which he later named Aelius, ³ and assumed the toga in the same year. ⁴ Together with his father he was acclaimed Imperator on the fifth day before the Kalends of “Exsuperatorius,” in the year when Pollio and Aper served their second consulships, ⁵ and he celebrated a triumph on the tenth day before the Kalends of January in this same year. ⁶ He set out on his second expedition on the third day before the Nones of “Commodus” in the consulship of Orfitus and Rufus. ⁷ He was officially presented by the army and the senate to be maintained in perpetuity in the Palatine mansion, henceforth called Commodiana, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of “Romanus,” in the year that Praesens was consul for the second time. ⁸ When he laid plans for a third expedition, he was persuaded by the senate and people to give it up. ⁹ Vows were assumed in his behalf on the Nones of “Pius,” when Fuscianus was consul for the second time. ¹⁰ Besides these facts, it is related in records that he fought 365 gladiatorial combats in his father’s reign. ¹¹ Afterwards, by vanquishing or slaying retiarii, he won enough gladiatorial crowns to bring the number up to a thousand. ¹² He also killed with his own hand thousands of wild beasts of all kinds, even elephants. And he frequently did these things before the eyes of the Roman people.

¹³¹ But, though vigorous enough for such exploits, he was otherwise weak and diseased; indeed, he had such a conspicuous growth on his groin that the people of Rome could see the swelling through his silken robes. ² Many verses were written alluding to this deformity; and Marius Maximus prides himself on preserving these in his biography of Commodus. ³ Such was his prowess in the slaying of wild beasts, that he once transfixed an elephant with a pole, pierced a gazelle’s horn with a spear, and on a thousand occasions dispatched a mighty beast with a single blow. ⁴ Such was his complete indifference to propriety, that time and again he sat in the theatre or amphitheatre dressed in a woman’s garments and drank quite publicly.

⁵ The Moors and the Dacians were conquered during his reign, and peace was established in the Pannonias, but all by his legates, since such was the manner of his life. The provincials in Britain, Dacia, and Germany attempted to cast off his yoke, ⁶ but all these attempts were put down by his generals. ⁷ Commodus

himself was so lazy and careless in signing documents that he answered many petitions with the same formula, while in very many letters he merely wrote the word “Farewell”. 8 All official business was carried on by others, who, it is said, even used condemnations to swell their purses. 14 And because he was so careless, moreover, a great famine arose in Rome, not because there was any real shortage of crops, but merely because those who then ruled the state were plundering the food supply. 2 As for those who plundered on every hand, Commodus afterwards put them to death and confiscated their property; 3 but for the time he pretended that a golden age had come, “Commodian” by name, and ordered a general reduction of prices, the result of which was an even greater scarcity.

⁴ In his reign many a man secured punishment for another or immunity for himself by bribery. 5 Indeed, in return for money Commodus would grant a change of punishment, the right of burial, the alleviation of wrongs, and the substitution of another for one condemned to be put to death. 6 He sold provinces and administrative posts, part of the proceeds accruing to those through whom he made the sale and part to Commodus himself. 7 To some he sold even the lives of their enemies. Under him the imperial freedmen sold even the results of law-suits. 8 He did not long put up with Paternus and Perennis as prefects; indeed, not one of the prefects whom he himself had appointed remained in office as long as three years. Most of them he killed, some with poison, some with the sword. 15 Prefects of the city he changed with equal readiness. He executed his chamberlains with no compunctions whatever, even though all that he had done had been at their bidding. 2 One of these chamberlains, however, Eclectus by name, forestalled him when he saw how ready Commodus was to put the chamberlains to death, and took part in a conspiracy to kill him.

³ At gladiatorial shows he would come to watch and stay to fight, covering his bare shoulders with a purple cloth. 4 And it was his custom, moreover, to order the insertion in the city-gazette of everything he did that was base or foul or cruel, or typical of a gladiator or a procurer — at least, the writings of Marius Maximus so testify. 5 He entitled the Roman people the “People of Commodus,” since he had very often fought as a gladiator in their presence. 6 And although the people regularly applauded him in his frequent combats as though he were a god, he became convinced that he was being laughed at, and gave orders that the Roman people should be slain in the Amphitheatre by the marines who spread the awnings. 7 He gave an order, also, for the burning of the city, as though it were his private colony, and this order would have been executed had not Laetus, the prefect of the guard, deterred him. 8 Among other triumphal titles, he was

also given the name “Captain of the Secutores” six hundred and twenty times.

^{16 1} The prodigies that occurred in his reign, both those which concerned the state and those which affected Commodus personally, were as follows. A comet appeared. 2 Footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it. Before the war of the deserters the heavens were ablaze. On the Kalends of January a swift coming mist and darkness arose in the Circus; and before dawn there had already been fire-birds and ill-boding portents. 3 Commodus himself moved his residence from the Palace to the Vectilian Villa on the Caelian hill, saying that he could not sleep in the Palace. 4 The twin gates of the temple of Janus opened of their own accord, and a marble image of Anubis was seen to move. 5 In the Minucian Portico a bronze statue of Hercules sweated for several days. An owl, moreover, was caught above his bed-chamber both at Lanuvium and at Rome. 6 He was himself responsible for no inconsiderable an omen relating to himself; for after he had plunged his hand into the wound of a slain gladiator he wiped it on his own head, and again, contrary to custom, he ordered the spectators to attend his gladiatorial shows clad not in togas but in cloaks, a practice usual at funerals, while he himself presided in the vestments of a mourner. 7 Twice, moreover, his helmet was borne through the Gate of Libitina.

⁸ He gave largess to the people, 725 denarii to each man. Toward all others he was close-fisted to a degree, since the expense of his luxurious living had drained the treasury. 9 He held many races in the Circus, but rather as the result of a whim than as an act of religion, and also in order to enrich the leaders of the factions.

^{17 1} Because of these things — but all too late — Quintus Aemilius Laetus, prefect of the guard, and Marcia, his concubine, were roused to action and entered into a conspiracy against his life. 2 First they gave him poison; and when this proved ineffective they had him strangled by the athlete with whom he was accustomed to exercise.

³ Physically he was very well proportioned. His expression was dull, as is usual in drunkards, and his speech uncultivated. His hair was always dyed and made lustrous by the use of gold dust, and he used to singe his hair and beard because he was afraid of barbers.

⁴ The people and senate demanded that his body be dragged with the hook and cast into the Tiber; later, however, at the bidding of Pertinax, it was borne to the Mausoleum of Hadrian.

⁵ No public works of his are in existence, except the bath which Cleander built in his name. 6 But he inscribed his name on the works of others; this the senate erased. 7 Indeed, he did not even finish the public works of his father. He did organize an African fleet, which would have been useful, in case the grain-

supply from Alexandria were delayed. 8 He jestingly named Carthage Alexandria Commodiana Togata, after entitling the African fleet Commodiana Herculea. 9 He made certain additions to the Colossus by way of ornamentation, all of which were later taken off, 10 and he also removed its head, which was a likeness of Nero, and replaced it by a likeness of himself, writing on the pedestal an inscription in his usual style, not omitting the titles *Gladiatorius* and *Effeminatus*. 11 And yet Severus, a stern emperor and a man whose character was well in keeping with his name, moved by hatred for the senate — or so it seems — exalted this creature to a place among the gods and granted him also a *flamen*, the “Herculaneus Commodianus,” whom Commodus while still alive had planned to have for himself.

¹² Three sisters survived him. Severus instituted the observance of his birthday.

^{18 1} Loud were the acclamations of the senate after the death of Commodus. 2 And that the senate’s opinion of him may be known, I have quoted from Marius Maximus the acclamations themselves, and the content of the senate’s decree:

³ “From him who was a foe of his fatherland let his honours be taken away; let the honours of the murderer be taken away; let the murderer be dragged in the dust. The foe of his fatherland, the murderer, the gladiator, in the charnel-house let him be mangled. 4 He is foe to the gods, slayer of the senate, foe to the gods, murderer of the senate, foe of the gods, foe of the gods, foe of the senate. 5 Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. He who slew the senate, let him be dragged with the hook; he who slew the guiltless, let him be dragged with the hook — a foe, a murderer, verily, verily. 6 He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook; 7 he who would have slain you, let him be dragged with the hook. You were in terror along with us, you were endangered along with us. That we may be safe, O Jupiter Best and Greatest, save for us Pertinax. 8 Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts! Long life to the armies of Rome! Long life to the loyalty of the senate!

⁹ Let the murderer be^o dragged in the dust. 10 We beseech you, O Sire, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. This we beseech you, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. Hearken, Caesar: to the lions with the informers! Hearken Caesar: to the lions with Speratus! 11 Long life to the victory of the Roman people! Long life to the soldiers’ guardian care! Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts!

¹² On all sides are statues of the foe, on all side are statues of the murderer, on all sides are statues of the gladiator. The statues of the murderer and gladiator, let them be cast down. 13 The slayer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. The murderer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. Let the statues of the gladiator be overthrown. 14 While you are safe, we too are safe and untroubled,

verily, verily, if in very truth, then with honour, if in very truth, then with freedom.

¹⁵ Now at last we are secure; let informers tremble. That we may be secure, let the informers tremble. That we may be safe, cast informers out of the senate, the club for informers! While you are safe, to the lions with informers! ¹⁶ While you are ruler, the club for informers!

^{19 1} Let the memory of the murderer and the gladiator be utterly wiped away. Let the statues of the murderer and the gladiator be overthrown. Let the memory of the foul gladiator be utterly wiped away. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. ² Hearken, Caesar: let the slayer be dragged with the hook. In the manner of our fathers let the slayer of the senate be dragged with the hook. More savage than Domitian, more foul than Nero. As he did unto others, let it be done unto him. Let the remembrance of the guiltless be preserved. Restore the honours of the guiltless, we beseech you. Let the body of the murderer be dragged with the hook, ³ let the body of the gladiator be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be cast into the charnel-house. Call for our vote, call for our vote: with one accord we reply, let him be dragged with the hook. ⁴ He who slew all men, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew young and old, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew man and woman, let him be dragged with the hook. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook. ⁵ He who plundered temples, let him be dragged with the hook. He who set aside the testaments of the dead, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered the living, let him be dragged with the hook. We have been slaves to slaves. ⁶ He who demanded a price for the life of a man, let him be dragged with the hook. He who demanded a price for a life and kept not his promise, let him be dragged with the hook. He who sold the senate, let him be dragged with the hook. He who took from sons their patrimony, let him be dragged with the hook.

⁷ Spies and informers, cast them out of the senate. Suborners of slaves, cast them out of the senate. You, too, were in terror along with us; you know all, you know both the good and the evil. ⁸ You know all that we were forced to purchase; all we have feared for your sake. Happy are we, now that you are the emperor in truth. Put it to the vote concerning the murderer, put it to the vote, put the question. We ask your presence. ⁹ The guiltless are yet unburied; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust. The murderer dug up the buried; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust.”

^{20 1} The body of Commodus was buried during the night, after Livius Laurensis, the steward of the imperial estate, had surrendered it at the bidding of Pertinax to Fabius Cilo, the consul elect. ² At this the senate cried out: ³ “With whose authority have they buried him? The buried murderer, let him be dug up, let him

be dragged in the dust.” Cincius Severus said: “Wrongfully has he been buried. And I speak as pontifex, so speaks the college of the pontifices. 4 And now, having recounted what is joyful, I shall proceed to what is needful: I give it as my opinion that the statues should be overthrown which this man, who lived but for the destruction of his fellow-citizens and for his own shame, forced us to decree in his honour; 5 wherever they are, they should be cast down. His name, moreover, should be erased from all public and private records, and the months should be once more called by the names whereby they were called when this scourge first fell upon the state.”

The Life of Pertinax

¹¹ Publius Helvius Pertinax was the son of a freedman, Helvius Successus by name, who confessed that he gave this name to his son because of his own long-standing connection with the timber-trade, for he had conducted that business with pertinacity. ² Pertinax himself was born in the Apennines on an estate which belonged to his mother. The hour he was born a black horse climbed to the roof, and after remaining there for a short time, fell to the ground and died. ³ Disturbed by this occurrence, his father went to a Chaldean, and he prophesied future greatness for the boy, saying that he himself had lost his child. ⁴ As a boy, Pertinax was educated in the rudiments of literature and in arithmetic and was also put under the care of a Greek teacher of grammar and, later, of Sulpicius Apollinaris; after receiving instruction from this man, Pertinax himself took up the teaching of grammar.

⁵ But when he found little profit in this profession, with the aid of Lollianus Avitus, a former consul and his father's patron, he sought an appointment to a command in the ranks. ⁶ Soon afterwards, in the reign of Titus Aurelius, he set out for Syria as prefect of a cohort, and there, because he had used the imperial post without official letters of recommendation, he was forced by the governor of Syria to make his way from Antioch to his station on foot. ² Winning promotion because of the energy he showed in the Parthian war, he was transferred to Britain and there retained. ² Later he led a squadron in Moesia, and after that he supervised the distribution of grants to the poor on the Aemilian Way. ³ Next, he commanded the German fleet. His mother followed him all the way to Germany, and there she died, and her tomb is said to be still standing there. ⁴ From this command he was transferred to Dacia at a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces, but through the machinations of certain persons he came to be distrusted by Marcus and was removed from this post; afterwards, however, through the influence of Claudius Pompeianus, the son-in law of Marcus, he was detailed to the command of detachments on the plea that he would become Pompeianus' aide. ⁵ Meeting with approval in this position, he was enrolled in the senate. ⁶ Later, when he had won success in war for the second time, the plot which had been made against him was revealed, and Marcus, in order to remedy the wrong he had done him, raised him to the rank of praetor and put him in command of the First Legion. Whereupon Pertinax straightway rescued Raetia and Noricum from the enemy. ⁷ Because of his conspicuous prowess in this campaign he was appointed, on the recommendation

of Marcus, to the consulship. 8 Marcus' speech has been preserved in the works of Marius Maximus; it contains a eulogy of him and relates, moreover, everything that he did and suffered. 9 And besides this speech, which it would take too much space to incorporate in this work, Marcus praised Pertinax frequently, both in the assemblies of soldiers and in the senate, and publicly expressed regret that he was a senator and therefore could not be made prefect of the guard. 10 After Cassius' revolt had been suppressed, Pertinax set out from Syria to protect the bank of the Danube, 11 and presently he was appointed to govern both the Moesias and, soon thereafter, Dacia. And by reason of his success in these provinces, he won the appointment to Syria.

³¹ Up to the time of his administration of Syria, Pertinax preserved his honesty, but after the death of Marcus he became desirous of wealth, and was in consequence assailed by popular gibes. 2 It was not until after he had governed four consular provinces and had become a rich man that he entered the Roman senate-chamber, which, during all his career as senator, he had never before seen, for during his term as consul he had been absent from Rome. 3 Immediately after this, he received orders from Perennis to retire to his father's farm in Liguria, where his father had kept a cloth-maker's shop. 4 On coming to Liguria, however, he bought up a great number of farms, and added countless buildings to his father's shop, which he still kept in its original form; and there he stayed for three years carrying on the business through his slaves.

⁵ After Perennis had been put to death, Commodus made amends to Pertinax, and in a letter asked him to set out for Britain. 6 After his arrival there he kept the soldiers from any revolt, for they wished to set up some other man as emperor, preferably Pertinax himself. 7 And now Pertinax acquired an evil character for enviousness, for he was said to have laid before Commodus the charge that Antistius Burrus and Arrius Antoninus were aspiring to the throne. 8 And certainly he did suppress a mutiny against himself in Britain, but in so doing he came into great danger; for in a mutiny of a legion he was almost killed, and indeed was left among the slain. 9 This mutiny Pertinax punished very severely. 10 Later on, however, he petitioned to be excused from his governorship, saying that the legions were hostile to him because he had been strict in his discipline. 4 After he had been relieved of his post, he was put in charge of the grants to the poor. Next he was made proconsul of Africa. 2 During this proconsulship, it is said, he suppressed many rebellions by the aid of prophetic verses which issued from the temple of Caelestis. Next he was made prefect of the city, 3 and in this office, as successor to Fuscianus, a very stern man, Pertinax was exceedingly gentle and considerate, and he proved very pleasing to Commodus himself, for he was . . . when Pertinax was made consul

for the second time. 4 And while in this position, Pertinax did not avoid complicity in the murder of Commodus, when a share in this plot was offered him by the other conspirators.

⁵ After Commodus was slain, Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and Eclectus, the chamberlain, came to Pertinax and reassured him, and then led him to the camp. 6 There he harangued the soldiers, promised a donative, and said that the imperial power had been thrust upon him by Laetus and Eclectus. 7 It was pretended, moreover, that Commodus had died a natural death, chiefly because the soldiers feared that their loyalty was merely being tested. 8 Finally, and at first by only a few, Pertinax was hailed as emperor. He was made emperor on the day before the Kalends of January, being then more than sixty years old. 9 During the night he came from the camp to the senate, but, when he ordered the opening of the hall of the senate-house and the attendant could not be found, he seated himself in the Temple of Concord. 10 And when Claudius Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in law, came to him and bemoaned the death of Commodus, Pertinax urged him to take the throne; Claudius, however, seeing that Pertinax was already invested with the imperial power, refused. 11 Without further delay, therefore, all the magistrates, in company with the consul, came to the senate-house, and Pertinax, who had come in by night, was saluted as emperor.

^{5.1} Pertinax, on his part, after his own praises had been recited by the consuls and Commodus had been execrated in the outcries of the senate, returned thanks to the senate in general, and in particular to Laetus, the prefect of the guard, through whose instrumentality Commodus had been slain and he himself declared emperor.

² When Pertinax had returned thanks to Laetus, however, Falco, the consul, said: "We may know what sort of an emperor you will be from this, that we see behind you Laetus and Marcia, the instruments of Commodus' crimes". 3 To him Pertinax replied: "You are young, Consul, and do not know the necessity of obedience. They obeyed Commodus, but against their will, and as soon as they had an opportunity, they showed what had always been their desire." 4 On the same day that he was entitled Augustus, at the very hour at which he was paying his vows on the Capitolium, Flavia Titiana, his wife, was also given the name of Augusta. 5 Of all the emperors he was the first to receive the title of Father of his Country on the day when he was named Augustus. 6 And at the same time he received the proconsular power and the right of making four proposals to the senate — a combination which Pertinax regarded as an omen.

⁷ And so Pertinax repaired to the Palace, which was vacant at that time, for Commodus had been slain in the Vectilian Villa. And on the first day of his reign, when the tribune asked for the watchword, he gave "let us be soldiers," as

if reproving the former reign for its inactivity. As a matter of fact, he had really used this same watchword before in all his commands. 6 But the soldiers would not tolerate a reproof and straightway began making plans for changing the emperor. 2 On this same day also he invited the magistrates and the chief men of the senate to a banquet, a practice which Commodus had discontinued. 3 But, indeed, on the day after the Kalends of January, when the statues of Commodus were overthrown, the soldiers groaned aloud, for he gave this same watchword for the second time, and besides they dreaded service under an emperor advanced in years. 4 Finally on the third of the month, just as the vows were being assumed, the soldiers tried to lead Triarius Maternus Lascivius, a senator of distinction, to the camp, in order to invest him with the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. 5 He, however, fled from them quite naked and came to Pertinax in the Palace and presently departed from the city.

6 Induced by fear, Pertinax ratified all the concessions which Commodus had made to the soldiers and veterans. 7 He declared, also, that he had received from the senate the sovereignty which, in fact, he had already assumed on his own responsibility. 8 He abolished trials for treason absolutely and bound himself thereto by an oath, he recalled those who had been exiled on the charge of treason, and he re-established the good name of those who had been slain. 9 The senate granted his son the name of Caesar, but Pertinax not only refused to allow the name Augusta to be conferred on his wife but also, in the case of his son, said: "Only when he earns it". 10 And since Commodus had obscured the significance of the praetorian rank by countless appointments thereto, Pertinax, after securing the passage of a decree of the senate, issued an order that those who had secured the rank of praetor not by actual service, but by appointment, should be ranked below those who had been praetors in reality. 11 But by this act also he brought on himself the bitter enmity of many men. 7 He gave orders for the taking of a new census. He gave orders, too, that men convicted of lodging false accusations should be punished with severity, exercising, nevertheless, greater moderation than former emperors, and at the same time ordaining a separate punishment for each rank in case any of its members should be convicted for this offence. 2 He enacted a law, moreover, that an old will should not become invalid before the new one was formally completed, fearing that some time the privy-purse might in this way succeed to an inheritance. 3 He declared that for his own part he would accept no legacy which came to him either through flattery or by reason of legal entanglements if thereby the rightful heirs and the near of kin should be robbed of their rights, and when the decree of the senate was passed, he added these words: 4 "It is better, O Conscript Fathers, to rule a state that is impoverished, than to attain to a great mass of wealth by

paths of peril and dishonour". 5 He paid the donatives and largesses which Commodus had promised, 6 and provided with the greatest care for the grain-supply. And when the treasury was drained to such a degree that he was unable to put his hands on more than a million sesterces, as he himself admitted, he was forced, in violation of a previous promise, to exact certain revenues which Commodus had remitted. 7 And finally, when Lollianus Gentianus, a man of consular rank, brought him to task for breaking his promise, he excused himself on the ground that it was a case of necessity.

8 He held a sale of Commodus' belongings, even ordering the sale of all his youths and concubines, except those who had apparently been brought to the Palace by force. 9 Of those whom he ordered sold, however, many were soon brought back to his service and ministered to the pleasures of the old man, and under other emperors they even attained to the rank of senator. 10 Certain buffoons, also, who bore the shame of unmentionable names, he put up at auction and sold. 11 The moneys gained in this trafficking, which were immense, he used for a donative to the soldiers. 8 He also demanded from Commodus' freedmen the sums wherewith they had been enriched when Commodus held his sales. 2 In the sale of Commodus' goods the following articles were especially noteworthy: robes of silk foundation with gold embroidery of remarkable workmanship; tunics, mantles and coats; tunics made with long sleeves in the manner of the Dalmatians and fringed military cloaks; purple cloaks made for service in the camp. 3 Also Bardaeon hooded cloaks, and a gladiator's toga and harness finished in gold and jewels; 4 also swords, such as those with which Hercules is represented, and the necklaces worn by gladiators, and vessels, some of pottery, some of gold, some of ivory, some of silver, and some of citrus wood. 5 Also cups in the shape of the phallus, made of these same materials; and Samnite pots for heating the resin and pitch used for depilating men and making their skins smooth. 6 And furthermore, carriages, the very latest masterpieces of the art, made with entwined and carved wheels and carefully planned seats that could be turned so as to avoid the sun at one moment, at another, face the breeze. 7 There were other carriages that measured the road, and showed the time; and still others designed for the indulgence of his vices.

8 Pertinax restored to their masters, moreover, all slaves who had come from private homes to the Palace. 9 He reduced the imperial banquets from something absolutely unlimited to a fixed standard, and, indeed, cut down all expenses from what they had been under Commodus. 10 And from the example set by the emperor, who lived rather simply, there resulted a general economy and a consequent reduction in the cost of living; 11 for by eliminating the unessentials he reduced the upkeep of the court to half the usual amount. 9 He established

rewards for the soldiers, paid the debt which he had contracted at the beginning of his reign, and restored the treasury to its normal condition. 2 He set aside a fixed sum for public buildings, furnished funds for repairing the highways, and paid the arrears in the salaries of very many men. Finally, he made the privy-purse capable of sustaining all the demands made upon it, 3 and with rigorous honesty he even assumed the responsibility for nine years' arrears of money for the poor which was owed through a statute of Trajan's.

⁴ Before he was made emperor he was not free from the suspicion of greed, for he had extended his own holdings at Vada Sabatia by foreclosing mortgages; 5 indeed, in a line quoted from Lucilius he was called a land-shark. 6 Many men, moreover, have set down in writing that in those provinces which he ruled as proconsul he conducted himself in a grasping manner; for he sold, they say, both exemptions from service and military appointments. 7 And lastly, although his father's estate was very small, and no legacy was left him, he suddenly became rich.

⁸ As a matter of fact, however, he restored to everyone the property of which Commodus had despoiled him, but not without compensation. 9 He always attended the stated meetings of the senate and always made some proposal. To those who came to greet him or who accosted him he was always courteous. 10 He absolved a number of men whose slaves had assailed them with false charges, and punished severely those who brought the accusation, crucifying all such slaves; and he also rehabilitated the memory of some who had died.

^{10 1} A plot was attempted against him by Falco the consul, who, being eager to rule, made complaint in the senate. 2 He, in fact, was believed by the senate, when a certain slave, on the ground that he was the son of Fabia and . . . of the household of Ceionius Commodus, laid a baseless claim to the residence on the Palatine and, on being recognised, was sentenced to be soundly flogged and returned to his master. 3 In the punishment of this man those who hated Pertinax are said to have found an opportunity for an outbreak. 4 Nevertheless, Pertinax spared Falco, and furthermore asked the senate to pardon him. 5 In the end Falco lived out his life in security and in possession of his property, and at his death, his son succeeded to the inheritance. 6 Many men, however, claimed that Falco was unaware that men were planning to make him emperor, 7 and others said that slaves who had falsified his accounts assailed him with trumped-up charges.

⁸ However, a conspiracy was organized against Pertinax by Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and sundry others who were displeased by his integrity. 9 Laetus regretted that he had made Pertinax emperor, because Pertinax used to rebuke him as a stupid babbler of various secrets. 10 It seemed to the soldiers, moreover, a very cruel measure, that in the matter of Falco he had had many of

their comrades put to death on the testimony of a single slave. 11 And so three hundred soldiers, formed into a wedge, marched under arms from the camp to the imperial residence. 2 On that day, it was said, no heart had been found in the victim when Pertinax performed a sacrifice, and when he tried to avert this evil omen, he was unable to discover the upper portion of the liver. And so on that day the great body of the soldiers remained in the camp. 3 Some, indeed, had come forth from the camp in order to act as escort to the emperor, but Pertinax, because of the unfavourable sacrifice, postponed for that day a projected visit to the Athenaeum, where he had planned to hear a poet, and thereupon the escort began to return to the camp. 4 But just at that moment the band of troops mentioned above arrived at the Palace, and neither could they be prevented from entering nor could their entrance be announced to the Emperor. In fact, the palace-attendants hated Pertinax with so bitter a hatred that they even urged on the soldiers to do the deed. 6 The troops arrived just as Pertinax was inspecting the court-slaves, and, passing through the portico of the Palace, they advanced as far as the spot called Sicilia and the Banqueting-Hall of Jupiter. 7 As soon as he learned of their approach, Pertinax sent Laetus, the prefect of the guard, to meet them; but he, avoiding the soldiers, passed out through the portico and betook himself home with his face hidden from sight. 8 After they had burst into the inner portion of the Palace, however, Pertinax advanced to meet them and sought to appease them with a long and serious speech. 9 In spite of this, one Tausius, a Tungrian, after haranguing the soldiers into a state of fury and fear, hurled his spear at Pertinax' breast. 10 And he, after a prayer to Jupiter the Avenger, veiled his head with his toga and was stabbed by the rest. 11 Eclectus also, after stabbing two of his assailants, died with him, and the other court-chamberlains 12 (his own chamberlains, as soon as he had been made emperor, Pertinax had given to his emancipated children) fled away in all directions. 13 Many, it is true, say that the soldiers even burst into his bedroom, and there, standing about his bed, slew him as he tried to flee.

^{12 1} He was a stately old man, with a long beard and hair brushed back. His figure was somewhat corpulent, with somewhat prominent abdomen, but his bearing was regal. He was a man of mediocre ability in speaking, and suave rather than kindly, nor was he ever considered ingenuous. 2 Though friendly enough in speech, when it came to deeds, he was ungenerous and almost mean — so mean, in fact, that before he was made emperor he used to serve at his banquets lettuce and the edible thistle in half portions. 3 And unless someone made him a present of food, he would serve nine pounds of meat in three courses, no matter how many friends were present; 4 if anyone presented him with an additional amount, moreover, he would put off using it until the next day,

and would then invite a great number of guests. 5 Even after he had become emperor, if he had no guests he would dine in the same style. 6 And whenever he in turn wished to send his friends something from his table, he would send a few scraps or a piece of tripe, or occasionally the legs of a fowl. But he never ate pheasants at his own banquets or sent them to others. 7 And when he dined without guests, he would invite his wife and Valerianus, who had been a teacher together with him, in order that he might have literary conversation.

⁸ He removed none of those whom Commodus had put in charge of affairs, preferring to wait until the anniversary of the founding of the city, which he wished to make the official beginning of his reign; and thus it came about, it is said, that the servants of Commodus plotted to slay him in his bath. 13 The imperial power and all the appurtenances thereof he abhorred, and he always made it quite evident that they were distasteful to him. In short, he did not wish to seem other than he really was. 2 In the senate-house he was most punctilious, doing reverence to the senate when it expressed its good will and conversing with all the senators as though still prefect of the city. 3 He even wished to resign the throne and retire to private life, 4 and was unwilling to have his children reared in the Palace.

On the other hand, he was so stingy and eager for money that even after he became emperor he carried on a business at Vada Sabatia through agents, just as he had done as a private citizen. 5 And despite his efforts, he was not greatly beloved; certainly, all who talked freely together spoke ill of Pertinax, calling him the smooth-tongued, that is, a man who speaks affably and acts meanly. 6 In truth, his fellow-townsmen, who had flocked to him after his accession, and had obtained nothing from him, gave him this name. In his lust for gain, he accepted presents with eagerness.

⁷ He was survived by a son and a daughter, and by his wife, the daughter of the Flavius Sulpicianus whom he made prefect of the city in his own place. 8 He was not in the least concerned about his wife's fidelity, even though she carried on an amour quite openly with a man who sang to the lyre. He himself, it is said, caused great scandal by an amour with Cornificia. 9 The freedmen attached to the court he kept within bounds with a strong hand, and in this way also he brought upon himself a bitter hatred.

^{14 1} The warnings of his death were these: three days before he was killed he himself, on looking into a pool, seemed to behold a man attacking him with a sword. 2 And on the day he was killed, they say, the pupils of his eyes, as well as the little pictures which they reflect, were invisible to those who looked into them. 3 And when he was performing sacrifices to the Lares the living coals died

out, though they are wont to flame up. Furthermore, as we related above, the heart and upper portion of the liver could not be found in the victims. And on the day before he died, stars of great brilliancy were seen near the sun in the daytime. 4 He was responsible himself, it is said, for an omen about his successor, Julianus. For when Didius Julianus presented a nephew of his, to whom he was betrothing his daughter, the Emperor exhorted the young man to show deference to his uncle, and added: "Honour my colleague and successor." 5 For Julianus had previously been his colleague in the consulship and had succeeded him in his proconsular command.

6 The soldiers and court-retainers regarded him with hatred, but the people felt great indignation at his death, since it had seemed that all the ancient customs might be restored through his efforts. 7 His head, fixed on a pole, was carried through the city to the camp by the soldiers who killed him. 8 His remains, including his head, which was recovered, were laid in the tomb of his wife's grandfather. 9 And Julianus, his successor, buried his body with all honour, after he had found it in the Palace. 10 At no time, however, did he make any public mention of Pertinax either before the people or in the presence of the senate, but when he, too, was deserted by the soldiers Pertinax was raised to the rank of the gods by the senate and the people. 15 In the reign of Severus, moreover, after Pertinax had received the full official approval of the senate, an honorary funeral, of the kind that would be accorded to a censor, was held for him, and Severus himself honoured him with a funeral eulogy. 2 Severus, furthermore, out of respect for so good a ruler, accepted from the senate the name Pertinax. 3 Pertinax' son was made his father's priest, 4 and the Marcian brotherhood, who performed sacrifices to the Deified Marcus, were called Helviani in honour of Helvius Pertinax. 5 There were added, also, circus-games and a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, but these were afterwards abolished by Severus. The birthday-games decreed for him, however, are still observed.

6 He was born on the Kalends of August in the consulship of Verus and Ambibulus, and was killed on the fifth day before the Kalends of April in the consulship of Falco and Clarus. He lived sixty years, seven months and twenty-six days, 7 and reigned for two months and twenty-five days. He gave the people a largess of one hundred denarii apiece, and promised twelve thousand sesterces to each soldier of the guard, though he gave only six thousand. The sum promised to the armies he did not give for the reason that death forestalled him. 8 A letter which Marius Maximus included in his life of Pertinax shows that he shrank from taking the imperial power, but this letter, on account of its great length, I have not thought best to insert.

The Life of Didius Julianus

¹¹ Didius Julianus, who gained possession of the empire after Pertinax, was the great-grandson of Salvius Julianus, a man who was twice consul, prefect of the city, and an authority in jurisprudence — which, more than anything else, had made him famous. ² His mother was Aemilia Clara, his father Petronius Didius Severus, his brothers Didius Proculus and Nummius Albinus; another Salvius Julianus was his uncle. His father's father was an Insubrian from Milan, his mother's came from the colony of Hadrumetum.

³ He himself was reared at the home of Domitia Lucilla, the mother of the Emperor Marcus, ⁴ and through the support of this lady he was elected to the Board of Twenty. He was appointed quaestor a year before he reached the legal age, ⁵ and through the support of Marcus he attained to the office of aedile. Again with the support of Marcus he became praetor. ⁶ After his praetorship he commanded the Twenty-second Legion, the Primigenia, in Germany, ⁷ and following that he ruled Belgium long and well. Here, with auxiliaries hastily levied from the provinces, he held out against the Chauci (a people of Germany who dwelt on the river Elbe) as they attempted to burst through the border; ⁸ and for these services, on the recommendation of the emperor, he was deemed worthy of the consulship. He also gained a crushing victory over the Chatti. ⁹ Next he took charge of Dalmatia and cleared it of the hostile tribes on its borders. ² Then he governed Lower Germany; and after that he was deemed worthy of superintending the distribution of grants of money to the poor in Italy. In this position he was accused by one Severus Clarissimus, a soldier, of being an associate of Salvius in his conspiracy against Commodus. But Commodus had already put many senators and many distinguished and powerful men to death on the charge of treason, and so he was afraid of acting too harshly and therefore pardoned Didius and executed his accuser. ² Thus acquitted, Didius was sent again to govern a province. Then he governed Bithynia, but not as creditably as the other provinces.

³ His consulship he served with Pertinax; in the proconsulship of Africa, moreover, he succeeded him. Pertinax always spoke of him as his colleague and successor; on that day, in particular, when Julianus, after betrothing his daughter to a kinsman of his own, came to Pertinax and informed him of the fact, Pertinax said: “. . . and due respect, for he is my colleague and successor”. The death of Pertinax ensued immediately afterwards. ⁴ After his death, when Sulpicianus was making plans to be hailed emperor in the camp, Julianus, together with his

son-in law, came to the senate, which, he heard, had been summoned, but found the doors closed. 5 At the same time he discovered there two tribunes, Publius Florianus and Vectius Aper, who immediately began urging him to seize the throne; and though he pointed out to them that another man was already proclaimed emperor, they held him fast and conducted him to the praetor camp. 6 When they arrived at the camp, however, Sulpicianus, the prefect of the city and the father-in law of Pertinax, was holding an assembly and claiming the empire himself, and no one would let Julianus inside, despite the huge promises he made from outside the wall. Julianus then first warned the soldiers not to proclaim anyone emperor who would avenge Pertinax, and next wrote on placards that he would restore the good name of Commodus; 7 so he was admitted and proclaimed emperor, the soldiers at the same time requesting that he would not in any way injure Sulpicianus for aiming at the throne.

³ ¹ Immediately thereafter, on the recommendation of the praetorians themselves, Julianus appointed Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus prefects of the guard, and through the efforts of Maurentius, who had previously declared for Sulpicianus, he was attended by the imperial body-guard. 2 Although he had promised five and twenty thousand sesterces to each soldier, he gave thirty. 3 Then, after holding an assembly of the soldiers, he came in the evening to the senate, and entrusted himself to it without conditions; thereupon, by decree of the senate he was acclaimed emperor and, after being raised to a place among the patrician families, he received the tribunician power and the rights of a proconsul. 4 His wife Manlia Scantilla, moreover, and his daughter, Didia Clara, were given the name Augusta; 5 and thereupon he betook himself to the Palace and thither summoned his wife and daughter, who came, though with considerable trepidation and reluctance as if they already foresaw impending doom. 6 Cornelius Repentinus, his son-in law, he made prefect of the city in place of Sulpicianus.

⁷ The people, meanwhile, detested Julianus because it had been their belief that the abuses of Commodus' regime were to be reformed by the influence of Pertinax, and he was considered to have been killed with Julianus' connivance. 8 And now, those who had begun to hate Julianus were the first to spread it abroad that on the very first day of his reign, to show his contempt for Pertinax' board, he had served an extravagant banquet embellished with such dainties as oysters and fatted birds and fish. This story, it is generally agreed, was false. 9 For according to report, Julianus was so frugal as to make a suckling pig or hare last for three days, if anyone by chance presented him with one; and often, moreover, even when there was no religious reason therefor, he was content to dine on cabbages and beans without meat. 10 Furthermore, he gave no banquet until

after Pertinax was buried, and, because of his death, took what food he did in a very depressed state of mind, and passed the first night in continual wakefulness, disquieted by such a fate.

⁴¹ But when the day dawned, he admitted the senators and knights who came to the Palace, and greeted each very cordially, either as brother, or son, or father, according to his age. 2 The populace, however, at the Rostra and in front of the senate-house, assailed him with violent revilings, hoping that he might resign the sovereignty which the soldiers had given him; and they even launched a shower of stones. 3 As he came down to the senate-house with the soldiers and senate, they heaped curses upon him, and when he performed the sacrifices, wished that he might not obtain favourable omens; 4 they even hurled stones at him, though Julianus, with uplifted hand, continually sought to calm them. 5 When he entered the senate-house, he spoke calmly and discreetly, and returned thanks because he had been chosen, and because he, his wife, and his daughter, had been given the titles of Augustus and Augusta. He accepted also the name of Father of his Country, but refused a silver statue. 6 Then, as he proceeded from the senate-house to the Capitol, the populace placed themselves in his way, but by the sword, by wounds, and by promises of gold-pieces, the number of which he himself, in order to inspire trust, kept showing to them on his fingers, they were dispersed and beaten back. 7 Thereupon, all went to the games at the Circus; but here, after everyone had seized seats indiscriminately, the populace redoubled their insults against Julianus and called for Pescennius Niger (who was said to have already declared himself emperor) to protect the city. 8 All this Julianus took with perfect equanimity; indeed all through the time he was on the throne he was exceedingly tolerant. The populace, however, kept inveighing with the utmost violence against the soldiers, who had slain Pertinax, so they said, for money. And so, in order to win favour with the people, Julianus restored many measures which Commodus had enacted and Pertinax had repealed. 9 Concerning Pertinax himself he took no steps either good or evil, a fact which to very many seemed a serious matter. 10 It is generally agreed, however, that it was his fear of the soldiers that caused him to keep silent about the honours due Pertinax.

⁵¹ As a matter of fact, however, Julianus had no fear of either the British or the Illyrian army; but being chiefly afraid of the Syrian army, he despatched a centurion of the first rank with orders to murder Niger. 2 Consequently Pescennius Niger in Syria and Septimius Severus in Illyricum, together with the armies which they commanded, revolted from Julianus. 3 But when he received the news of the revolt of Severus, whom he had not suspected, then he was greatly troubled and came to the senate and prevailed upon them to declare

Severus a public enemy. 4 As for the soldiers who had followed Severus, a day was appointed for them after which they would be considered as public enemies if they hand still with Severus. 5 Besides this, legates of consular rank were sent by the senate to the soldiers to persuade them that they should reject Severus and let him be emperor whom the senate had chosen. 6 Among others of the legates was Vespronius Candidus, an old man of consular rank, now for a long time repugnant to the soldiers because of his harsh and penurious rule. 7 Valerius Catullinus was sent as Severus' successor, as if, in sooth, it were possible to appoint a successor to a man who already had an army devoted to himself. 8 And in addition to these others, the centurion Aquilius, notorious as the assassin of senators, was sent for the purpose of murdering Severus. 9 But as for Julianus himself, he gave orders that the praetorians should be led outside the city, and that the fortifications should be manned; but it was a slothful force that he led out, and one demoralized by the fleshpots of the city and intensely averse to active service, so much so, indeed, that they actually hired substitutes for the duties severally enjoined upon them.

⁶¹ All the while, Severus was approaching the city with a hostile army; but in spite of that, Didius Julianus accomplished nothing with his praetorian troops, and the populace hated and laughed at him more and more every day. 2 And although he had escaped from Commodus' clutches by the aid of Laetus, nevertheless, unmindful of this great favour, Julianus ordered Laetus to be put to death in the expectation that he would side with Severus. He gave orders likewise that Marcia should be put to death at the same time.

³ While Julianus was engaged in these activities, however, Severus seized the fleet stationed at Ravenna; whereupon the envoys of the senate who had promised their services to Julianus passed over to Severus. 4 Tullius Crispiness, the prefect of the guard, who had been sent to oppose Severus and lead out the fleet, failed in his attempt and therefore returned to Rome. 5 When Julianus learned of these events, he came to the senate with a proposal that the Vestal Virgins and the priests, along with the senate itself, should go out to meet Severus' troops and entreat them with fillets held in outstretched hands — a futile step, surely, to take against soldiers of barbarian blood. 6 In this proposal, however, Plautius Quintilius, an augur and man of consular rank, opposed him, declaring that he who could not withstand an opponent by force of arms had no right to rule; 7 in this objection many senators agreed with him. Infuriated at this, Didius Julianus called for soldiers from the camp in order either to force the senators to obedience or to slaughter them. 8 But this plan found no favour. For it was scarcely fitting that the senate, after declaring Severus a public enemy for Julianus' sake, should find an enemy in this same Julianus. 9 And so Julianus

came to the senate with a better plan, and asked it pass a decree effecting a division of empire. And this was forthwith done.

⁷¹ At that time an omen, for which Julianus himself had been responsible when he accepted the imperial power, came to everyone's mind. 2 For when the consul-elect, in voting on Julianus, delivered himself of the following: "I vote that Didius Julianus be declared emperor," Julianus prompted "Say also Severus," the name of his grandfather and great-grandfather, which he had added to his own. 3 However, there are some who say that Julianus never planned to slaughter the senate, because it had passed so many decrees in his favour.

⁴ After the senate had passed this decree, Didius Julianus forthwith despatched one of the prefects, Tullius Crispinus, ⁵ and he also created a third prefect in the person of Veturius Macrinus, whom Severus had already notified by letter that he was to be prefect. 6 Nevertheless, the people avowed and Severus suspected that this peace was merely a stratagem and that Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, was commissioned to murder Severus. 7 Finally, in accordance with the general wish of his soldiers, Severus declared that he would rather be Julianus' enemy than colleague; 8 he at once, moreover, wrote to a great number of men at Rome, and secretly sent proclamations, which were posted up. 9 Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. 10 For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual and chanted unholy songs, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. 11 And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus.

⁸¹ And as for Crispinus, he met with Severus' advance-guard and was put to death by Severus on the advice of Julius Laetus. 2 The decrees of the senate, moreover, were torn down, and when Julianus called a meeting of the senate and asked their opinions as to what should be done, he could get nothing definite out of them. 3 Presently, however, on his own responsibility he ordered Lollianus Titianus to arm the gladiators at Capua, and called Claudius Pompeianus from his estate at Tarracina to share the empire with him, because he had been an emperor's son-in law and had long been in command of troops. Claudius, however, refused on the ground that he was now old and his eye-sight was weak. 4 The soldiers in Umbria had meanwhile deserted to Severus, ⁵ and Severus had sent on letters in advance in which he ordered the murderers of Pertinax to be kept under guard.

⁶ In a short time Julianus was deserted by all and left alone in the Palace with

one of his prefects, Genialis, and with Repentinus, his son-in law. 7 Finally, it was proposed that the imperial power be taken away from Julianus by order of the senate. This was done, and Severus was forthwith acclaimed emperor, while it was given out that Julianus had taken poison. 8 Nevertheless, the senate despatched a delegation and through their efforts Julianus was slain in the Palace by a common soldier, while beseeching the protection of Caesar, that is to say, Severus. 9 He had emancipated his daughter when he got control of the empire and had presented her with her patrimony, but this, together with the name Augusta, was at once taken away from her. 10 His body was, by order of Severus, delivered for burial to his wife, Manlia Scantilla, and to his daughter, and it was laid in the tomb of his great-grandfather by the fifth mile-stone on the Labican Way.

⁹¹ These charges were brought against Julianus: that he had been a glutton and a gambler; that he had exercised with gladiatorial arms; and that he had done all these things, moreover, when advanced in years, and after escaping the stain of these vices in his youth. The charge of pride was also brought against him, although he had really been very unassuming as emperor. 2 He was, moreover, very affable at banquets, very courteous in the matter of petitions, and very reasonable in the matter of granting liberty.

³ He lived fifty-six years and four months. He ruled two months and five days. This particularly was held to his discredit: that men whom he ought to have kept under his own governance he appointed as his officials for governing the state.

The Life of Septimius Severus

¹ ¹ On the murder of Didius Julianus, Severus, a native of Africa, took possession of the empire. ² His native city was Leptis, his father was Geta; his ancestors were Roman knights before citizenship was made universal. Fulvia Pia was his mother, Aper and Severus, both of consular rank, his great-uncles. His father's father was Macer, his mother's father Fulvius Pius. ³ He himself was born six days before the Ides of April, in the first consulship of Severus and the second of Erucius Clarus. ⁴ While still a child, even before he had been drilled in the Latin and Greek literatures (with which he was very well acquainted), he would engage in no game with the other children except playing judge, and on such occasions he would have the rods and axes borne before him, and, surrounded by the throng of children, he would take his seat and thus give judgments. ⁵ In his eighteenth year he delivered an oration in public. Soon after, in order to continue his studies, he came to Rome; and with the support of his kinsman Septimius Severus, who had already been consul twice, he sought and secured from the Deified Marcus the broad stripe.

⁶ Soon after he had come to Rome he fell in with a stranger who at that very moment was reading the life of the Emperor Hadrian, and he snatched at this incident as an omen of future prosperity. ⁷ He had still another omen of empire: for once, when he was invited to an imperial banquet and came wearing a cloak, when he should have worn his toga, he was lent an official toga of the emperor's own. ⁸ And that same night he dreamed that he tugged at the udders of a wolf, like Remus and Romulus. ⁹ He sat down, furthermore, in the emperor's chair, which a servant had carelessly left accessible, being quite unaware that this was not allowed. ¹⁰ And once, while he was sleeping in a tavern, a snake coiled about his head, and when his friends awoke from their sleep and shouted at it, it departed without doing him any harm.

²¹ His early manhood was filled with follies and not free from crime. ² He was charged with adultery, but pleaded his own case and was acquitted by the proconsul Julianus, the man who was his immediate predecessor in the proconsulship, his colleague in the consulship, and likewise his predecessor on the throne. ³ Omitting the office of tribune of the soldiers, he became quaestor and performed his duties with diligence. At the expiration of his quaestorship he was allotted the province of Baetica, and from there he crossed over to Africa in order to settle his domestic affairs, for his father had meanwhile died. ⁴ But while he was in Africa, Sardinia was assigned him in place of Baetica, because

the latter was being ravaged by the Moors. 5 He therefore served his quaestorship in Sardinia, and afterwards was appointed aide to the proconsul of Africa. 6 While he was in this office, a certain fellow-townsmen of his, a plebeian, embraced him as an old comrade, though the fasces were being carried before him; whereupon he had the fellow beaten with clubs and then ordered a proclamation to be made by the herald to this effect: "Let no plebeian embrace without due cause a legate of the Roman people". 7 On account of this incident, legates, who had previously gone on foot, thereafter rode in carriages. 8 About this time, also, being worried about the future, he had recourse to an astrologer in a certain city of Africa. The astrologer, when he had cast the horoscope, saw high destinies in store for him, but added: "Tell me your own nativity and not that of another man". 9 And when Severus swore an oath that it was really his, the astrologer revealed to him all the things that did later come to pass.

³¹ He was promoted to be tribune of the plebs by order of the Emperor Marcus, and he performed his duties with austerity and vigour. 2 It was then that he married Marcia, but of her he made no mention in the history of his life as a private man. Afterwards, however, while emperor, he erected statues in her honour. 3 In the thirty-second year of his life Marcus appointed him praetor, although he was not one of the Emperor's candidates but only one of the ordinary crowd of competitors. 4 He was thereupon sent to Spain, and here he had a dream, first that he was told to repair the temple of Augustus at Tarraco, which at that time was falling into ruin, 5 and then that from the top of a very high mountain he beheld Rome and all the world, while the provinces sang together to the accompaniment of the lyre and flute. Though absent from the city, he gave games. 6 Presently he was put in command of the Fourth Legion, the Scythica, stationed near Massilia, 7 and after that he proceeded to Athens — partly in order to continue his studies and perform certain sacred rites, and partly on account of the public buildings and ancient monuments there. Here he suffered certain wrongs at the hands of the Athenians; and on that account he became their foes, and afterwards, as emperor, took vengeance on them by curtailing their rights. 8 After this he was appointed to the province of Lugdunensis as legate. 9 He had meanwhile lost his wife, and now, wishing to take another, he made inquiries about the horoscopes of marriageable women, being himself no mean astrologer; and when he learned that there was a woman in Syria whose horoscope predicted that she would wed a king (I mean Julia, of course), he sought her for his wife, and through the mediation of his friends secured her. By her, presently, he became a father. 4 And because he was strict, honourable and self-restrained, he was beloved by the Gauls as was no one else.

² °Next he ruled the Pannonias with proconsular powers, and after this he drew

in the allotment the proconsular province of Sicily. At Rome, meanwhile, he was presented with a second son. 3 While he was in Sicily he was indicted for consulting about the imperial dignity with seers and astrologers, but, because Commodus was now beginning to be detested, he was acquitted by the prefects of the guard to whom he had been handed over for trial, while his accuser was crucified. 4 He now served his first consulship, having Apuleius Rufinus for his colleague — an office to which Commodus appointed him from among a large number of aspirants. After the consulship he spent about a year free from public duties; then, on the recommendation of Laetus, he was put in charge of the army in Germany. 5 Just as he was setting out for Germany, he acquired elaborate gardens, although he had previously kept only an unpretentious dwelling in the city and a single farm in Venetia. 6 And now, when he was reclining on the ground in these gardens, partaking of a frugal supper with his children, his elder son, who was then five years old, divided the fruit, when it was served, with rather a bounteous hand among his young playmates. And when his father reproved him, saying: “Be more sparing; for you have not the riches of a king,” the five-year old child replied: “No, but I shall have”. 7 On coming to Germany, Severus conducted himself in this office in such a manner as to increase a reputation which was already illustrious.

^{5 1} So far did he pursue his military career as a subject. Now, when it was learned that Commodus had been slain and that Julianus was holding the throne amid general hatred, at the behest of many, but against his own will, he was hailed emperor by the German legions; this took place at Carnuntum on the Ides of August. 2 A thousand sesterces — a sum which no prince had ever given before — were presented to each soldier. 3 And then, after garrisoning the provinces which he was leaving in his rear, he hastened his march on Rome. Wherever his path lay, all yielded to him, and the legions in Illyricum and Gaul had already, under compulsion from their generals, espoused his cause, 4 for he was universally regarded as the avenger of Pertinax. 5 Meanwhile, at Julianus’ instigation, the senate declared him a public enemy, and legates were sent to his army with a message from the senate ordering his soldiers in the name of the senate to desert him. 6 And in truth, when Severus heard that legates had been sent by unanimous order of the senate, he was at first terrified; afterwards, however, he managed to bribe the legates to address the army in his favour and then to desert to his side themselves. 7 When Julianus learned of this, he caused the senate to pass a decree that Severus and he should share the throne. 8 Whether this was done in good faith or treacherously is not clear; for already, ere this, Julianus had sent certain fellows, notorious assassins of generals, to murder Severus, and indeed he had sent men to murder Pescennius Niger as well, who,

at the instigation of the armies in Syria, had also declared himself emperor in opposition to Julianus. 9 However, Severus escaped the clutches of the men whom Julianus had sent to kill him and despatched a letter to the guard instructing them either to desert Julianus or to kill him; and his order was immediately obeyed. 10 For not only was Julianus slain in the Palace, but Severus was invited to Rome. 11 And so, by the mere nod of his head, Severus became the victor — a thing that had befallen no man ever before — and still under arms hastened towards Rome.

⁶ 1 After the murder of Julianus Severus still remained encamped and in his tents as though he were advancing through a hostile territory; the senate, therefore, sent a delegation of a hundred senators to bear him congratulations and sue for pardon. 2 And when these met him at Interamna, they were searched for concealed weapons and only then suffered to greet him as he stood armed and in the midst of armed men. 3 But on the following day, after all the palace attendants had arrived, he presented each member of the delegation 4 with seven hundred and twenty pieces of gold, and sent them on ahead, granting to such as desired, however, the privilege of remaining and returning to Rome with himself. 5 Without further delay, he appointed as prefect of the guard that Flavius Juvenalis whom Julianus had chosen for his third prefect.

⁶ Meanwhile at Rome a mighty panic seized both soldiers and civilians, for they realized that Severus was advancing under arms and against those who had declared him a public enemy. 7 The excitement was further increased when Severus learned that Pescennius Niger had been hailed emperor by the legions in Syria. 8 However, the proclamations and letters that Pescennius sent to the people and senate were, with the connivance of the messengers who had been sent with them, intercepted by Severus, for he wished to prevent their being published among the people or read in the senate-house. 9 At the same time, too, he considered abdicating in favour of Clodius Albinus, to whom, it appeared, the power of a Caesar had already been decreed at the instance of Commodus. 10 But instead, he sent Heraclitus to secure Britain and Plautianus to seize Niger's children, in fear of these men and having formed a correct opinion about them. 11 And when he arrived at Rome, he ordered the guard to meet him clad only in their undergarments and without arms; then, with armed men posted all about him, he summoned them, thus apparelled, to the tribunal.

⁷ 1 Severus, armed himself and attended by armed men, entered the city and went up to the Capitol; thence he proceeded, still fully armed, to the Palace, having the standards, which he had taken from the praetorians, borne before him not raised erect but trailing on the ground. 2 And then throughout the whole city, in temples, in porticoes, and in the dwellings on the Palatine, the soldiers took up

their quarters as though in barracks; 3 and Severus' entry inspired both hate and fear, for the soldiers seized goods they did not pay for and threatened to lay the city waste. 4 On the next day, accompanied not only by armed soldiers but also by a body of armed friends, Severus appeared before the senate, and there, in the senate-house, gave his reasons for assuming the imperial power, alleging in defence thereof that men notorious for assassinating generals had been sent by Julianus to murder him. 5 He secured also the passage of a senatorial decree to the effect that the emperor should not be permitted to put any senator to death without first consulting the senate. 6 But while he was still in the senate-house, his soldiers, with threats of mutiny, demanded of the senate ten thousand sesterces each, citing the precedent of those who had conducted Augustus Octavian to Rome and received a similar sum. 7 And although Severus himself desired to repress them, he found himself unable; eventually, however, by giving them a bounty he managed to appease them and then sent them away. 8 Thereupon he held for an effigy of Pertinax a funeral such as is given a censor, elevated him to a place among the deified emperors and gave him, besides, a flamen and a Helvian Brotherhood, composed of the priests who had previously constituted the Marcian Brotherhood. 9 Moreover, he himself was, at his own command, given the name Pertinax; although later he wished it withdrawn, for fear that it would prove an omen.

^{8 1} Next he freed his friends from debt. He then settled dowries on his daughters and gave them in marriage to Probus and Aetius. As for his son-in law Probus, when he offered to make him prefect of the city, Probus declined, averring that it meant less to him to be prefect of the city than son-in law to the emperor. 2 However, he immediately appointed each of them consul and made each rich. 3 Soon thereafter he appeared before the senate, and bringing in accusations against the friends of Julianus, caused them to be outlawed and put to death. 4 He heard a vast number of lawsuits, and magistrates who had been accused by the provincials he punished severely whenever the accusations against them were proved; 5 and finding the grain-supply at a very low ebb, he managed it so well that on departing this life he left the Roman people a surplus to the amount of seven years' tribute.

⁶ And now he set out to remedy the situation in the East, still making no public mention of Niger. 7 None the less, however, he sent troops to Africa, for fear that Niger might advance through Libya and Egypt and seize this province, and thereby distress the Roman people with a scarcity of grain. 8 Then, leaving Domitius Dexter as prefect of the city in place of Bassus, within thirty days of his coming to Rome he set out again; 9 and he had proceeded from the city no farther than Saxa Rubra when he had to face a great mutiny in his army, which

arose on account of the place selected for pitching camp. 10 Then his brother Geta came at once to meet him, but merely received orders to rule the province already in his charge, though Geta had other hopes. 11 Niger's children, who were brought to him, he treated with the same care that he showed his own. 12 Previous to this, he had sent a legion to occupy Greece and Thrace, and thereby prevent Niger from seizing them. 13 But Niger already held Byzantium, and now wishing to seize Perinthus too, he slew a great number of this force and accordingly, together with Aemilianus, was declared an enemy to the state. 14 He next proposed joint rule with Severus; this was rejected with scorn. 15 As a matter of fact, Severus did promise him an unmolested exile if he wished it, but refused to pardon Aemilianus. 16 Soon thereafter Aemilianus was defeated by Severus' generals at the Hellespont and fled first to Cyzicus and from there to another city, and here he was put to death by order of Severus' generals. 17 Niger's own forces, moreover, were routed by the same generals. 9 On receipt of this news Severus despatched letters to the senate as if the whole affair were finished. And not long afterwards he met with Niger near Cyzicus, slew him, and paraded his head on a pike. 2 Niger's children, whom he had maintained in the same state as his own, he sent into exile after this event, together with their mother.

³ He sent a letter to the senate announcing the victory, but he inflicted no punishment upon any of the senators who had sided with Niger, with the exception of one man. 4 Towards the citizens of Antioch he was more resentful, because they had laughed at him in his administration of the East and also had aided Niger with supplies. 5 Eventually he deprived them of many privileges. The citizens of Neapolis in Palestine, because they had long been in arms on Niger's side, he deprived of all their civic rights, 6 and to many individuals, other than members of the senatorial order, who had followed Niger he meted out cruel punishments. 7 Many communities, too, which had been on Niger's side, were punished with fines and degradation; 8 and such senators as had seen active service on Niger's side with the title of general or tribune were put to death.

⁹ Next, he engaged in further operations in the region about Arabia and brought the Parthians back to allegiance and also the Adiabeni — all of whom had sided with Pescennius. 10 For this exploit, after he returned home, he was given a triumph and the names Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus. 11 He refused the triumph, however, lest he seem to triumph for a victory over Romans; and he declined the name Parthicus lest he hurt the Parthians' feelings.

^{10 1} And then, just as he was returning to Rome after the civil war caused by Niger, he received news of another civil war, caused by Clodius Albinus, who

had revolted in Gaul. It was because of this revolt that Niger's children and their mother were later put to death. 2 As for Albinus, Severus at once declared him a public foe, and likewise those who, in their letters to him or replies to his letters, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined to him. 3 As he was advancing against Albinus, moreover, and had reached Viminacium on his march, he gave his elder son Bassianus the name Aurelius Antoninus and the title of Caesar, in order to destroy whatever hopes of succeeding to the throne his brother Geta had conceived. 4 His reason for giving his son the name Antoninus was that he had dreamed that an Antoninus would succeed him. 5 It was because of this dream, some believe, that Geta also was called Antoninus, in order that he too might succeed to the throne. 6 Others, however, think that Bassianus was given the name Antoninus because Severus himself wished to pass over into the family of Marcus.

7 At first, Severus' generals were worsted by those of Albinus; but when, in his anxiety, he consulted augurs in Pannonia, he learned that he would be the victor, and that his opponent would neither fall into his hands nor yet escape, but would die close by the water. 8 Many of Albinus' friends soon deserted and came over to Severus; and many of his generals were captured, all of whom Severus punished. 11 Meanwhile, after many operations had been carried on in Gaul with varying success, Severus had his first successful encounter with Albinus at Tinurtium. 2 Through the fall of his horse, however, he was at one time in the utmost peril; and it was even believed that he had been slain by a blow with a ball of lead, and the army almost elected another emperor. 3 It was at this time that Severus, on reading the resolutions passed by the senate in praise of Clodius Celsinus, who was a native of Hadrumetum and Albinus' kinsman, became highly incensed at the senate, as though it had recognized Albinus by this act, and issued a decree that Commodus should be placed among the deified, as though he could take vengeance on the senate by this sort of thing. 4 He proclaimed the deification of Commodus to the soldiers first, and then announced it to the senate in a letter, to which he added a discourse on his own victory. 5 Next, he gave orders that the bodies of the senators who had been slain in the battle should be mutilated. 6 And then, when Albinus' body was brought before him, he had him beheaded while still half alive, gave orders that his head should be taken to Rome, and followed up the order with a letter. 7 Albinus was defeated on the eleventh day before the Kalends of March.

The rest of Albinus' body was, by Severus' order, laid out in front of his own home, and kept there for a long time exposed to view. 8 Furthermore, Severus himself rode on horseback over the body, and when the horse shied, he spoke to it and loosed the reins, that it might trample boldly. 9 Some add that he ordered

Albinus' body to be cast into the Rhone, and also the bodies of his wife and children.

¹² ¹ Countless persons who had sided with Albinus were put to death, among them numerous leading men and many distinguished women, and all their goods were confiscated and went to swell the public treasury. Many nobles of the Gauls and Spains were also put to death at this time. ² Finally, he gave his soldiers sums of money such as no emperor had ever given before. ³ Yet as a result of these confiscations, he left his sons a fortune greater than any other emperor had left to his heirs, for he had made a large part of the gold in the Gauls, Spains, and Italy imperial property. ⁴ At this time the office of steward for private affairs was first established. ⁵ After Albinus' death many who remained loyal to him were defeated by Severus in battle. ⁶ At this same time, however, he received word that the legion in Arabia had gone over to Albinus.

⁷ And so, after having taken harsh vengeance for Albinus' revolt by putting many men to death and exterminating Albinus' family, he came to Rome filled with wrath at the people and senate. ⁸ He delivered a eulogy of Commodus before the senate and before an assembly of the people and declared him a god; he averred, moreover, that Commodus had been unpopular only among the degraded. ⁹ Indeed, it was evident that Severus was openly furious. After this he spoke about the mercy he had shown, whereas he was really exceedingly blood-thirsty and executed the senators enumerated below. ¹³ He put to death without even a fair trial the following noblemen: Mummius Secundinus, Asellius Claudianus, ² Claudius Rufus, Vitalius Victor, Papius Faustus, Aelius Celsus, Julius Rufus, Lollius Professus, Aurunculeius Cornelianus, Antonius Balbus, Postumius Severus, Sergius Lustralis, ³ Fabius Paulinus, Nonius Gracchus, Masticius Fabianus, Casperius Agrippinus, Ceionius Albinus, ⁴ Claudius Sulpicianus, Memmius Rufinus, Casperius Aemilianus, Cocceius Verus, Erucius Clarus, ⁵ Aelius Stilo, Clodius Rufinus, Egnatuleius Honoratus, ⁶ Petronius Junior, the six Pescennii, Festus, Veratianus, Aurelianus, Materianus, Julianus, and Albinus; the three Cerellii, Macrinus, Faustinianus, and Julianus; ⁷ Herennius Nepos, Sulpicius Canus, Valerius Catullinus, Novius Rufus, Claudius Arabianus, and Marcius Asellio. ⁸ And yet he who murdered all these distinguished men, many of whom had been consuls and many praetors, while all were of high estate, is regarded by the Africans as a god. ⁹ He falsely accused Cincius Severus of attempting his life by poison, and thereupon put him to death; next, he cast to the lions Narcissus, the man who had strangled Commodus. ¹⁴ And besides, he put to death many men from the more humble walks of life, not to speak of those whom the fury of battle had consumed.

² After this, wishing to ingratiate himself with the people, he took the postal

service out of private hands and transferred its cost to the privy-purse. 3 Then he caused the senate to give Bassianus Antoninus the title of Caesar and grant him the imperial insignia. 4 Next, when called away by the rumour of a Parthian war, he set up at his own expense statues in honour of his father, mother, grandfather and first wife. 5 He had been very friendly with Plautianus; but, on learning his true character, he conceived such an aversion to him as even to declare him a public enemy, overthrow his statues, and make him famous throughout the entire world for the severity of his punishment, the chief reason for his anger being that Plautianus had set up his own statue among the statues of Severus' kinsmen and connections. 6 He revoked the punishment which had been imposed upon the people of Palestine on Niger's account. 7 Later, he again entered into friendly relations with Plautianus, and after entering the city in his company like one who celebrates an ovation, he went up to the Capitol, although in the course of time he killed him. 8 He bestowed the toga virilis on his younger son, Geta, and he united his elder son in marriage with Plautianus' daughter. 9 Those who had declared Plautianus a public enemy were now driven into exile. Thus, as if by a law of nature, do all things ever shift and change. 10 Soon thereafter he appointed his sons to the consulship; also he greatly honoured his brother Geta. 11 Then, after giving a gladiatorial show and bestowing largess upon the people, he set out for the Parthian war. 12 Many men meanwhile were put to death, some on true and some on trumped-up charges. 13 Several were condemned because they had spoken in jest, others because they had not spoken at all, others again because they had cried out many things with double meaning, such as "Behold an emperor worthy of his name — Pertinacious in very truth, in very truth Severe".

^{15 1} It was commonly rumoured, to be sure, that in planning a war on the Parthians, Septimius Severus was influenced rather by a desire for glory than by any real necessity. 2 Finally, he transported his army from Brundisium, reached Syria without breaking his voyage, and forced the Parthians to retreat. 3 After that, however, he returned to Syria in order to make preparations to carry on an offensive war against the Parthians. 4 In the meantime, on the advice of Plautianus, he hunted down the last survivors of Pescennius' revolt, and he even went so far as to bring charges against several of his own friends on the ground that they were plotting to kill him. 5 He put numerous others to death on the charge of having asked Chaldeans or soothsayers how long he was destined to live; and he was especially suspicious of anyone who seemed qualified for the imperial power, for his sons were still very young, and he believed or had heard that this fact was being observed by those who were seeking omens regarding their own prospects of the throne. 6 Eventually, however, when several had been

put to death, Severus disclaimed all responsibility, and after their death denied that he had given orders to do what had been done. Marius Maximus says that this was particularly true in the case of Laetus. 7 His sister from Leptis once came to see him, and, since she could scarcely speak Latin, made the emperor blush for her hotly. And so, after giving the broad stripe to her son and many presents to the woman herself, he sent her home again, and also her son, who died a short time afterwards.

¹⁶ 1 When the summer was well-nigh over, Severus invaded Parthia, defeated the king, and came to Ctesiphon; and about the beginning of the winter season he took the city. For indeed in those regions it is better to wage war during the winter, although the soldiers live on the roots of the plants and so contract various ills and diseases. 2 For this reason then, although he could make no further progress, since the Parthian army was blocking the way and his men were suffering from diarrhoea because of the unfamiliar food, he nevertheless held his ground, took the city, put the king to flight, slew a great multitude, and gained the name Parthicus. 3 For this feat, likewise, the soldiers declared his son, Bassianus Antoninus, co-emperor; he had already been named Caesar and was now in his thirteenth year. 4 And to Geta, his younger son, they gave the name Caesar, and called him in addition Antoninus, as several men relate in their writings. 5 To celebrate the bestowal of these names Severus gave the soldiers an enormous donative, none other, in truth, than liberty to plunder the Parthian capital, a privilege for which they had been clamouring. 6 He then returned victorious to Syria. But when the senators offered him a triumph for the Parthian campaign, he declined it because he was so afflicted with gout that he was unable to stand upright in his chariot. 7 Notwithstanding this, he gave permission that his son should celebrate a triumph; for the senate had decreed to him a triumph over Judaea because of the successes achieved by Severus in Syria.

⁸ Next, when he had reached Antioch, he bestowed the toga virilis upon his elder son and appointed him consul as colleague to himself; 9 and without further delay, while still in Syria, the two entered upon their consulship. 17 After this, having first raised his soldiers' pay, he turned his steps toward Alexandria, and while on his way thither he conferred numerous rights upon the communities of Palestine. He forbade conversion to Judaism under heavy penalties and enacted a similar law in regard to the Christians. 2 He then gave the Alexandrians the privilege of a local senate, for they were still without any public council, just as they had been under their own kings, and were obliged to be content with the single governor appointed by Caesar. 3 Besides this, he changed many of their laws. 4 In after years Severus himself continually avowed that he had found this journey very enjoyable, because he had taken part in the

worship of the god Serapis, had learned something of antiquity, and had seen unfamiliar animals and strange places. For he visited Memphis, Memnon, the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth, and examined them all with great care.

⁵ But since it is tedious to mention in detail the less important matters, only the most noteworthy of his deeds are here related. He discharged the cohorts of the guard after Julianus was defeated and slain; he deified Pertinax against the wishes of the army; and he gave orders that the decisions of Salvius Julianus should be annulled, though this he did not succeed in accomplishing. ⁶ Lastly, he was given the surname Pertinax, not so much by his own wish, it seems, as because of his frugal ways. ⁷ In fact, he was considered somewhat cruel, both on account of his innumerable executions and because, when one of his enemies came before him on a certain occasion to crave forgiveness and said “What would you have done?”, ⁸ Severus was not softened by so sensible a speech, but ordered him to be put to death. He was determined to crush out conspiracies. He seldom departed from a battle except as victor. ¹⁸ He defeated Abgarus, the king of the Persians. He extended his sway over the Arabs. He forced the Adiabeni to give tribute. ² He built a wall across the island of Britain from sea to sea, and thus made the province secure — the crowning glory of his reign; in recognition thereof he was given the name Britannicus. ³ He freed Tripolis, the region of his birth, from fear of attack by crushing sundry warlike tribes. And he bestowed upon the Roman people, without cost, a most generous daily allowance of oil in perpetuity.

⁴ He was implacable toward the guilty; at the same time he showed singular judgment in advancing the efficient. ⁵ He took a fair interest in philosophy and oratory, and showed a great eagerness for learning in general. ⁶ He was relentless everywhere toward brigands. He wrote a trustworthy account of his own life, both before and after he became emperor, in which the only charge that he tried to explain away was that of cruelty. ⁷ In regard to this charge, the senate declared that Severus either should never have been born at all or never should have died, because on the one hand, he had proved too cruel, and on the other, too useful to the state. ⁸ For all that, he was less careful in his home-life, for he retained his wife Julia even though she was notorious for her adulteries and also guilty of plotting against him. ⁹ On one occasion, when he so suffered from gout as to delay a campaign, his soldiers in their dismay conferred on his son Bassianus, who was with him at the time, the title of Augustus. Severus, however, had himself lifted up and carried to the tribunal, summoned ¹⁰ all the tribunes, centurions, generals, and cohorts responsible for this occurrence, and after commanding his son, who had received the name Augustus, to stand up, gave orders that all the authors of this deed, save only his son, should be

punished. When they threw themselves before the tribunal and begged for pardon, Severus touched his head with his hand and said, "Now at last you know that the head does the ruling, and not the feet". 11 And even after fortune had led him step by step through the pursuits of study and of warfare even to the throne, he used to say: "Everything have I been, and nothing have I gained".

^{19 1} In the eighteenth year of his reign, now an old man and overcome by a most grievous disease, he died at Eboracum in Britain, after subduing various tribes that seemed a possible menace to the province. 2 He left two sons, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, also named by him Antoninus in honour of Marcus. 3 Severus was laid in the tomb of Marcus Antoninus, whom of all the emperors he revered so greatly that he even deified Commodus and held that all emperors should thenceforth assume the name Antoninus as they did that of Augustus. 4 At the demand of his sons, who gave him a most splendid funeral, he was added by the senate^o to the deified.

⁵ The principal public works of his now in existence are the Septizonium and the Baths of Severus. He also built the Septimian Baths in the district across the Tiber near the gate named after him, but the aqueduct fell down immediately after its completion and the people were unable to make any use of them.

⁶ After his death the opinion that all men held of him was high indeed; for, in the long period that followed, no good came to the state from his sons, and after them, when many invaders came pouring in upon the state, the Roman Empire became a thing for free-booters to plunder.

⁷ His clothing was of the plainest; indeed, even his tunic had scarcely any purple on it, while he covered his shoulders with a shaggy cloak. 8 He was very sparing in his diet, was fond of his native beans, liked wine at times, and often went without meat. 9 In person he was large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was grey and curly, his face was such as to inspire respect. His voice was clear, but retained an African accent even to his old age. 10 After his death he was much beloved, for then all envy of his power or fear of his cruelty had vanished.

^{20 1} I can remember reading in Aelius Maurus, the freedman of that Phlegon who was Hadrian's freedman, that Septimius Severus rejoiced exceedingly at the time of his death, because he was leaving two Antonini to rule the state with equal powers, herein following the example of Pius, who left to the state Verus and Marcus Antoninus, his two sons by adoption; 2 and that he rejoiced all the more, because, while Pius had left only adopted sons, he was leaving sons of his own blood to rule the Roman state, namely Antoninus Bassianus, whom he had begotten from his first marriage, and Geta, whom Julia had borne him. 3 In these high hopes, however, he was grievously deceived; for the state was denied the

one by murder, the other by his own character. And in scarcely any case did that revered name long or creditably survive. 4 Indeed, when I reflect on the matter, Diocletian Augustus, it is quite clear to me that practically no great man has left the world a son of real excellence or value. 5 In short, most of them either died without issue of their own, or had such children that it would have been better for humanity had they departed without offspring. 21 As for Romulus, to begin with him, he left no children who might have proved useful to the state, nor did Numa Pompilius. What of Camillus? Did he have children like himself? What of Scipio? What of the Catos, who were so distinguished? 2 Indeed, for that matter, what shall I say of Homer, Demosthenes, Vergil, Crispus, Terence, Plautus, and such as they? What of Caesar? What of Tully? — for whom, particularly, it had been better had he had no son. 3 What of Augustus, who could not get a worthy son even by adoption, though he had the whole world to choose from? Even Trajan was deceived when he chose for his heir his fellow-townsmen and nephew. 4 But let us except sons by adoption, lest our thoughts turn to those two guardian spirits of the state, Pius and Marcus Antoninus, and let us proceed to sons by birth. 5 What could have been more fortunate for Marcus than not to have left Commodus as his heir? 6 What more fortunate for Septimius Severus than not to have even begotten Bassianus? — a man who speedily charged his brother with contriving plots against him — a murderous falsehood — and put him to death; 7 who took his own stepmother to wife — stepmother did I say? — nay rather the mother on whose bosom he had slain Geta, her son; 8 who slew, because he refused to absolve him of his brother's murder, Papinian, a sanctuary of law and treasure-house of jurisprudence, who had been raised to the office of prefect that a man who had become illustrious through his own efforts and his learning might not lack official rank. 9 In short, not to mention other things, I believe that it was because of this man's character that Severus, a gloomier man in every way, nay even a crueller one, was considered righteous and worthy of the worship of a god. 10 Once indeed, it is said, Severus, when laid low by sickness, sent to his elder son that divine speech in Sallust in which Micipsa urges his sons to the ways of peace. In vain, however. . . . 11 For a long time, finally, the people hated Antoninus, and that venerable name was long less beloved, even though he gave the people clothing (whence he got his name Caracallus) and built the most splendid baths. 12 There is a colonnade of Severus at Rome, I might mention, depicting his exploits, which was built by his son, or so most men say.

^{22 1} The death of Severus was foreshadowed by the following events: he himself dreamed that he was snatched up to the heavens in a jewelled car drawn by four eagles, whilst some vast shape, I know not what, but resembling a man, flew on

before. And while he was being snatched up, he counted out the numbers eighty and nine, and beyond this number of years he did not live so much as one, for he was an old man when he came to the throne. 2 And then, after he had been placed in a huge circle in the air, for a long time he stood alone and desolate, until finally, when he began to fear that he might fall headlong, he saw himself summoned by Jupiter and placed among the Antonines. 3 Again, on the day of the circus-games, when three plaster figures of Victory were set up in the customary way, with palms in their hands, the one in the middle, which held a sphere inscribed with his name, struck by a gust of wind, fell down from the balcony in an upright position and remained on the ground in this posture; while the one on which Geta's name was inscribed was dashed down and completely shattered, and the one which bore Bassianus' name lost its palm and barely managed to keep its place, such was the whirling of the wind. 4 On another occasion, when he was returning to his nearest quarters from an inspection of the wall at Luguwallum in Britain, at a time when he had not only proved victorious but had concluded a perpetual peace, just as he was wondering what omen would present itself, an Ethiopian soldier, who was famous among buffoons and always a notable jester, met him with a garland of cypress-boughs. 5 And when Severus in a rage ordered that the man be removed from his sight, troubled as he was by the man's ominous colour and the ominous nature of the garland, the Ethiopian by way of jest cried, it is said, "You have been all things, you have conquered all things, now, O conqueror, be a god." 6 And when on reaching the town he wished to perform a sacrifice, in the first place, through a misunderstanding on the part of the rustic soothsayer, he was taken to the Temple of Bellona, and, in the second place, the victims provided him were black. 7 And then, when he abandoned the sacrifice in disgust and betook himself to the Palace, through some carelessness on the part of the attendants the black victims followed him up to its very doors.

²³ 1 In many communities there are public buildings erected by him which are famous, but particularly noteworthy among the achievements of his life was the restoration of all the public sanctuaries in Rome, which were then falling to ruin through the passage of time. And seldom did he inscribe his own name on these restorations or fail to preserve the names of those who built them. 2 At his death he left a surplus of grain to the amount of seven years' tribute, or enough to distribute seventy-five thousand pecks a day, and so much oil, indeed, that for five years there was plenty for the uses, not only of the city, but also for as much as of Italy as was in need of it.

³ His last words, it is said, were these: "The state, when I received it, was harassed on every side; I leave it at peace, even in Britain; old now and with

crippled feet, I bequeath to my two Antonini an empire which is strong, if they prove good, feeble, if they prove bad.” 4 After this, he issued orders to give the tribune the watchword “Let us toil,” because Pertinax, when he assumed the imperial power, had given the word “Let us be soldiers”. 5 He then ordered a duplicate made of the royal statue of Fortune which was customarily carried about with the emperors and placed in their bedrooms, in order that he might leave this most holy statue to each of his sons; 6 but later, when he realized that the hour of death was upon him, he gave instructions, they say, that the original should be placed in the bed-chambers of each of his sons, the co-emperors, on alternate days. 7 As for this direction, Bassianus ignored it and then murdered his brother.

²⁴¹ His body was borne from Britain to Rome, and was everywhere received by the provincials with profound reverence. 2 Some men say, however, that only a golden urn containing Severus’ ashes was so conveyed, and that this was laid in the tomb of the Antonines, while Septimius himself was cremated where he died.

³ When he built the Septizonium he had no other thought than that his building should strike the eyes of those who came to Rome from Africa. 4 It is said that he wished to make an entrance on this side of the Palatine mansion — the royal dwelling, that is — and he would have done so had not the prefect of the city planted his statue in the centre of it while he was away. 5 Afterwards Alexander wished to carry out this plan, but he, it is said, was prevented by the soothsayers, for on making inquiry he obtained unfavourable omens.

The Life of Pescennius Niger

¹¹ It is an unusual task and a difficult one to set down fairly in writing the lives of men who, through other men's victories, remained mere pretenders, and for this reason not all the facts concerning such men are preserved in our records and histories in full. ² For, in the first place, notable events that redound to their honour are distorted by historians; other events, in the second place, are suppressed; and, in the third place, no great care is bestowed upon inquiries into their ancestry and life, since it seems sufficient to recount their presumption, the battle in which they were overcome, and the punishment they suffered.

³ Pescennius Niger, then, was born of humble parentage, according to some, of noble, according to others. His father was Annius Fuscus, his mother Lampridia. His grandfather was the supervisor of Aquinum, the town to which the family sought to trace its origin, though the fact is even now considered doubtful. ⁴ As for Pescennius himself, he was passably well versed in literature, thrifty in his habits, and unbridled in indulgence in every manner of passion. ⁵ For a long time he commanded in the ranks, and finally, after holding many generalships, he reached the point where Commodus named him to command the armies in Syria, chiefly on the recommendation of the athlete who afterward strangled Commodus; for so, at that time, were all appointments made.

²¹ And now, after he learned that Commodus had been murdered, that Julianus had been declared emperor, and then, by order of Severus and the senate, put to death, and that Albinus, furthermore, had assumed in Gaul the name and power of emperor, Pescennius was hailed imperator by the armies he commanded in Syria; — though more out of aversion to Julianus, some say, than in rivalry of Severus. ² Even before this, during the first days of Julianus' reign, because of the dislike felt for the Emperor, Pescennius was so favoured at Rome, that even the senators, who hated Severus also, prayed for his success, while with showers of stones and general execrations the commons shouted "May the gods preserve him as Emperor, and him as Augustus". ³ For the mob hated Julianus because the soldiers had slain Pertinax and declared Julianus emperor contrary to their wishes; and there was violent rioting on this account. ⁴ Julianus, for his part, had sent a senior centurion to assassinate Niger — a piece of folly, since the attempt was made against one who led an army and could protect himself, and as though, forsooth, any sort of emperor could be slain by a retired centurion! ⁵ With equal madness he sent out a successor for Severus when Severus had already become emperor; ⁶ and lastly he sent the centurion Aquilius, notorious as an assassin of

generals, as if such an emperor could be slain by a centurion! 7 It was similarly an act of insanity that he, according to report, dealt with Severus by issuing a proclamation forbidding him to seize the imperial power, so that he might seem to have established a prior claim to the empire by process of law!

³¹ What the people thought of Pescennius Niger is evident from the following: when Julianus gave circus-games at Rome, the people filled the seats of the Circus Maximus without distinction of rank, assailed him with much abuse, and then with one accord called for Pescennius Niger to protect the city — partly out of hatred for Julianus, as we have said, and partly out of love for the slain Pertinax. 2 On this occasion Julianus is reported to have said that neither he himself nor Pescennius was destined to rule for long, but rather Severus, though he it was who was more worthy of hatred from the senators, the soldiers, the provincials and the city-mob. And this proved to be the case.

³ Now Pescennius was on very friendly terms with Severus at the time that the latter was governor of the province of Lugdunensis. 4 For he was sent to apprehend a body of deserters who were then ravaging Gaul in great numbers, 5 and because he conducted himself in this task with credit, he gained the esteem of Severus, so much so, in fact, that the latter wrote to Commodus about him, and averred that he was a man indispensable to the state. 6 And he was, indeed, a strict man in all things military. No soldier under his command ever forced a provincial to give him fuel, oil, or service. 7 He himself never accepted any presents from a soldier, and when he served as tribune he would not allow any to be accepted. 8 Even as emperor, when two tribunes were proved to have made deductions from the soldiers' rations, he ordered the auxiliaries to stone them.

⁹ There is extant a letter written by Severus to Ragonius Celsus, who was then governor of Gaul: "It is a pity that we cannot imitate the military discipline of this man whom we have overcome in war. 10 For your soldiers go straggling on all sides; the tribunes bathe in the middle of the day; they have cook-shops for mess-halls and, instead of barracks, brothels; they dance, they drink, they sing, and they regard as the proper limit to a banquet unlimited drinking. 11 How, pray, if any traces of our ancestral discipline still remained, could these things be? So, then, first reform the tribunes, and then the rank and file. For as long as these fear you, so long will you hold them in check. 12 But learn from Niger this also, that the soldiers cannot be made to fear you unless the tribunes and generals are irreproachable." 4 Thus did Severus Augustus write about Pescennius.

While Pescennius was still in the ranks, Marcus Antoninus wrote thus to Cornelius Balbus about him: "You sound the praises of Pescennius to me, and I recognize the man; for your predecessor also declared that he was vigorous in

action, dignified in demeanour, and even then more than a common soldier. 2 Accordingly, I have sent letters to be read at review in which I have ordered him placed in command of three hundred Armenians, one hundred Sarmatians, and a thousand of our own troops. 3 It is your place to show that the man has attained, not by intrigue, which is displeasing to our principles, but by merit, to a post which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan gave to none but the most thoroughly tried.”

⁴ Again, Commodus said of this same man: “I know Pescennius for a brave man, and I have already made him tribune twice. Presently, when advancing years shall make Aelius Corduenus retire from public life, I will make him a general.” ⁵ Such were the opinions that all men had of him. And in truth Severus himself frequently declared that he would have pardoned him had he not persisted.

⁶ Finally, Commodus appointed him consul, and advanced him thereby over Severus, greatly indeed to the latter’s wrath, since he thought that Niger had gained the consulship on the recommendation of the senior centurions. ⁷ Yet in his autobiography Severus says that on one occasion, when he had fallen sick and his sons had not yet reached an age when they could rule, he intended, if anything by any chance should happen to him, to appoint Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his heirs to the throne, even these two men who in time became his bitterest enemies. ⁸ From this it is evident what Severus thought of Pescennius. ⁵ But if we may believe Severus, Niger was greedy for glory, hypocritical in his mode of life, base in morals, and well advanced in years when he attempted to seize the empire — for which reason Severus inveighs against his ambition, just as if he himself came to the throne young! For though he understated the number of his years, after ruling eighteen years he died at the age of eighty-nine.

² Now Severus dispatched Heraclitus to secure Bithynia and Fulvius to seize Niger’s adult children. ³ Nevertheless, although he had already heard that Niger had seized the empire, and although he himself was on the point of setting out to remedy the situation in the East, he made no mention of Niger in the senate. ⁴ In fact, on setting out, he did only this — namely, send troops to Africa, fearing that Niger would seize it and thereby distress the Roman people with a famine. ⁵ For such a plan was possible of accomplishment, it seemed, by way of Libya and Egypt, the provinces adjacent to Africa, for all that it was no easy journey either by land or sea. ⁶ As for Pescennius, he slew a multitude of distinguished men and got control of Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia, while Severus was still on his way to the East. He then proposed to Severus that they two share the throne between them; ⁷ whereupon Severus, because of the men whom Niger had slain,

declared him and Aemilianus enemies to the state. Soon after, Niger gave battle under the leadership of Aemilianus and suffered defeat from Severus' generals. 8 Even then, Severus promised him safety in exile if he would lay down his arms. Niger, however, persisted and gave battle a second time, but was defeated; and in his flight while near the lake at Cyzicus he was wounded and was thus brought before Severus, and presently he was dead. 6 His head was paraded on a pike and then sent to Rome. His children were put to death, his wife was murdered, his estates were confiscated, and his entire household utterly blotted out. 2 All this, however, was done after news of the revolt of Albinus was received, for before that Niger's children and their mother had merely been sent into exile. 3 But Severus was exasperated by the second civil war, or rather the third, and became implacable; 4 and it was then that he put countless senators to death and got himself called by some the Punic Sulla, by others the Punic Marius.

⁵ In stature Niger was tall, in appearance attractive; and his hair grew back in a graceful way toward the crown of his head. His voice was so penetrating that when he spoke in the open he could be heard a thousand paces away, if the wind were not against him. His countenance was dignified and always somewhat ruddy; 6 his neck was so black that many men say that he was called Niger on this account. The rest of his body, however, was very white and he was inclined to be fat. He was fond of wine, sparing in his use of food, and as for intercourse with women, he abstained from it wholly save for the purpose of begetting children. 7 Indeed, certain religious rites in Gaul, which they always by common consent vote to the most chaste to celebrate, Niger himself performed. 8 On the rounded colonnade in the garden of Commodus he is to be seen pictured in the mosaic among Commodus' most intimate friends and performing the rites of Isis. 9 To these rites Commodus was so devoted as even to shave his head, carry the image of Anubis, and make every one of the ritualistic pauses in the procession.

¹⁰ As a soldier, then, he was excellent; as a tribune, without peer; as a general, eminent; as a governor, stern; as a consul, distinguished; as a man, one to be noted both at home and abroad; but as an emperor, unlucky. Under Severus, who was a forbidding sort of man, he might have been of use to the state had he been willing to cast in his lot with him. 7 But this was not to be, for he was deceived by the sinister counsels of Aurelianus, who espoused his daughters to Niger's sons and made him persist in his attempt at empire.

² He was a man of such influence that when he saw the provinces being demoralized by frequent changes of administration, he ventured to write to Marcus, and later to Commodus, making two recommendations: first, that no provincial governor, legate or proconsul, should be superseded within a term of

five years, because otherwise they laid down their power before they learned how to rule; 3 and second, that save for posts held by soldiers, no man without previous experience should be appointed to take part in the government of the empire, the purpose of this being that assistants should be promoted to the administration of those provinces only in which they had served as assistants. 4 Afterwards this very principle was maintained by Severus and many of his successors, as the prefectures of Paulus and Ulpian prove — for these men were assistants to Papinian, and afterwards, when the one had served as secretary of memoranda and the other as secretary of petitions, both were next appointed prefects of the guard. 5 It was also a recommendation of his that no one should serve as assistant in the province of his birth, and that no one should govern a province who was not a Roman of Rome, that is, a man born in the city itself. 6 He also recommended salaries for the members of the governor's council, in order to prevent their being a burden to those to whom they were advisers, adding that judges ought neither to give nor receive. 7 With his soldiers he was severity itself; once, for example, when the frontier troops in Egypt asked him for wine, he replied: "Do you ask for wine when you have the Nile?" In fact, the waters of the Nile are so sweet that the inhabitants of the country do not ask for wine. 8 And similarly, when the troops made a great uproar after they had been defeated by the Saracens, and cried out, "We get no wine, we cannot fight!", "Then blush," said he, "for the men who defeat you drink water." 9 Likewise, when the people of Palestine besought him to lessen their tribute, saying that it bore heavily on them, he replied: "So you wish me to lighten the tax on your lands; verily, if I had my way, I would tax your air."

⁸¹ Now when the confusion in the state was at its height, inasmuch as it was made known that there were three several emperors, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus, the priest of the Delphic Apollo was asked which of them as emperor would prove of most profit to the state, whereupon, it is said, he gave voice to a Greek verse as follows:

"Best is the Dark One, the African good, but the worst is the White One."

² And in this response it was clearly understood that Niger was meant by the Dark One, Severus by the African, and Albinus by the White One. 3 Thereupon the curiosity of the questioners was aroused, and they asked who would really win the empire. To this the priest replied with further verses somewhat as follows:

"Both of the Black and the White shall the life-blood be shed all untimely;
Empire over the world shall be held by the native of Carthage."

⁴ And then when the priest was asked who should succeed this man, he gave answer, it is said, with another Greek verse:

“He whom the dwellers above have called by the surname of Pius.”

⁵ But this was altogether unintelligible until Bassianus took the name Antoninus, which was Pius’ true surname. ⁶ And when finally they asked how long he should rule, the priest is said to have replied in Greek as follows:

“Surely with twice ten ships he will cleave the Italian waters,
Only let one of his barques bound o’er the plain of the sea.”

From this they perceived that Severus would round out twenty years.

⁹¹ This, Diocletian, greatest of emperors, is what we have learned concerning Pescennius, gathering it from many books. For when a man consigns to books the lives of men who were not rulers in the state, or of those, again, who were not declared emperors by the senate, or, lastly, of those who were so quickly killed that they could not attain to fame, his task is difficult, as we said at the beginning of this work. ² It is for this reason that Vindex is obscure and Piso unknown, as well as all those others also who were merely adopted, or were hailed as emperors by the soldiers (as was Antonius in Domitian’s time), or were speedily slain and gave up their lives and their attempt at empire together. ³ It now remains for me to speak of Clodius Albinus, who is considered this man’s ally, in a way, since they rebelled against Severus similarly, and were similarly overcome by him and put to death. But we have no clear information concerning him either, ⁴ since he and Pescennius were the same in fate, however much they differed in their lives.

⁵ And lest we seem to omit any of the tales which are told of Pescennius, for all that they can be read in other books, the soothsayers told Severus concerning Pescennius that neither living nor yet dead would he fall into Severus’ hands but would perish near the water. ⁶ Some say that Severus himself made this statement, learning it from astrology, in which he was very skilled. Nor was the augury devoid of truth, for Pescennius was found half dead near a lake.

¹⁰¹ Pescennius was a man of unusual rigour; when he learned, for instance, that various soldiers were drinking from silver cups while on a campaign, he gave orders that all silver whatever should be banished from the camp in war-time, and added that the soldiers should use wooden cups — a command that gained him their resentment. ² For it was not impossible, he said, that the soldiers’ individual baggage might fall into the hands of the enemy, and foreign tribes should not be given cause for glorying in our silver, when there were other articles that would contribute less to a foeman’s glory. ³ He gave orders, likewise, that in time of campaign the soldiers should not drink wine but should all content themselves with vinegar. ⁴ He also forbade pastry-cooks to follow expeditions, ordering both soldiers and all others to content themselves with biscuit. ⁵ For the theft of a single cock, furthermore, he gave an order that the

ten comrades who had shared the bird which one of them had stolen, should all be beheaded; and he would have carried out the sentence, had not the entire army importuned him to such a degree that there was reason to fear a mutiny. 6 And when he had spared them, he ordered that each of the ten who had feasted on the stolen bird should pay the provincial who owned it the price of ten cocks. At this same time he ordered that no one during the period of the campaign should build a hearth in his company-quarters, and that they should never eat freshly-cooked food, but should live on bread and cold water. And he set spies to see that this was done. 7 He gave orders, likewise, that the soldiers should not carry gold or silver coin in their money-belts when about to go into action, but should deposit them with a designated official. After the battle, he assured them, they would get back what they had deposited, or the official who had received it would pay it to their heirs — that is, their wives and children — without fail. Thus, he reasoned, no plunder would pass to the enemy, should fortune bring some disaster. 8 All these stern measures, however, worked to his disadvantage in times so slack as those of Commodus. 9 For even if there was no one who seemed to his own times a sterner general, those measures availed to damage him rather during his life than after his death, when both envy and malice were laid by.

11 On all his campaigns he took his meals in front of his tent and in the presence of all his men, and he ate the soldiers' own fare, too; nor did he ever seek shelter against sun or against rain if a soldier was without it. 2 In time of war he assigned to himself and to his slaves or aides as heavy burdens as were borne by the soldiers themselves, expounding to the soldiers the reason therefor; for in order that his slaves might not be without burdens on the march while the soldiers carried packs and this seem a grievous thing to the army, he loaded them with rations. 3 He took an oath, besides, in the presence of an assembly, that as long as he had conducted campaigns and as long as he expected to conduct them, he had not in the past and would not in the future act otherwise than as a simple soldier — having before his eyes Marius and such commanders as he. 4 He never told anecdotes about anyone save Hannibal and others such as he. 5 Indeed, when some one wished to recite him a panegyric at the time that he was declared emperor, he said to him: "Write praises of Marius, or Hannibal, or any pre-eminent general now dead, and tell what he did, that we may imitate him. 6 For the praise of the living is mere mockery, and most of all the praise of emperors, in whose power it lies to kindle hope or fear, to give advancement in public life, to condemn to death, and to declare a man an outlaw." He added that he wished to give satisfaction in his life-time, and after his death to be praised as well.

¹² ¹ His favourites among his predecessors were Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Pius, and Marcus; the others, he averred, were either puppets or monsters. Among the characters of history he admired most of all Marius, Camillus, Quinctius, and Marcius Coriolanus. ² And once, when asked his opinion concerning the Scipios, he replied, it is said, that they were rather fortunate than forceful, as was shown by their home-lives and by their youth, which, in the case of both, had not been conspicuous at home. ³ All men are agreed that he proposed, had he gained the throne, to correct all the evils which Severus, later, either could not or would not correct; and this he would have accomplished without any cruelty, or rather even with mercy, but yet the mercy of a soldier, not weak or absurd and a subject for mockery.

⁴ His house, still called by the name of Pescennius, may still be seen in the Field of Jupiter. Within, in a certain room with three compartments there stands his statue, carved in Theban marble, depicting his likeness, and given him by the common people of °Thebes. ⁵ There is preserved, besides, an epigram in Greek which, rendered into Latin, runs as follows:

⁶ “Glorious Niger stands here, the dread of the soldiers of Egypt,
Faithful ally of Thebes, willing a golden age.
Loved by the kings and the nations of earth, and by Rome the all golden,
Dear to the Antonines, aye, dear to the Empire too.
Black is the surname he bears, and black is the statue we’ve fashioned,
Thus do surname and hue, hero and marble, agree.”

⁷ As for these verses, Severus refused to erase them when this was proposed by his prefects and masters of ceremonies, and said, besides: ⁸ “If indeed he was such a man, let all men learn how great was the man we vanquished; if such he was not, let all men deem that such was the man we vanquished; no, leave it as it is, for such he really was.”

The Life of Clodius Albinus

¹¹ After the death of Pertinax, who was slain at Albinus's advice, various men were hailed emperor at about one and the same time — by the senate Julianus at Rome, and by the armies, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, Pescennius Niger in the East, and Clodius Albinus in Gaul. ² According to Herodian, Clodius had been named Caesar by Severus. But as time went on, each chafed at the other's rule, and the armies of Gaul and Germany demanded an emperor of their own naming, and so all parts of the empire were thrown into an uproar.

³ Now Clodius Albinus came of a noble family, but he was a native of Hadrumetum in Africa. ⁴ Because of this, he applied to himself the oracle in praise of Severus, which we quoted in the Life of Pescennius, for he did not wish it to be interpreted as "the worst is the White One," which is contained in the same line in which Severus is praised and Pescennius Niger commended. ⁵ But before I discourse on his life and his death I should relate the manner in which he became ennobled.

²¹ There is a certain letter which Commodus sent Albinus once, on naming his successor in office, in which he bade him assume the name of Caesar; of this letter I append a copy:

² "The Emperor Commodus to Clodius Albinus greeting. I wrote you once officially about the succession to the throne and your own elevation to honour, but I am now sending you this private and confidential message, all written with my own hand, as you will see, in which I empower you, should emergency arise, to present yourself to the soldiers and assume the name of Caesar. ³ For I hear that both Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus are speaking ill of me to their troops, hoping thereby to get the appointment to the post of Augustus. ⁴ You shall have full power besides, when you thus present yourself, to give the soldiers a largess of three aurei apiece. You will get a letter which I am sending to my procurators to this effect, sealed with my signet of an Amazon, which you will deliver to my stewards when the need arises, that they may not refuse your demands on the treasury. ⁵ And that you may received some definite symbol of an emperor's majesty, I authorize you to wear both at the present time and at my court the scarlet cloak. Later, when you are with me, you shall have the imperial purple, though without the embroidery in gold. For my great-grandfather Verus, who died in boyhood, received this from Hadrian, who adopted him."

³¹ Albinus received this letter, but he utterly refused to do what the Emperor bade. For he saw that Commodus was hated because of his evil ways, which

were bringing destruction upon the state and dishonour upon himself, and that he would sometime or other be slain, and he feared that he might perish with him.

² There is still in existence the speech he made when he accepted the imperial power — some say, indeed, by Severus' wish and authorization — in which he makes allusion to this refusal. ³ Of this speech I append a copy: "It is against my will, my comrades, that I am exalted to empire, and a proof of it is this, that when Commodus once gave me the name of Caesar, I scorned it. Now, however, I must yield to your desire and to that of Severus Augustus, for I believe that under an upright man and a brave one the state can be well ruled."

⁴ It is an undeniable fact, moreover, and Marius Maximus also relates it, that Severus at first intended to name Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his successors, in case aught befell him. ⁵ Later, as it happened, in the interest of his growing sons, and through envy of the affection in which Albinus was held, and most of all because of his wife's entreaties, he changed his purpose and crushed both of them in war. ⁶ But he did name Albinus consul, and this he never would have done had not Albinus been a worthy man, since he was ever most careful in his choice of magistrates.

⁴¹ To return to Albinus, however, he was a native of Hadrumetum, as I have said before, but he was both of noble rank there and traced his descent from noble families at Rome, namely the Postumii, the Albini, and the Ceionii. ² The last of these families is among the noblest to day, for you, most puissant Constantine, have exalted it and shall exalt it further, though it gained its greatest prestige by the favour of Gallienus and the Gordians. ³ He was born at Hadrumetum in a modest home, in slender circumstances, and of righteous parents, Ceionius Postumus and Aurelia Messalina, and he was their first-born son. ⁴ When taken from his mother's womb, unlike the common run of infants, who are red at birth, he was very white in hue, and for this reason he was named Albinus. ⁵ The truth of this is proved by a letter which his father wrote to Aelius Bassianus, then proconsul of Africa, and, as it seems, a kinsman of the family. ⁶ The letter of Ceionius Postumus to Aelius Bassianus: "A son was born to me on the seventh day before the Kalends of December, and so white was his body at birth that it was whiter than the linen clothes in which we wrapped him. ⁷ I acknowledged him, therefore, as one of the family of the Albini, who are common kin to you and me, and bestowed upon him the name Albinus. And now remember, I pray you, our country, yourself, and me."

⁵¹ All his boyhood, then, Albinus spent in Africa, where he got a fair education in Greek and Latin letters. And even at that time he showed signs of a haughty and warlike spirit, ² for at school, it is said, he used often to recite to the children:

“Madly I seized my arms, though in arms there lay little reason.”

³ And he repeated again and again the words, “Madly I seized my arms”.

⁴ It is said that his rule was predicted by a number of omens that occurred at the time of his birth. For instance, a snow-white bull was born, whose horns were of a deep purple hue. And he is said to have placed these, when tribune of the soldiers, in the temple of Apollo at Cumae, and when he made inquiry of the oracle there concerning his fate, he received a response, it is said, in the following lines:

“He shall establish the power of Rome though tumult beset her,

Riding his horse he shall smite both Poeni and Galli rebellious.”

⁵ And, indeed, it is well known that he conquered many tribes in Gaul. He himself always believed, moreover, that the prediction “he shall smite the Poeni” referred to him and Severus, because Severus was a native of Africa. ⁶ There was another indication of his future rule besides these. A peculiar custom was observed in the family of the Caesars, namely, that the infants of this house should be bathed in tubs of tortoise-shell. Now when Albinus was a newly born infant, a fisherman brought as a gift to his father a tortoise of enormous size, ⁷ and he, being well versed in letters, regarded the gift as an omen and accepted the tortoise gladly. He then gave an order that they should prepare the shell and set it apart for the child for use in the hot baths that are given to infants, hoping that this gift portended noble rank for his son. ⁸ And again, although eagles appear but rarely in the region in which Albinus was born, on the seventh day after his birth, at the very hour of a banquet in honour of the bestowal of his name, seven young eagles were brought in from a nest and placed as though in jest about the cradle of the child. Nor did his father scorn this omen either, but commanded that the eagles be fed and guarded with care. ⁹ Still another omen occurred. It was customary in his family that the bandages in which the children are wrapped should be of a reddish colour. In his case, however, it chanced that the bandages which had been prepared by his mother during her pregnancy had been washed and were not yet dry, and he was therefore wrapped in a bandage of his mother’s, and this, as it happened, was of a purple hue. For this reason his nurse, jestingly, gave him the name Porphyrius. ¹⁰ These were the omens that betokened his future rule. There were others besides these, but he who desires to learn what they are may read them in Aelius Cordus, for he relates all trivial details concerning omens of this sort.

⁶ As soon as he came of age he entered military service, and by the aid of Lollius Serenus, Baebius Maecianus and Ceionius Postumianus, all his kinsmen, he gained the notice of the Antonines. ² In the capacity of a tribune he commanded a troop of Dalmatian horse; he also commanded soldiers of the First

and the Fourth legions. At the time of Avidius' revolt he loyally held the Bithynian army to its allegiance. 3 Next, Commodus transferred him to Gaul; and here he routed the tribes from over the Rhine and made his name illustrious among both Romans and barbarians. 4 This aroused Commodus' interest, and he offered Albinus the name of Caesar and the privilege, too, of giving the soldiers a present and wearing the scarlet cloak. 5 But all these offers Albinus wisely refused, for Commodus, he said, was only looking for a man who would perish with him, or whom he could reasonably put to death. 6 The duty of holding the quaestorship was in his case remitted. This requirement waived, he became aedile, but after a term of only ten days he was despatched in haste to the army. 7 Next, he served his praetorship under Commodus, and a very famous one it was. For at his games Commodus, it is said, gave gladiatorial combats in both the Forum and the theatre. 8 And finally Severus made him consul at the time when he purposed to make him and Pescennius his successors.

⁷¹ When he at last attained to the empire he was well advanced in years, for he was older, as Severus himself relates in his autobiography, than Pescennius Niger. 2 But Severus, after his victory over Pescennius, desiring to keep the throne for his sons, and observing that Clodius Albinus, inasmuch as he came of an ancient family, was greatly beloved by the senate, sent him certain men with a letter couched in terms of the greatest love and affection, in which he urged that, now that Pescennius Niger was slain, they should loyally rule the state together. 3 The following, so Cordus declares, is a copy of the letter: "The Emperor Severus Augustus to Clodius Albinus Caesar, our most loving and loyal brother, greeting. 4 After defeating Pescennius we despatched a letter road Rome, which the senate, ever devoted to you, received with rejoicing. Now I entreat you that in the same spirit in which you were chosen as the brother of my heart you will rule the empire as my brother on the throne. 5 Bassianus and Geta send you greetings, and our Julia, too, greets both you and your sister. To your little son Pescennius Princus we will send a present, worthy both of his station and your own. 6 I would like you to hold the troops in their allegiance to the empire and to ourselves, my most loyal, most dear, and loving friend."

⁸¹ This was the letter that he gave to the trusted attendants that were sent to Albinus. He told them to deliver the letter in public; but, later, they were to say that they wished to confer with him privately on many matters pertaining to the war, the secrets of the camp, and the trustworthiness of the court, and when they had come to the secret meeting for this purpose of telling their errand, five sturdy fellows were to slay him with daggers hidden in their garments. 2 And they showed no lack of fidelity. For they came to Albinus and delivered Severus' letter, and then, when he read it, they said that they had some matters to tell him

more privately, and asked for a place far removed from all who could overhear. But when they refused to suffer anyone to go with Albinus to this distant portico, on the ground that their secret mission must not be made known, Albinus scented a plot³ and eventually yielded to his suspicions and delivered them over to torture. And though at first they stoutly denied their guilt, in the end they yielded to extreme measures and disclosed the commands that Severus had laid upon them.

⁴ Thus all was revealed and the plot laid bare, and Albinus, now seeing that what he had merely suspected before was true, assembled a mighty force and advanced to meet Severus and his generals. ⁹ In the first engagement, indeed, which was fought with Severus' leaders, he proved superior. Later Severus himself, after causing the senate to declare Albinus a public enemy, set out against him and fought in Gaul, bitterly and courageously but not without vicissitudes of fortune. ² At last, being somewhat perturbed, Severus consulted an augur, and received from him the response, according to Marius Maximus, that Albinus would in truth fall into his power, but neither alive nor dead. And so it happened. ³ For after a decisive engagement, where countless of his soldiers fell, and very many fled, and many, too, surrendered, Albinus also fled away and, according to some, stabbed himself, according to others, was stabbed by a slave. At any rate, he was brought to Severus only half alive. ⁴ So the prophecy made before the battle was fulfilled. Many, moreover, declare that he was slain by soldiers who asked Severus for a bounty for his death.

⁵ According to certain writers, he had one son, but according to Maximus, two. At first Severus granted these pardon, but later he killed them, together with their mother, and had them cast into running water. ⁶ Albinus' head was cut off and paraded on a pike, and finally sent to Rome. With it Severus sent a letter to the senate, in which he reviled it bitterly for its great love for Albinus, inasmuch as his kinsmen, and notably his brother, had been heaped with illustrious honours. ⁷ Albinus' body lay for days, it is said, before Severus' headquarters, until it stank and was mangled by dogs, and then it was thrown into running water.

^{10 1} With regard to his character there is great divergence of statement. Severus, for his part, charged him with being depraved and perfidious, unprincipled and dishonourable, covetous and extravagant. ² But all this he wrote either during the war or after it, at a time when he merits less credence, since he was speaking of a foe. ³ Yet Severus himself sent him many letters, as though to an intimate friend. Many persons, moreover, thought well of Albinus, and even Severus wished to give him the name of Caesar, and when he made plans for a successor, he had Albinus foremost in mind.

⁴ There are extant, besides, some letters of Marcus concerning Albinus, which bear witness to his virtues and character. ⁵ One of these, addressed to his prefects and dealing with Albinus, it were not out of place to include: ⁶ “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his prefects, greeting. Albinus, one of the family of the Ceionii, son-in law of Plautillus, and a native of Africa, but with little of the African about him, I have placed in command of two squadrons of horse. ⁷ He is a man of experience, strict in his mode of life, respected for his character. He will prove of value, I think, in the service of the camp, and I am certain he will prove no detriment. ⁸ I have ordered him double ration-money, a plain uniform but one befitting his station, and fourfold pay. Do you urge him to make himself known to the state, for he will get the reward that he merits.”

⁹ There is also another letter, which Marcus wrote about Albinus in the time of Avidius Cassius, a copy of which reads as follows: ¹⁰ “Albinus is to be commended for his loyalty. For he held the soldiers in check when they were wavering in their allegiance and were making ready to join Avidius Cassius, and had it not been for him, they would have done this. ¹¹ We have in him, therefore, a man who deserves the consulship, and I shall name him to succeed Cassius Papirius, who, I am told, is now at the point of death. ¹² But this, meanwhile, I would not have you publish, lest somehow it come to Papirius or to his kin, and we seem to appoint a successor to a consul who is still alive.” ¹¹ These letters, then, prove the loyalty of Albinus, as does this fact besides, that he sent a sum of money wherewith to restore the cities that Niger had ravaged. He did this, also, to win their inhabitants more easily to his cause.

² Now Cordus, who recounts such details at length in his books, declares that Albinus was a glutton — so much so, in fact, that he would devour more fruit than the mind of man can believe. ³ For Cordus says that when hungry he devoured five hundred dried figs (called by the Greeks callistruthiae), one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Ostian melons, twenty pounds’ weight of Labican grapes, one hundred figpeckers, and four hundred oysters. ⁴ In his use of wine, however, Cordus says he was sparing, but Severus denies this, claiming that even in time of war he was drunken. ⁵ As a rule, he was on bad terms with his household, either because of his drunkenness, as Severus says, or because of his quarrelsome disposition. ⁶ Toward his wife he was unbearable, toward his servants unjust, and in dealings with his soldiers brutal. For he would often crucify legionary centurions, even when the character of the offence did not demand it, and he certainly used to beat them with rods and never spared. ⁷ His clothing was elegant, but his banquets tasteless, for he had an eye only to quantity. As a lover of women he was noted even among the foremost philanderers, but of unnatural lusts he was innocent, and he always punished

these vices. In the cultivation of land he was thoroughly versed, and he even composed Georgics. 8 Some say, too, that he wrote Milesian tales, which are not unknown to fame though written in but a mediocre style.

¹² 1 He was beloved by the senators as no one of the emperors before him. This was chiefly due, however, to their hatred of Severus, who was greatly detested by the senate because of his cruelty. 2 For after he defeated Albinus, Severus put a great number of senators to death, both those who were really of Albinus' party and those who were thought to be. 3 Indeed, when Albinus was slain near Lugdunum, Severus gave orders to search through his letters to find out to whom he had written and who had written to him; and everyone whose letters he found, by his orders the senate denounced as a public enemy. 4 And of these he pardoned none, but killed them all, placing their goods on sale and depositing the proceeds in the public treasury.

⁵ 5 There is still in existence a letter from Severus, addressed to the senate, which shows very clearly his state of mind; whereof this is a copy: 6 "Nothing that can happen, O Conscript Fathers, could give me greater sorrow than that you should endorse Albinus in preference to Severus. 7 It was I who gave the city grain, I who waged many wars for the state, I who gave oil to the people of Rome, so much that the world could hardly contain it, and I who slew Pescennius Niger and freed you from the ills of a tyrant. 8 A fine requital, truly, you have made me, a fine expression of thanks! A man from Africa, a native of Hadrumetum, who pretends to derive descent from the blood of the Ceionii, you have raised to a lofty place; you have even wished to make him your ruler, though I am your ruler and my children are still alive. 9 Was there no other man in all this senate whom you might love, who might love you? You raised even his brother to honours; and you expect to receive at his hands, one a consulship, another a praetorship, and another the insignia of any office whatever. 10 You have failed, moreover, to show me the spirit of gratitude which your forefathers showed in the face of Piso's plot, which they showed Trajan, and showed but lately in opposing Avidius Cassius. This fellow, false and ready for lies of every kind, who has even fabricated a noble lineage, you have now preferred to me. 11 Why, even in the senate we must hear Statilius Corfulenus proposing to vote honours to Albinus and his brother, and all that was lacking was that the noble fellow should also vote him a triumph over me. 12 It is even a greater source of chagrin, that some of you thought he should be praised for his knowledge of letters, when in fact he is busied with old wives' songs, and grows senile amid the Milesian stories from Carthage that his friend Apuleius wrote and such other learned nonsense." 13 From all this it is clear how severely he attacked the followers of Pescennius and Albinus. 14 Indeed, all these things are set down in

his autobiography, and those who desire to know them in detail should read Marius Maximus among the Latin writers, and Herodian among the Greek, for they have related many things and with an eye to truth.

¹³ ¹ He was tall of stature, with unkempt curly hair and a broad expanse of brow. His skin was wonderfully white; many indeed think it was from this that he got his name. He had a womanish voice, almost as shrill as a eunuch's. He was easily roused, his anger was terrible, his rage relentless. In his pleasures he was changeable, for he sometimes craved wine and sometimes abstained. ² He had a thorough knowledge of arms and was not ineptly called the Catiline of his age.

³ We do not believe it wholly irrelevant to recount the causes which won Clodius Albinus the love of the senate. ⁴ After Commodus had bestowed upon him the name of Caesar, and while by the Emperor's orders he was in command of the troops in Britain, false tidings were brought that Commodus had been slain. Then he came forth before the soldiers and delivered the following speech: ⁵ "If the senate of the Roman people but had its ancient power, and if this vast empire were not under the sway of a single man, it would never have come to pass that the destiny of the state should fall into the hands of a Vitellius, a Nero, or a Domitian. Under the rule of consuls there were those mighty families of ours, the Ceionii, the Albini, and the Postumii, of whom your fathers heard from their grandsires and from whom they learned many things. ⁶ It was surely the senate, moreover, that added Africa to the dominions of Rome, the senate that conquered Gaul and the Spains, the senate that gave laws to the tribes of the East, and the senate that dared to attack the Parthians — and would have conquered them, too, had not the fortune of Rome just then assigned our army so covetous a leader. ⁷ Britain, to be sure, was conquered by Caesar, but he was still a senator and not yet dictator. Now as for Commodus himself, how much better an emperor would he had been had he stood in awe of the senate! ⁸ Even as late as the time of Nero, the power of the senate prevailed, and the senators did not fear to deliver speeches against a base and filthy prince and condemn him, even though he still retained both power of life and death and the empire too. ⁹ Wherefore, my comrades, the name of Caesar, which Commodus now confers on me, I do not wish to accept. May the gods grant that no one else may wish it! ¹⁰ Let the senate have rule, let the senate distribute the provinces and appoint us consuls. But why do I say the senate? It is you, I mean, and your fathers; you yourselves shall be the senators."

¹⁴ ¹ This harangue was reported at Rome while Commodus was still alive and roused him greatly against Albinus. He forthwith despatched one of his aides, Junius Severus, to replace him. ² The senate, however, was so much pleased that

it honoured Albinus, though absent, with marvellous acclamations, both while Commodus still lived and, later, after his murder. Some even counselled Pertinax to ally himself with Albinus, and as for Julianus, Albinus' influence had the greatest weight in his plan for murdering Pertinax. 3 In proof, moreover, that my statements are true, I will quote a letter written by Commodus to the prefects of the guard, in which he makes clear his intention of killing Albinus; 4 "Aurelius Commodus to his prefects, greeting. You have heard, I believe, in the first place, the false statement that I had been slain by a conspiracy of my household; in the second, that Clodius Albinus has delivered an harangue to the senate at great length — and not for nothing, it seems to me. 5 For whoever asserts that the state ought not to be under the sway of one man, and that the senate should rule the empire, he is merely seeking to get the empire himself through the senate. Keep a diligent watch then; for now you know the man whom you and the troops and the people must avoid."

⁶ When Pertinax found this letter he desired to make it public in order to stir up hatred against Albinus; and for this reason Albinus advised Julianus to bring about Pertinax's death.

The Life of Antoninus Caracalla

¹ The two sons left by Septimius Severus, Geta and Bassianus, both received the surname Antoninus, one from the army, the other from his father, but Geta was declared a public enemy, while Bassianus got the empire. ² The account of this emperor's ancestors I deem it needless to repeat, for all this has been fully told in the *Life of Severus*. ³ He himself in his boyhood was winsome and clever, respectful to his parents and courteous to his parents' friends, beloved by the people, popular with the senate, and well able to further his own interests in winning affection. ⁴ Never did he seem backward in letters or slow in deeds of kindness, never niggardly in largess or tardy in forgiving — at least while under his parents. ⁵ For example, if ever he saw condemned criminals pitted against wild beasts, he wept or turned away his eyes, and this was more than pleasing to the people. Once, when a child of seven, hearing that a certain playmate of his had been severely scourged for adopting the religion of the Jews, he long refused to look at either the boy's father or his own, because he regarded them as responsible for the scourging. ⁷ It was at his plea, moreover, that their ancient rights were restored to the citizens of Antioch and Byzantium, with whom Severus had become angry because they had given aid to Niger. ⁸ He conceived a hatred for Plautianus because of his cruelty. And all the gifts he received from his father on the occasion of the Sigillaria he presented of his own accord to his dependents or to his teachers.

² All this, however, was in his boyhood. For when he passed beyond the age of a boy, either by his father's advice or through a natural cunning, or because he thought that he must imitate Alexander of Macedonia, he became more reserved and stern and even somewhat savage in expression, and indeed so much so that many were unable to believe that he was the same person whom they had known as a boy. ² Alexander the Great and his achievements were ever on his lips, and often in a public gathering he would praise Tiberius and Sulla. ³ He was more arrogant than his father; and his brother, because he was very modest, he thoroughly despised.

⁴ After his father's death he went to the Praetorian Camp and complained there to the soldiers that his brother was forming a conspiracy against him. And so he had his brother slain in the Palace, giving orders to burn his body at once. ⁵ He also said in the Camp that his brother had shown disrespect to their mother. To those who had killed his brother he rendered thanks publicly, ⁶ and indeed he even gave them a bonus for being so loyal to him. ⁷ Nevertheless, some of the

soldiers at Alba received the news of Geta's death with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both the sons of Severus and ought to maintain it to both. 8 They then closed the gates of the camp, and the Emperor was not admitted for a long time, and then not until he had quieted their anger, not only by bitter words about Geta and by bringing charges against him, but also by enormous sums of money, by means of which, as usual, the soldiers were placated. 9 After this he returned to Rome and then attended a meeting of the senate, wearing a cuirass under his senator's robe and accompanied by an armed guard. He stationed this in a double line in the midst of the benches 10 and so made a speech, in which, with a view to accusing his brother and excusing himself, he complained in a confused and incoherent manner about his brother's treachery. 11 The senate received his speech with little favour, when he said that although he had granted his brother every indulgence and had in fact saved him from a conspiracy, yet Geta had formed a most dangerous plot against him and had made no return for his brotherly affection. 3 After this speech he granted those who had been exiled or sent into banishment the right of returning to their fatherland.

From the senate he betook himself to the praetorians and spent the night in the Camp. 2 The following day he proceeded to the Capitolium; here he spoke cordially to those whom he was planning to put to death and then went back to the Palace leaning on the arm of Papinian and of Cilo. 3 Here he saw Geta's mother and some other women weeping for his brother's death, and he thereupon resolved to kill them; but he was deterred by thinking how this would merely add to the cruelty of having slain his brother. 4 Laetus, however, he forced to commit suicide, sending him the poison himself; he had been the first to counsel the death of Geta and was himself the first to be killed. Afterwards, however, the Emperor frequently bewailed his death. 5 Many others, too, who had been privy to Geta's murder were put to death, and likewise a man who paid honours to his portrait.

6 After this he gave orders that his cousin Afer should be killed, although on the previous day he had sent him a portion of food from his own table. 7 Afer in fear of the assassins threw himself from a window and crawled away to his wife with a broken leg, but he was none the less seized by the murderers, who ridiculed him and put him to death. 8 Pompeianus too was killed, the grandson of the Emperor Marcus, — he was the son of his daughter and that Pompeianus who was married to Lucilla after the death of the Emperor Verus and made consul twice by Marcus and placed in command of all the most important wars of the time — and he was killed in such a way as to seem to have been murdered by robbers. 4 Next, in the Emperor's own presence, Papinian was struck with an

axe by some soldiers and so slain. Whereupon the Emperor said to the slayer, "You should have used a sword in carrying out my command." 2 Patruinus, too, was slain by his order, and that in front of the Temple of the Deified Pius, and his body as well as Papinian's were dragged about through the streets without any regard for decency. Also Papinian's son was killed, who was a quaestor and only three days before had given a lavish spectacle. 3 During this same time there were slain men without number, all of whom had favoured the cause of Geta, and even the freedmen were slain who had managed Geta's affairs. 4 Then there was a slaughtering in all manner of places. Even in the public baths there was slaughter, and some too were killed while dining, among them Sammonicus Serenus, many of whose books dealing with learned subjects are still in circulation. 5 Cilo, moreover, twice prefect and consul, incurred the utmost danger merely because he had counselled harmony between the brothers. 6 For not until after the city-soldiers had seized Cilo, tearing off his senator's robe and pulling off his boots, did Antoninus check their violence. 7 After this he committed many further murders in the city, causing many persons far and wide to be seized by soldiers and killed, as though he were punishing a rebellion. He put to death Helvius Pertinax, substitute consul, for no other reason than because he was the son of an emperor, 9 and he would never hesitate, whenever an opportunity presented itself, to put to death those who had been his brother's friends. 10 He often delivered insolent invectives against the senate and against the people, issuing proclamations and publishing harangues, and he even declared that he would be a second Sulla.

^{5 1} After doing all this he set out for Gaul and immediately upon his arrival there killed the proconsul of Narbonensis. 2 Thereby great consternation was caused among all who were engaged in administering Gaul, and he incurred the hatred felt for a tyrant; and yet would at times assume a kindly demeanour, despite the fact that by nature he was very savage. 3 After many measures directed against persons and in violation of the rights of communities he was seized with an illness and underwent great suffering. Yet even toward those who nursed him he behaved most brutally.

⁴ Then he made ready for a journey to the Orient, but interrupted his march and stopped in Dacia. In the region of Raetia he put a number of the natives to death and then harangued his soldiers and made them presents quite as though they were the troops of Sulla. 5 He did not, however, as Commodus had done, permit his men to call him by the names of the gods, for many of them had begun to address him as Hercules because he had killed a lion and some other wild beasts. 6 Yet he did call himself Germanus after defeating the Germans, either in jest or in earnest, for he was foolish and witless and asserted that had he

conquered the Lucanians he should have been given the name Lucanicus. 7 At that time men were condemned to death for having urinated in places where there were statues or busts of the Emperor or for having removed garlands from his busts in order to replace them by others, and some were even condemned for wearing them around their necks as preventives of quartan or tertian fever.

⁸ Then he journeyed through Thrace accompanied by the prefect of the guard. While he was crossing over from here into Asia the yard-arm of his ship broke and he ran great danger of shipwreck, so that, together with his bodyguard, he had to climb down into a lifeboat. From this he was taken up into a trireme by the prefect of the fleet and so was rescued.

⁹ He took wild boars in great numbers and once he even faced a lion — an occasion on which he prided himself, writing to his friends and boasting that he had attained to the prowess of a Hercules.

⁶ ¹ After this, turning to the war with the Armenians and Parthians, he appointed as military commander a man whose character resembled his own. Then he betook himself to Alexandria, and here he called the people together into the gymnasium and heaped abuse on them; he gave orders, moreover, that those who were physically qualified should be enrolled for military service. 3 But those whom he enrolled he put to death, following the example of Ptolemy Euergetes, the eighth of those who bore the name Ptolemy. In addition to this he issued an order to his soldiers to slay their hosts and thus caused great slaughter at Alexandria.

⁴ Next he advanced through the lands of the Cadusii and the Babylonians and waged a guerilla-warfare with the Parthian satraps, in which wild beasts were even let loose against the enemy. 5 He then sent a letter to the senate as though he had won a real victory and thereupon was given the name Parthicus; the name Germanicus he had assumed during his father's lifetime. 6 After this he wintered at Edessa with the intention of renewing the war against the Parthians. During this time, on the eighth day before the Ides of April, the feast of the Megalensia and his own birthday, while on a journey to Carrhae to do honour to the god Lunus, he stepped aside to satisfy the needs of nature and was thereupon assassinated by the treachery of Macrinus the prefect of the guard, who after his death seized the imperial power. The accomplices in the murder were Nemesianus, his brother Apollinaris, and Triccianus, who was serving as prefect of the Second Legion, the Parthian, and commanded the irregular cavalry. Marcus Agrippa, too, the commander of the fleet, was privy to it, as well as many members of his staff acting on the instigation of Martialis.

⁷ ¹ He was slain in the course of a journey between Carrhae and Edessa, when he had dismounted for the purpose of emptying his bladder and was standing in

the midst of his body-guard, who were accomplices in the murder. 2 For his equerry, while helping him to mount, thrust a dagger into his side, and thereupon all shouted out that it had been done by Martialis.

³ Now since we have made mention of the god Lunus, it should be known that all the most learned men have handed down the tradition, and it is at this day so held, particularly by the people of Carrhae, that whoever believes that this deity should be called Luna, with the name and sex of a woman, is subject to women and always their slave; 4 whereas he who believes that the god is a male dominates his wife and is not caught by any woman's wiles. 5 Hence the Greeks and, for that matter, the Egyptians, though they speak of Luna as a "god" in the same way as they include woman in "Man," nevertheless in their mystic rites use the masculine "Lunus."

⁸¹ Many, I know, have told the story of Papinian's death, but in such a way as to show that they did not know its cause, and each has given a different version. I, however, have preferred to record a variety of opinions rather than to remain silent about the murder of so great a man. 2 It is generally reported that Papinian was a close friend of the Emperor Severus — related to him, some say, through his second wife, — and that he had given instruction along with Severus under Scaevola's direction and later succeeded Severus as pleader for the privy-purse. 3 It is further reported that Severus had particularly entrusted him with the care of his two sons, and for this reason he had always tried to reconcile the brothers Antoninus, 4 and had even pleaded with Bassianus, when he accused his brother of treachery, not to put Geta to death; and for this reason he, together with Geta's supporters, was killed by the soldiers, not only with the consent but even with the encouragement of Antoninus. 5 Many, again, relate that Bassianus, after killing his brother, commanded Papinian to explain away his crime for him in the senate and before the people; to which Papinian replied that it was not so easy to defend fratricide as to commit it. 6 There is also the story that Papinian refused to compose a speech in which, to improve the murderer's case, the brother was to be attacked; and that in his refusal he had declared that to accuse an innocent man who had been murdered was a second act of murder. 7 All of which does not accord with facts; for the prefect of the guard may not compose speeches, and, besides, it is well established that Papinian was killed for being one of Geta's supporters. 8 It is further related that Papinian, when, seized by the soldiers, he was being haled to the Palace to be put to death, foretold the future, saying that whoever should succeed to his position would be an utter fool did he not take vengeance for this brutal attack on the prefecture. 9 And this actually came to pass; 10 for, as we have previously related, Macrinus murdered Antoninus; then, after he had been acclaimed emperor in the camp, together with

his son, he gave the latter, who was called Diadumenianus, the name Antoninus, for the reason that an Antoninus was earnestly desired by the praetorian guard.

⁹¹ Bassianus lived for forty-three years and ruled for six. 2 He was borne to the grave with a public funeral. He left a son, who afterward received, like his father, the name Antoninus — Marcus Antoninus Elagabalus; for such a hold had the name of the Antonines that it could not be removed from the thoughts of the people, because it had taken root in the hearts of all, even as had the name of Augustus.

³ His mode of life was evil and he was more brutal even than his cruel father. He was gluttonous in his use of food and addicted to wine, hated by his household and detested in every camp save that of the praetorian guard; and between him and his brother there was no resemblance whatever.

⁴ Among the public works which he left at Rome was the notable Bath named after himself, the cella soliaris of which, so the architects declare, cannot be reproduced in the way in which it was built by him. 5 For it is said that the whole vaulting rested on gratings of bronze or copper, placed underneath it, but such is its size, that those who are versed in mechanics declare that it could not have been built in this way. 6 And he left a portico, too, named after his father and intended to contain a record of his achievements, both his triumphs and his wars. 7 He himself assumed the name Caracallus, taken from the garment reaching down to the heels, which he gave to the populace and which before his time had not been in vogue. 8 Hence at this present day, too, the hooded cloaks of this kind, affected especially by the Roman plebs, are called Antonine. 9 He also constructed a new street at the side of his bath (that is to say, the Antonine Bath), one more beautiful than which it were hard to find among all the streets of Rome. 10 He brought the cult of Isis to Rome and built magnificent temples to this goddess everywhere, celebrating her rites with even greater reverence than they had ever been celebrated before. 11 In all this, however, it is a source of wonder to me how it can be said that it was he who first brought the rites of Isis to Rome, for Antoninus Commodus celebrated them too, and he even carried about the statue of Anubis and made all the ritualistic pauses. Perhaps, however, Bassianus merely added to the renown of the goddess and was not actually the first to bring her to Rome.

¹² His body was laid in the tomb of the Antonines, in order that the resting-place which had given him his name might also receive his remains.

^{10 1} It is of interest to know the way in which they say he married his stepmother Julia. 2 She was a very beautiful woman, and once when she displayed a considerable part of her person, as it were in carelessness, Antoninus said, "I should like to, if I might," whereupon, they relate, she replied, "If you

wish, you may; are you not aware that you are the emperor and that you make the laws and do not receive them?" 3 By these words his violent passion was strengthened for the perpetration of a crime, and he contracted a marriage, which, were he in truth aware that he made the laws, it were his sole duty to forbid. 4 For he took to wife his mother (by no other name should she be called), and to fratricide he added incest, for he joined to himself in marriage the woman whose son he had recently slain.

⁵ It is not out of place to include a certain gibe that was uttered at his expense. 6 For when he assumed the surnames Germanicus, Parthicus, Arabicus, and Alamannicus (for he conquered the Alamanni too), Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, said to him in jest, so it is related, "Add to the others, please, that of Geticus Maximus also"; for he had slain his brother Geta, and Getae is a name for the Goths, whom he conquered, while on his way to the East, in a series of skirmishes.

¹¹ Many omens predicting Geta's murder occurred, as we shall relate in his biography. 2 For although Geta was the first to depart from this life, we shall none the less follow our usual plan, that the first to be born and the first to begin his rule shall be the first to be described.

³ On that occasion, moreover, when the soldiers hailed him as Augustus though his father was still alive, because it seemed to them that Severus, now afflicted with a disease in his feet, could no longer rule the Empire, Severus, it is said, when the plot of the soldiers and tribunes was crushed, had thought of putting him to death; this, however, was opposed by the prefects, who were men of great influence. 4 Some, on the other hand, say that the prefects wished to have him killed, but Severus refused, for fear that the severity of the act might be misrepresented as a piece of mere cruelty, and that, whereas it was in reality the soldiers who were guilty, the young man might pay the penalty for an act of rash folly with the stigma of a punishment so severe — namely, of seeming to have been put to death by his father.

⁵ Nevertheless, this emperor, the most cruel of men, and, to include all in a single phrase, a fratricide and committer of incest, the foe of his father, mother, and brother, was raised to the rank of the gods by Macrinus, his slayer, through fear of the soldiers, especially of the praetorians. 6 He has a temple, he has a board of Salii, he has an Antonine brotherhood, he who himself took from Faustina not only her temple but also her name as a goddess — 7 that temple, at least, which her husband had built her in the foot-hills of the Taurus, and in which this man's son Elagabalus Antoninus afterwards made a shrine, either for himself or for the Syrian Jupiter (the matter is uncertain) or for the Sun.

The Life of Antoninus Geta

^{1 1} I am well aware, Constantine Augustus, that many besides Your Clemency may raise the question why I should also write the life of Geta Antoninus. With regard to this man, before I tell of his life, or rather of his death, I will set forth the reason why his father Severus gave to him too the name Antoninus. ² For there is not much to relate in the life of a man who was removed from human affairs before he could take the imperial power conjointly with his brother.

³ Once when Septimius Severus asked about the future and prayed that it might be revealed to him who should be his successor when he died, he learned from a dream that an Antoninus would succeed him. ⁴ Whereupon he went at once to the army and gave Bassianus, the elder of his sons, the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. ⁵ After this, when it was brought to his mind either by fatherly reflection, or, as some relate, by Julia his wife, who was skilled in dreams, that by this action he himself had cut off his younger son from any chance of reigning, he ordered that Geta, his younger son, should also receive the name Antoninus. ⁶ And so he always gave him this name in letters to members of his household, writing, whenever he chanced to be absent from home, ⁷ “Give greetings to the Antonines, my sons and successors”. But all his fatherly care was of no avail, for he was succeeded by that son alone who had first been given the name Antoninus. So much about the name Antoninus.

^{2 1} Now Geta was named after either his uncle or his paternal grandfather, concerning whose life and habits Marius Maximus has written at sufficient length in the first section of his *Life of Severus*. ² He was given the surname Antoninus, moreover, because Severus purposed that every emperor from that time onward should be called Antoninus, just as they were called Augustus. This he did out of love for Marcus, whom he always called his brother, and whose studies in philosophy and training in letters he always sought to imitate. ³ Some say, however, that it was not only in honour of Marcus that Severus gave his son the name Antoninus, since this was Marcus’ name by adoption only, but also in honour of him who bore the surname Pius, Hadrian’s successor, I mean; ⁴ and, furthermore, the Severus gave it because it was this emperor who raised him from a pettifogger in the law courts to the post of pleader for the privy-purse, and the way to great advancement had been opened up to him by the happy augury of an appointment by Antoninus to the first step in his career, or rather his first public office; ⁵ and at the same time because no prince seemed to him more auspicious for lending his name, than the one whose personal name had

now been borne by four of the emperors.

⁶ With regard to this same Geta, Severus, on learning his horoscope — a study in which, like most Africans, he was very proficient — is said to have made the remark: ⁷ “It seems to me strange, my dear Juvenalis, that our Geta is destined to be a deified emperor, for in his horoscope I see nothing imperial.” Now Juvenalis was his prefect of the guard. And Severus was not mistaken. ⁸ For when Bassianus had killed Geta and was in fear of being branded as a tyrant because of his act of fratricide, he was told that his crime could be mitigated were he to give his brother the appellation of the Deified; he then remarked, it is said, ⁹ “Let him be deified provided he is not alive.” Accordingly, he placed him among the deified emperors and so came back into favour with a good reputation, fratricide though he was.

^{3 1} Geta was born in the consulship of Severus and Vitellius on the sixth day before the Kalends of June at Mediolanum — though some have related otherwise. He was the son of Julia, whom Severus married because he found out that her horoscope showed that she should be the wife of a king, while he was still only a subject, though he held even then an excellent place in the state. ² Immediately after Geta was born some one announced that a purple egg had been laid by a hen in the palace. ³ This egg was then brought in, and Bassianus his brother, seizing it, dashed it upon the ground, as a child would do, and broke it; whereupon Julia, it is said, exclaimed in jest, “Accursed fratricide, you have killed your brother”. ⁴ But this, which was said as a jest, Severus took more seriously than any of those who were present, though afterwards all who were there testified to it as uttered by divine inspiration. ⁵ There was also another omen. For on the very day and at the very hours when Geta was born, there was born on the farm of a certain plebeian named Antoninus, a lamb which had purple wool on its forehead; thereupon the owner, learning from a soothsayer that after Severus an Antoninus should reign, interpreted the prophecy as referring to himself, but fearing any indication of so great a destiny, he thrust a knife in the lamb. ⁶ And this too was a sign that Geta should be killed by Antoninus, as became later abundantly clear. ⁷ There was, moreover, as was later shown by the outcome, another important prediction of the crime which indeed came to pass. ⁸ For when Severus was making ready to celebrate the birthday of the infant Geta, the sacrificial victim was slain by a boy named Antoninus. ⁹ At the time no one looked for a hidden meaning in this or commented upon it, but later its importance was understood.

^{4 1} As a youth, he was handsome, brusque in his manners though not disrespectful, incontinent in love, gluttonous, and a lover of food and of wine variously spiced. ² There is quoted a famous remark of his in his boyhood; for

when Severus was planning to kill the men of the opposite factions and said to his family, "I am ridding you of your enemies," Bassianus gave his approval, even declaring that should he be consulted, their children too should be slain, but Geta, it is said, asked how large was the number of those to be put to death. 3 When his father informed him, he asked again, "Have they parents, have they kinsmen?" And when answer was made that they had, he remarked, "Then there will be more in the state to mourn than to make merry at our victory." 4 And he would have carried his point, had not the prefect Plautianus, or rather Juvenalis, stood out against him in the hope of proscriptions, for which they became enriched. They were also encouraged by the great brutality of Bassianus. 5 He, in the course of his argument, urged, half in jest half in earnest, that all those of the opposite factions be slain together with their children; whereupon Geta, it is said, exclaimed, "You, who spare no one, are capable even of killing your brother" — a remark which received no attention then, but afterwards passed for an omen.

⁵ 1 In his literary studies he held fast to the ancient writers. He was ever mindful of his father's sayings, always regarded by his brother with hatred, more affectionate than his brother toward their mother, speaking with a stammer though his voice was melodious. 2 He was very fond of bright clothing — so much so, in fact, that his father would laugh at him. Whatever he received from his parents he used for his own adornment, and he never gave presents to any.

³ After the Parthian war, his father, who was then at the height of his glory and had named Bassianus partner in the imperial power, gave Geta the name of Caesar and, according to some, of Antoninus also.

⁴ It was a common practice of his to propound puzzles to the grammarians, asking them to characterize the cries of the different animals, as for example: 5 the lamb bleats, the pig squeals, the dove coos, the hog grunts, the bear growls, the lion roars, the leopard snarls, the elephant trumpets, the frog croaks, the horse neighs, the ass brays, the bull bellows; and in proof he would cite the ancient writers. 6 His favourite books were the works of Serenus Sammonicus, addressed to him by Antoninus. 7 He was accustomed, moreover, to have skilful slaves serve meals, and especially dinners, according to a single letter of the alphabet, as, for instance, one in which there were 8 goose, gammon, and gadwall, or, again, pullet, partridge, peacock, pork, *poisson*, pig's-thigh, and other kinds of food beginning with this letter, or pheasant, farina, figs and so forth. For this reason he was considered a good comrade, even in his youth.

⁶ 1 After the murder of Geta, those soldiers who had not been bribed received the news of the fratricide with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both sons and ought to maintain it to both. They then closed the gates of the

Camp and for a long time the Emperor was not admitted. 2 And not until he had quieted their anger by bitter words about Geta and by giving them great sums of money, was Bassianus able to return to Rome. 3 Next, Papinian and many others besides, who had either desired concord or had been partisans of Geta, were killed; men of both senatorial and equestrian rank were slain while in the bath, or at table, or in the street, and Papinian himself was struck down with an axe, whereupon Bassianus found fault that the business had not been done with a sword. 4 At last matters came to the point of a mutiny among the city-troops; Bassianus, however, brought them to order with no light hand, and their tribune was put to death, as some relate, or, as others, sent into exile. 5 Yet Bassianus himself was in such fear that he entered the Senate-house wearing a cuirass under his broad-striped tunic and thus clad rendered an account of his actions and of the death of Geta. 6 It was at this time, too, it is said, that Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, afterwards killed by Bassianus, remarked to the praetor Faustinus, who was reading aloud and had uttered the titles Sarmaticus Maximus and Parthicus Maximus, "Add to these also Geticus Maximus," that is to say, Gothicus. 7 This remark sank deep into the heart of Bassianus, as was afterwards proved by his murder of Pertinax, and not of Pertinax alone, but, as we have said before, of many others as well, far and wide and with utter injustice. He suspected Helvius, moreover, of aspiring to the imperial office, merely because he was loved by all and was the son of Pertinax the Emperor — a combination none too safe for any man content to remain a commoner.

⁷¹ The funeral of Geta was too splendid, it is said, for a man supposed to have been killed by his brother. 2 He was laid in the tomb of his ancestors, of Severus, that is, on the Via Appia at the right as you go to the gate; it was constructed after the manner of the Septizonium, which Severus during his life had embellished for himself.

³ Antoninus also planned to slay Geta's mother, his own step-mother, because she mourned for his brother, and with her the women whom on his return from the Senate-house he found in tears. 4 He was, moreover, so cruel that he lavished his favours particularly on those whom he had destined for death, so that his favour was viewed with more fear than his anger. 5 It seemed, indeed, strange to all that he himself wept for the death of Geta whenever he heard his name mentioned or saw his portrait or his statue. 6 Such, however, was the caprice, or rather the bloodthirstiness, of Antoninus Bassianus, that he slew, now the partisans of Geta, and now his enemies, according as chance threw them in his way. As a result, Geta was the more regretted.

The Life of Opellius Macrinus

¹¹ The lives of such emperors, usurpers or Caesars, as held their throne for no long time lie hidden away in darkness, because, in the first place, there is nothing in their private lives worth telling, since they would have remained totally unknown had they not aspired to the throne; and, in the second place, not much can be said about their sovereignty, because they did not hold it long. None the less, we shall bring forward what we have discovered in various historical works — and they shall be facts that are worthy to be related. 2 For there is no man who has not done something or other every day of his life; it is the business of the biographer, however, to relate only those events that are worth the knowing. 3 Junius Cordus, indeed, was fond of publishing the lives of those emperors whom he considered the more obscure. 4 He did not, however, accomplish much; for he found but little information and that not worth noting. He openly declared that he would search out the most trivial details, as though, in dealing with a Trajan, a Pius, or a Marcus, it should be known how often he went out walking, when he varied his diet, and when he changed his clothes, whom he advanced in public life and at what time. 5 By searching out all this sort of thing and recording it, he filled his books with gossip, whereas either nothing at all should be said of petty matters or certainly very little, and then only when light can thereby be thrown on character. It is character, of course, that we really want to know, but only to a certain extent, that from this the rest may be inferred.

²¹ Now after the murder of Antoninus Bassianus, Opellius Macrinus, who was his prefect of the guard and had previously been the steward of his private property, laid hold upon the imperial power. Though of humble origin and shameless in spirit as well as in countenance, and though hated by all, both civilians and soldiers, he nevertheless proclaimed himself now Severus and now Antoninus. 2 Then he set out at once for the Parthian war and thus gave no opportunity either for the soldiers to form an opinion of him, or for the gossip by which he was beset to gain its full strength. 3 The senators, however, out of hatred for Antoninus Bassianus, received him as emperor gladly, and in all the senate there was but the one cry: 4 “Anyone rather than the fratricide, anyone rather than the incestuous, anyone rather than the filthy, anyone rather than the slayer of the senate and people!”

⁵ It may perhaps seem to all a matter for wonder that Macrinus wished his son Diadumenianus to receive the name Antoninus, when he himself, it was

reported, was responsible for the murder of an Antoninus. 3 Concerning this matter I will relate what has been recorded in books of history. The priestess of Caelestis at Carthage was wont, when inspired by the goddess, to predict the truth. Now once, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, she was foretelling the future to the proconsul, who, according to custom, was consulting about the public welfare as well as his own hopes of power, and when she came to the emperors she bade him in a loud voice count the number of times she said Antoninus. Then, to the amazement of all, she uttered the name Antoninus eight times. 2 All interpreted this to mean that Antoninus Pius would reign for eight years, but he exceeded this number and those who had faith in the priestess, either then or later, felt sure that her words had some different meaning. 3 And in fact, if all who bore the name Antoninus be counted, this will be found to be their number. 4 For Pius first, Marcus second, Verus third, Commodus fourth, Caracalla fifth, Geta sixth, Diadumenianus seventh, Elagabalus eighth — all bore the name Antoninus; 5 while the two Gordians, on the other hand, must not be placed among the Antonini, for they either had only their praenomen or were called Antonii, not Antonini. 6 Hence it came about that Severus called himself Antoninus, as most writers relate, and Pertinax too and Julianus, and likewise Macrinus; 7 and the Antonines themselves, who were the true successors of Antoninus, used this name rather than their own personal names. Thus some have related it. 8 Others, however, assert that Macrinus gave the name Antoninus to his son Diadumenianus merely for the purpose of removing the soldiers' suspicion that he himself had slain Antoninus. 9 Others, again, declare that so great was the love for this name that the people and soldiers would not deem a man worthy of the imperial power did they not hear him called by the name Antoninus.

⁴¹ Now with regard to Macrinus himself, many of the senators, when the news had been brought that Varius Elagabalus was emperor, and when the senate had hailed Alexander as Caesar, related such things as to make it clear that he was ignoble, low, and base. 2 In fact, such statements as these were made by Aurelius Victor, surnamed Pinius: 3 that Macrinus under the reign of Commodus was a freedman and a public prostitute, engaged in servile tasks about the imperial palace; that his honour could be purchased and his manner of life was base; that Severus had even dismissed him from his wretched duties and banished him to Africa, where, in order to conceal the disgrace of his condemnation, he devoted himself to reading, pleaded minor cases, engaged in declamation, and finally administered the law; 4 further, that through the support of his fellow-freedman Festus, he was presented with the golden ring, and under Verus Antoninus was made pleader for the privy-purse. 5 But not only are these statements reported as

doubtful, but others are made by various authors, which also we will not fail to relate. For many have said that he fought in a gladiatorial combat, received the honorary staff, and then went to Africa; 6 that he was first of all a huntsman in the arena, then a notary, and after that a pleader for the privy-purse — an office from which he was advanced to the very highest honours. 7 Then, when prefect of the guard, after his colleague was banished, he slew his emperor, Antoninus Caracalla, employing such treachery that it did not appear that the Emperor had been slain by him. 8 For by bribing the imperial equerry and holding out great hopes, he caused the report to spread that the Emperor was killed by a conspiracy of the soldiers, because he had incurred their displeasure through his fratricide or his incest.

⁵ 1 Then he seized the imperial power at once and advanced his son Diadumenianus to a share in it, immediately ordering the soldiers, as we have said before, to give him the name Antoninus. 2 Next, he sent back Antoninus' body to Rome to be laid in the tomb of his forefathers. 3 He charged the prefect of the guard, formerly his colleague, to perform the duties of his office, and particularly to bury Antoninus with all honour, providing a funeral train worthy of a monarch; for he knew that Antoninus had been greatly beloved by the people because of the garments which he had presented as gifts to the plebs. 4 There was also the further reason, that he dreaded a soldiers' uprising, fearing that if this occurred he might be barred from the power, which he had purposed to seize but had accepted with a show of reluctance. Such, indeed, is the way of men, for they say that they are forced to accept what they get for themselves, even through crime. 5 Macrinus moreover, feared also his colleague, lest he too might desire to rule; for all hoped that he would, and, had he received the support of a single company of soldiers, he himself would not have been unwilling. All, indeed, would most gladly have had him because of their hatred for Macrinus on account of his evil life or his humble origin, for all former emperors had been noble in birth. 6 Furthermore, he emblazoned himself with the name of Severus, although not connected with him by any tie of kin. 7 Hence arose the jest, "Macrinus is as much as a Severus as Diadumenianus is an Antoninus". Nevertheless, in order to prevent an uprising among the soldiers, he at once presented a donative to both the legionaries and the praetorians, rewarding them more liberally than was customary, and as a man would who sought to mitigate the crime of having slain the emperor. 8 Thus did money, as often happens, avail a man whom innocence could not have availed. For Macrinus kept himself in power for some time, though addicted to every kind of evil.

⁹ He then sent the senate a letter relating the death of Antoninus, in which he

gave him the title of the Deified, at the same time clearing himself of guilt and swearing that he knew nothing of the murder. Thus to his crime (as is the manner of evil men) he added perjury — an act with which it well became a scoundrel to begin.

⁶¹ It is of interest to know what manner of oration that was in which he cleared himself when writing to the senate, for thus his shamelessness may be understood, and the sacrilege with which this evil emperor began his reign. 2 Passages from the speech of the Emperors Macrinus and Diadumenianus: “We could have wished, O Conscript Fathers, to behold Your Clemency, with our beloved Antoninus safe and riding back in triumph. For then indeed would the state be happy and all of us be joyous, were we under the rule of an emperor whom the gods had given us in the place of the Antonines. 3 But inasmuch as an uprising of the soldiers had prevented this from coming to pass, we would inform you, in the first place, of what the army has done concerning ourselves, 4 and, in the second, we decree for him to whom we swore our allegiance the honours of a god, as is indeed our first duty. For the army has deemed no one a more worthy avenger of the murder of Bassianus than his own prefect, whom he himself would certainly have charged with the punishing of the conspiracy, could it have been in his power to detect it while yet alive.” 5 And farther on: “They have offered me the imperial power, O Conscript Fathers, and for the time being I have accepted its guardianship, but I will retain its governance only if you also desire what has been the desire of the soldiers, to whom I have already ordered a donative to be given as well as all other things, according to the custom of emperors.” 6 Likewise, farther on: “To my son Diadumenianus, who is known to you, the soldiers have given both the imperial power and the name — for they have called him Antoninus — that he might be honoured, first with this name, but also with the office of monarch. 7 And this act we beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, to approve with all good and prospering auspices, in order that you may still have with you the name of the Antonines, which you so greatly love.” 8 Likewise, farther on: “For Antoninus, moreover, both the soldiers have decreed divine honours and we decree them, and we request you — though by our power as emperor we might command you — to decree them also, and we ourselves shall dedicate to him statues, two on horseback, two on foot clad in the garb of a soldier, and two seated clad in civil garb, and likewise to the Deified Severus two, clad in the robes of a triumphant general. 9 These measures, O Conscript Fathers, you will order to be carried out in accordance with our dutiful solicitation in behalf of our predecessors.”

⁷¹ So, when this letter had been read to the senate, contrary to the general expectation the senate not only received with pleasure the news of Antoninus’

death but expressed the hope that Opellius Macrinus would be guardian of the public liberty, first of all enrolling him among the patricians, though he was a man without ancestry and had been only a short time before the steward of the emperor's private property. 2 This man, though he had been merely one of the pontifical clerks (whom they now call the Minor Pontifices), the senate made Pontifex Maximus, decreeing him also the surname Pius. 3 Nevertheless, for a long time after the letter was read there was silence, for no one at all believed the news of Antoninus' death. 4 But when it was certain that he was slain, the senate reviled him as a tyrant, and forthwith offered Macrinus both the proconsular command and the tribunician power.

⁵ Now to his son, previously called Diadumenianus, he gave the name Antoninus (after he had himself assumed the appellation Felix) in order to avert the suspicion of having slain Antoninus. 6 This same name was afterwards taken by Varius Elagabalus also, who claimed to be the son of Bassianus, a most filthy creature and the son of a harlot. 7 Indeed, there are still in existence some verses written by a certain poet, which relate how the name of the Antonines, which began with Pius, gradually sank from one Antonine to another to the lowest degradation; for Marcus alone by his manner of life exalted that holy name, while Verus lowered, and Commodus even profaned the reverence due to the consecrated name. 8 And what can we say of Caracalla Antoninus, and who of this youth Diadumenianus? And finally, what of Elagabalus, the last of the Antonines, who is said to have lived in the lowest depths of foulness?

^{8 1} And so, having been acclaimed emperor, Macrinus assumed the imperial power and set out against the Parthians with a great array, eager to blot out the lowliness of his family and the infamy of his early life by a magnificent victory. 2 But after fighting a battle with the Parthians he was killed in a revolt of the legions, which had deserted to Varius Elagabalus. He reigned, however, for more than a year.

³ Though defeated in the war which Antoninus had waged — for Artabanus exacted a cruel revenge for the death of his subjects — Macrinus, nevertheless, at first fought stoutly. But later he sent out envoys and sued for peace, which, now that Antoninus was slain, the Parthian granted readily. 4 Thereupon he proceeded to Antioch and gave himself over to luxury and thus furnished the army just grounds for putting him to death and taking up the cause of the supposed son of Bassianus, Elagabalus Bassianus Varius, afterwards called both Bassianus and Antoninus.

^{9 1} Now there was a certain woman of the city of Emesa, called Maesa or Varia; she was the sister of Julia, the wife of Severus Pertinax the African, and after the death of Antoninus Bassianus she had been expelled from her home in the palace

through the arrogance of Macrinus — though Macrinus did grant to her all her possessions which she had gathered together during a long period. 2 This woman had two daughters, Symiamira and Mamaea, the elder of whom was the mother of Elagabalus; he assumed the names Bassianus and Antoninus, for the Phoenicians give the name Elagabalus to the Sun. 3 Elagabalus, moreover, was notable for his beauty and stature and for the priesthood which he held, and he was well known to all frequented the temple, and particularly to the soldiers. 4 To these, Maesa, or Varia as she was also called, declared that this Bassianus was the son of Antoninus, and this was gradually made known to all the soldiers. 5 Maesa herself, furthermore, was very rich (whence also Elagabalus was most wasteful of money), and through her promises to the soldiers the legions were persuaded to desert Macrinus. 6 For after she and her household had been received into the town by night, her grandson was hailed as Antoninus and presented with the imperial insignia.

¹⁰ 1 When the news of this was brought to Macrinus, then encamped near Antioch, marvelling at the audacity of the women and at the same time regarding them with contempt, he sent Julianus the prefect with the legions to lay siege to them. 2 But when Antoninus was shown to these troops, all turned to him in wonderful affection, and, killing Julianus the prefect, they all went over to him. 3 Then, having a part of the army on his side, Antoninus marched against Macrinus, who was hastening to meet him. A battle was then fought, in which, as a result of the soldiers' treachery to him and their love for Antoninus, Macrinus was defeated. He did, indeed, escape from the battle together with his son and a few others, but he and Diadumenianus were afterwards slain in a certain village of Bithynia, and his head was cut off and carried to Antoninus.

⁴ It should be recorded, furthermore, that the boy Diadumenianus is said to have been made merely Caesar and not Augustus, for many have related that he had equal power with his father. 5 The son also was slain, having gotten from his power only this — that he should be killed by the soldiery. 6 For in his life there will be found nothing worthy of being related, save that he was annexed, as a sort of bastard, to the name of the Antonines.

¹¹ Macrinus, in his life as emperor, was, in spite of all, rather rigid and stern, thinking that so he could bury in oblivion all his previous career, though in fact this very sternness of his presented an opportunity for criticising and attacking him. 2 For he wished to bear the names Severus and Pertinax, both of which seemed to him to connote harshness, and when the senate conferred on him the names Pius and Felix, he accepted the name of Felix but refused that of Pius. 3 This refusal, it seems, was the cause of an epigram against him, written by a certain Greek poet and not without charm, which has been rendered into Latin in

the following vein:

⁴ “Play-actor agèd and sordid, oppressive, cruel, and wicked,
Blest and unrighteous at once — that was the thing he would be.
Righteous he wished not to be, but yet would gladly be happy;
But this which nature denies, reason will not allow.
Righteous and blessed together he might have appeared and been surnamed,
Unrighteous, unblessèd too, now and forever is he.”

⁵ These verses some Latin writer or other displayed in the Forum together with those which had been published in Greek. On hearing them, Macrinus, it is said, replied in the following lines:

⁶ “Had but the Fates made the Grecian as wretched a poet as this one,
Latin composer of verse, gallows-bird aping a bard,
Naught had the populace learned and naught learned the senate; no huckster
Ever had tried to compose scurrilous verses on me.”

⁷ In these lines, which are much worse even than the other Latin verses, Macrinus believed that he had made adequate reply, but he became no less of a laughing-stock than the poet who tried to translate from the Greek into Latin.

^{12 1} Macrinus, then, was arrogant and bloodthirsty and desirous of ruling in military fashion. He found fault even with the discipline of former times and lauded Severus alone above all others. ² For he even crucified soldiers and always used the punishments meted out to slaves, and when he had to deal with a mutiny among the troops, he usually decimated the soldiers — but sometimes he only *centimated* them. This last was an expression of his own, for he used to say that he was merciful in putting to death only one in a hundred, whereas they deserved to have one in ten or one in twenty put to death. ³ It would be too long to relate all his acts of brutality, but nevertheless I will describe one, no great one in his belief, yet one which was more distressing than all his tyrannical cruelties. ⁴ There were some soldiers who had had intercourse with their host’s maid-servant, who for some time had led a life of ill-repute. Learning of their offence through one of his spies, ⁵ he commanded them to be brought before him and questioned them as to whether it were really true. When their guilt was proved, he gave orders that two oxen of extraordinary size should be cut open rapidly while still alive, and that the soldiers should be thrust one into each, with their heads protruding so that they could talk to each other. In this way he inflicted punishment on them, though neither our ancestors nor the men of his own time ever ordained any such penalty, even for those guilty of adultery. ⁶ Yet in spite of all this, he warred against the Parthians, the Armenians, and the Arabs who are called the Blest, and with no less bravery than success.

⁷ A tribune who allowed a sentry-post to be left unguarded he caused to be

bound under a wheeled waggon and then dragged living or dead all through the entire march. 8 He even reproduced the punishment inflicted by Mezentius, who used to bind live men to dead and thus force them to die consumed by slow decay. 9 Hence it came about that even in the Circus, when general applause broke forth in honour of Diadumenianus, some one cried out:

“Peerless in beauty the youth,”

“Not deserving to have as his father Mezentius.”

¹⁰ He also put living men into walls, which he then built up. Those guilty of adultery he always burned alive, fastening their bodies together. A slave who had fled from his master and had been found he would sentence to a combat with the sword in the public games. 11 A public informer, if he could not make good his accusation, he would condemn to death; if he could make it good, he would present him with his reward in money and send him away in disgrace.

^{13 1} In the administration of the law he was not without wisdom, and he even determined to rescind all decisions of earlier emperors, in order that judgments might be rendered on the basis of the law and not of a decision; for he used to say that it would be a crime to give the force of law to the whims of Commodus and Caracalla and other untrained men, when Trajan had always refused to render decisions in response to petitions, in order that rulings which might seem to have been made out of favour might not be applied to other cases.

² In bestowing largesses of grain he was most generous, while in gifts of money he was niggardly. 3 But in flogging his palace-attendants he was so unjust, so unreasonable, and so cruel, that his slaves used to call him Macellinus instead of Macrinus, because his palace was so stained with the blood of his household-servants that it looked like a shambles. 4 In his use of food and wine he was most gluttonous, sometimes even to the point of drunkenness, but only in the evening hours. For if he had breakfasted even in private with great simplicity, he would be most extravagant in his dinner. 5 He used to invite literary men to his banquets, as though he would perforce be more sparing in his diet if conversing about liberal studies.

^{14 1} But when men thought of his old-fashioned niggardliness and saw the savagery of his ways, they could not bear that so malodorous a man should have the imperial power, and most of all the soldiers, who remembered many deeds of his that were most cruel and sometimes even most base. So, forming a plot, they murdered him and his son, the boy Diadumenianus, surnamed Antoninus, of whom it was said that he was Antoninus only in his dreams — 2 a saying which gave rise to the following verses:

“This we beheld in our dreams, fellow-citizens, if I mistake not:

How that the Antonine name was borne by that immature stripling,

Sprung from a father corrupt, though virtuous truly his mother;
Lovers a hundred she knew and a hundred were those whom she courted.
Lover was also the bald-head, who later was known as her husband;
Pius indeed, aye Marcus indeed, for ne'er was he Verus."

³ These lines have been translated from Greek into Latin. In the Greek they are very well written, but they seem to me to have been translated by some commonplace poet. ⁴ When they were read to Macrinus he composed iambics, which have not been preserved but are said to have been most delightful. ⁵ They were, for that matter, destroyed in that same uprising in which he himself was slain, when all his possessions were overrun by the soldiers.

¹⁵¹ The manner of his death, as we have previously related, was the following: After the army went over to Elagabalus Antoninus, Macrinus fled, but he was defeated and killed in a rural district of Bithynia, while his followers were partly forced to surrender, partly killed, and partly put to flight. ² So Elagabalus achieved glory because he was thought to have avenged his father's death, and so established himself on the throne, which he disgraced by his enormous vices, his extravagance, his baseness, his feasting, his arrogance, and his savagery. He, too, was fated to meet with an end corresponding to his life.

³ These are the facts we have learned concerning Macrinus, though many give different versions of certain details, according to the character of each man's history; ⁴ these we have gathered together from many sources and have presented to Your Serenity, Diocletian Augustus, because we have seen that you are desirous of learning about the emperors of former times.

The Life of Diadumenianus

¹¹ The life of the boy Antoninus Diadumenianus who, together with his father, Opellius Macrinus, was proclaimed emperor by the army when Bassianus had been slain through the treachery of Macrinus, contains nothing memorable, save that he received the name of Antoninus and that there befell him astonishing omens signifying that his reign would be but a short one — and so it really came to pass. ² Now as soon as it became known among the legions that Bassianus was slain, great sorrow beset the hearts of all, for they thought, because they had not an Antoninus at the head of the state, that with Bassianus the Roman Empire would come to an end. ³ When word of this was brought to Macrinus, who by this time was emperor, he became afraid that the army would turn to some one of the Antonines, many of whom, being of the kin of Antoninus Pius, were among the leaders. He therefore gave orders at once to compose an harangue, and then bestowed upon his son, this lad, the name Antoninus. ⁴ His harangue: “You behold me, Comrades, now advanced in years, and Diadumenianus still a lad, whom, if the gods are gracious, you will have for many years as your prince. ⁵ Furthermore I perceive that there still remains among you a great yearning for the name of the Antonines. And so, since the nature of human weakness seems to leave me but a short space of life, with your sanction I bestow upon this lad the name Antoninus, and he for long years to come shall be in your eyes an Antoninus indeed.” ⁶ Outcries of the soldiers: “Macrinus, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Diadumenianus, may the gods keep you! ⁷ An Antoninus have we all for a long time desired. Jupiter, Greatest and Best, grant long life to Macrinus and to Antoninus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Macrinus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Antoninus. ⁸ An Antoninus we have, and in him we have all things; an Antoninus, indeed, have the gods granted to us. Worthy of his sire is Antoninus, aye worthy of the Empire too.” ² Macrinus the Emperor spoke: “Accept, therefore, Comrades, in return for the bestowal of the imperial power, three aurei for each one of you, and for the bestowal of the name Antoninus five aurei for each, together with the advancements prescribed by custom, but at this time doubled. The gods will grant that such gifts shall be often bestowed upon you, but we shall give you every five years what we have deemed right to give today.” ² Thereupon the child himself, Diadumenianus Antoninus, the Emperor, spoke: “I bring you thanks, Comrades, because you have bestowed upon me both imperial office and name; and inasmuch as you have deemed us worthy, both my

father and myself, to acclaim us Emperors of Rome and to commit the state to our keeping, 3 my father, for his part, will take good care not to fail the Empire, and I, moreover, will strive earnestly, not to fail the name of the Antonines. For I know that it is the name of Pius and of Marcus and of Verus that I have taken, and to live according to the standard of these is difficult indeed. 4 Meanwhile, however, in return for the imperial office and in return for my name, I promise you all that my father has promised and as much as he has promised, doubling all advancements, even as my revered father Macrinus has promised here in your presence.” 5 Herodian, the Greek writer, omits these details and records only that Diadumenianus as a child received from the soldiers the title of Caesar and that he was slain along with his father.

⁶ Immediately after this harangue a coin was struck at Antioch bearing the name of Antoninus Diadumenianus, but coinage with the name of Macrinus was postponed until the senate should give command. 7 Moreover, despatches announcing the bestowal of the name Antoninus were sent to the senate. In return, it is said, the senate readily acknowledged his rule — although some think they did so only out of hatred for Antoninus Caracalla. 8 Now Macrinus, as emperor, purposed in honour of his son Antoninus to present to the populace mantles of a reddish hue, to be called ‘Antoninian’ as Bassianus’ Gallic mantles had been. For it was more fitting, he said, that his son should be called Paenuleus or Paenularius, than that Bassianus should have been called Caracalla. 9 He also issued an edict, promising a largess in the name of Antoninus, as the edict itself will prove. The text of the edict: “I would, Fellow-citizens, that we were now present in person; for then your Antoninus himself would give you a largess in his own name. He would, furthermore, enroll boys as Antoniniani and girls as Antoninianae, that they might extend the glory of so dear a name”; and so forth throughout.

³¹ When he had done all in this fashion he gave orders that the standards in the Camp and the colours should be called Antonine and he had statues of Bassianus made of gold and of silver; and ceremonies of thanksgiving were celebrated for seven days in honour of the naming of Antoninus.

² The boy himself was beautiful beyond all others, somewhat tall of stature, with golden hair, black eyes, and an aquiline nose; his chin was wholly lovely in its modelling, his mouth designed for a kiss, and he was by nature strong and by training graceful. 3 And when first he assumed the scarlet and purple garments and the other imperial insignia used in the camp, he was radiant as a being from the stars or a dweller in heaven, and he was beloved of all because of his beauty. This much there is to be said concerning the boy.

⁴ Now let us proceed to the omens predicting his imperial power — which are

marvellous enough in the case of others, but in his case beyond the usual wont. 4 On the day of his birth, his father, who then chanced to be steward of the greater treasury, was inspecting the purple robes, and those which he approved as being brighter in hue he ordered to be carried into a certain chamber, in which two hours later Diadumenianus was born. 2 Furthermore, whereas it usually happens that children at birth are provided by nature with a caul, which the midwives seize and sell to credulous lawyers (for it is said that this bring luck to those who plead), 3 this child, instead of a caul, had a narrow band like a diadem, so strong that it could not be broken, for the fibres were entwined in the manner of a bow-string. 4 The child, they say, was accordingly called Diadematus, but when he grew older, he was called Diadumenianus from the name of his mother's father, though the name differed little from his former appellation Diadematus. 5 Also they say that twelve purple sheep were born on his father's estate and of these only one had spots upon it. 6 And it is well known, besides, that on the very day of his birth an eagle brought to him generally a tiny royal ring-dove, and, after placing it in his cradle as he slept, flew away without doing him harm. Moreover, birds called pantagathi built a nest in his father's house. 5 And about the time of his birth, the astrologers, on reading his horoscope, cried out that he was both the son of an emperor and an emperor too, just as though his mother had been seduced — as, indeed, public gossip maintained. 2 Moreover, when he was walking about in the open country, an eagle bore away his cap; and when the child's comrades shouted out, the bird set it upon the statue of a king on a royal monument near the farm-house in which his father then lived, fitting it close to the head. 3 This seemed portentous to many and a sign of an early death, but later events showed it to be a prediction of glory. 4 He was born, furthermore, on the birthday of Antoninus, at the same hour as Antoninus Pius and with the stars in almost the same positions. Wherefore the astrologers said that he would be both the son of an emperor and an emperor himself, but not for long. 5 On the day of his birth, which was also the birthday of Antoninus, a certain woman, who lived near by, cried out, it is said, "Let him be called Antoninus". Macrinus, however, was afraid and refused the imperial name, both because none of his kin was called by this name and at the same time because rumours concerning the significance of his horoscope had already spread abroad. 6 These omens and others, too, occurred, or so numerous writers have related, but the following one is especially worthy of note. As Diadumenianus was lying in his cradle, some say, a lion broke its chains and dashed about savagely, but when it came to the cradle of the child it only licked him and left him unharmed; but when the nurse — the only person who chanced to be present in the open place in which the child was lying — threw herself at the lion, it seized her in its

teeth and she perished.

^{6 1} These are the details concerning Antoninus Diadumenianus which seem to be worthy of mention. His life, indeed, I should have combined with the achievements of his father, had not the name of the Antonines constrained me to publish a special discussion of the life of this boy. 2 And in fact the name of the Antonines was at that time so greatly beloved, that he who had not the prestige of this name did not seem to merit the imperial power. 3 Wherefore some also think that Severus and Pertinax and Julianus should be honoured with the praenomen Antoninus, and that later on the two Gordiani, father and son, had Antoninus as a surname. 4 However, it is one thing to assume this as praenomen and another to take it as an actual name. 5 In the case of Pius, for instance, Antoninus was his actual name and Pius only a surname. Moreover, the true name of Marcus was Verissimus, but when this was set aside and annulled, Antoninus was conferred on him not as a praenomen but as his name. 6 So the original name of Verus was Commodus, but when this was annulled, he too was called Antoninus not as a praenomen but as a name. 7 Commodus, however, was given the name Antoninus by Marcus, and on the day of his birth he was so enrolled in the public records. 8 As for Caracalla Bassianus, it is well known that he was called Antoninus on account of a dream beheld by Severus, which revealed that an Antoninus with fore-ordained to be his successor, and that he was given the name in his thirteenth year, when, it is said, Severus conferred on him also the imperial power. 9 Geta, moreover, who, many aver, was not called Antoninus at all, was given the name, it is generally said, with the same intention as Bassianus — namely that he might succeed his father Severus; but this never came to pass. 10 After him, the name Antoninus was given to this very Diadumenianus, in order, it is generally said, that he might thereby find favour with the army, the senate, and the people of Rome, since there was a great yearning for Bassianus Caracalla.

^{7 1} There is still in existence a letter written by Opellius Macrinus, father of Diadumenianus, in which he boasts, not so much that he attained to the imperial power, having previously held second place in the Empire, as that he had become the father of one bearing the name Antoninus, than which no name was then more illustrious — no, not even that of the gods. 2 But before I insert this letter, I wish to include some verses directed at Commodus, who had taken the name of Hercules, in order that I may show to all that the name of the Antonines was so illustrious that it was not deemed suitable to add to it even the name of a god. 3 The verses directed against Commodus Antoninus are as follows:

Commodus wished to possess Hercules' name as his own;

That of the great Antonines did not seem noble enough.

Nothing of common law, nothing of ruling he knew,
Hoping indeed as a god greater renown to acquire
Than by remaining a prince called by an excellent name.
Neither a god will he be, nor for that matter a man.

⁴ These verses, written by an unknown Greek, some unskilful poet has rendered into Latin, and I have thought it right to insert them here for the purpose of showing to all that the Antonines were deemed greater than the gods as a result of the love felt for the three emperors, a love which has enshrined their wisdom, kindness, and righteousness — righteousness in the case of Pius, ⁵ kindness in the case of Verus, and wisdom in the case of Marcus. I will now return to the letter written by Opellius Macrinus:

“Opellius Macrinus to his wife Nonia Celsa. The good fortune to which we have attained, my dear wife, is incalculable. Perhaps you may think I allude to the imperial power, but this is nothing great and Fortune has bestowed it on even the undeserving. ⁶ No! I have become the father of an Antoninus; you have become the mother of an Antoninus. Blessed indeed are we, fortunate is our house, and noble the meed of praise now at length attained by this happy empire! ⁷ May the gods grant, and kindly Juno too, whom you revere, both that he may achieve the deserts of an Antoninus, and that I, who am now the father of an Antoninus, may be deemed worthy in the sight of all.” ⁸ This letter indicates how much glory he thought he had gained from the fact that his son was called Antoninus.

² Yet in spite of all, Diadumenianus was killed with his father in the fourteenth month of their reign, not, indeed, for any fault of his own, but because of his father’s harsh and tyrannical rule. ³ Nevertheless, I find in many writers that he himself was cruel beyond his years, and this is shown by a letter which he sent to his father. ⁴ For when certain men had fallen under the suspicion of rebellion, Macrinus visited upon them the most cruel punishments in the absence, as it chanced, of his son; but when the latter learned that the instigators of the rebellion had indeed been put to death, but their accomplices, among whom were the military governor of Armenia and the governors of Asia and Arabia, had, on account of a long-standing friendship, been sent away unharmed, he addressed, it is said, the following letter to his father, sending an identical one to his mother also. A copy of this letter I think, for the sake of history, should be inserted:

⁵ “Augustus the son to Augustus the father. You do not seem, my dear father, to have kept close enough to your usual ways or to your affection for me; for you have spared the lives of men engaged in a plot to seize the imperial power, either in the hope that if you spare them now they will prove more kindly disposed to you in the future, or else believing that because of an ancient friendship they

ought to be sent away unharmed. This should not have been done, nor will it prove of any avail. 6 For, in the first place, they cannot love you now, rendered sore, as they are, by suspicion; in the second, those who have forgotten their ancient friendship and have joined your bitterest enemies will prove to be all the more cruel foes. Consider also the fact that they still have armies.

⁷ ‘Even should you yourself regard not the fame of such actions,
Think of the youthful Ascanius, the hopes of Iulus your scion;
Fated for him is Italy’s realm and the land of the Romans.’

⁸ These men must be executed, if you wish to live in safety, for, thanks to the evil ways of mankind, there will be no lack of other foes, if the lives of these be spared.” 9 This letter, attributed by some to Diadumenianus himself, by others to his teacher Caelianus, formerly a rhetorician in Africa, shows how cruel the young man would have been, had he lived.

⁹ ¹ There is still in existence another letter, which he wrote to his mother, reading as follows:

“Our Lord and Emperor loves neither you nor himself, for he spares the life of his foes. See to it, then, that Arabianus, Tuscus, and Gellius be bound to the stake, lest if an opportunity arise, they may not let it slip.” 2 And, as Lollius Urbicus records in his history of his own time, these letters, when made public by his secretary, are said to have done the boy much harm among the soldiers. 3 For after his father was slain many wished to spare him, but his chamberlain came forward and read these letters before an assembly of the troops.

⁴ And so, when both had been slain and their heads borne about on pikes, the army out of affection for his name went over to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. 5 He was said to be the son of Bassianus Caracalla, but he was, in point of fact, a priest of the temple of Elagabalus and the filthiest of men, who through some decree of Fate was to bring disgrace upon the Roman Empire. 6 But the details concerning him, for there are many, I will relate in their own proper place.

The Life of Elagabalus

¹¹ The life of Elagabalus Antoninus, also called Varius, I should never have put in writing — hoping that it might not be known that he was emperor of the Romans — , were it not that before him this same imperial office had had a Caligula, a Nero, and a Vitellius. ² But, just as the selfsame earth bears not only poisons but also grain and other helpful things, not only serpents but flocks as well, so the thoughtful reader may find himself some consolation for these monstrous tyrants by reading of Augustus, Trajan, Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, Titus, and Marcus. ³ ° At the same time he will learn of the Romans' discernment, in that these last ruled long and died by natural deaths, whereas the former were murdered, dragged through the streets, officially called tyrants, and no man wishes to mention even their names.

⁴ Now when Macrinus had been slain and also his son Diadumenianus, who had been given an equal share of the power and also the name Antoninus, the imperial office was bestowed upon Varius Elagabalus, solely because he was reputed to be the son of Bassianus. ⁵ As a matter of fact, he was the priest of Elagabalus (sometimes called Jupiter, or the Sun), and had merely assumed the name Antoninus in order to prove his descent or else because he had learned that this name was so dear to mankind that for its sake even the parricide Bassianus had been greatly beloved. ⁶ Originally, he had the name Varius, but later he was called Elagabalus because he was priest of this god — whom he afterwards brought with him from Syria to Rome, founding a temple for him on the site of an earlier shrine of Orcus. ⁷ Finally, when he received the imperial power, he took the name Antoninus and was the last of the Antonines to rule the Roman Empire.

²¹ He was wholly under the control of his mother Symiamira, so much so, in fact, that he did no public business without her consent, although she lived like a harlot and practised all manner of lewdness in the palace. For that matter, her amour with Antoninus Caracalla was so notorious that Varius, or rather Elagabalus, was commonly supposed to be his son. The name Varius, some say, was given him by his school-fellows because he seemed to be sprung from the seed of “various” men, as would be the case with the son of a harlot. ³ And then, when his reputed father Antoninus was slain by Macrinus' treachery, he sought refuge in the temple of Elagabalus the god, as in a sanctuary, for fear that Macrinus would kill him; for Macrinus and his wasteful and brutal son were wielding the imperial power with the greatest cruelty. ⁴ But enough concerning

his name — though he defiled this venerated name of the Antonines, which you, Most Sacred Constantine, so revere that you have had portrayed in gold both Marcus and Pius together with the Constantii and the Claudii, as though they too were your ancestors, just as you have adopted the virtues of the ancients which are naturally suited to your own character, and pleasing and dear to you as well.

^{3 1} But now let us return to Varius Antoninus. After obtaining the imperial power he despatched couriers to Rome, and there all classes were filled with enthusiasm, and a great desire for him was aroused in the whole people merely at the mention of the name Antoninus, now restored, as it seemed, not in an empty title (as it had been in the case of Diadumenianus), but actually in one of the blood — for he had signed himself son of Antoninus Bassianus. ² He had the prestige, furthermore, which usually comes to a new ruler who has succeeded a tyrant; this is permanent only when the highest virtues are present and has been lost by many a mediocre emperor.

³ In short, when Elagabalus' message was read in the senate, at once good wishes were uttered for Antoninus and curses on Macrinus and his son, and, in accordance with the general wish and the eager belief of all in his paternity, Antoninus was hailed as emperor. Such are the pious hopes of men, who are quick to believe when they wish the thing to come true which their hearts desire.

⁴ As soon as he entered the city, however, neglecting all the affairs of the provinces, he established Elagabalus as a god on the Palatine Hill close to the imperial palace; and he built him a temple, to which he desired to transfer the emblem of the Great Mother, the fire of Vesta, the Palladium, the shields of the Salii, and all that the Romans held sacred, purposing that no god might be worshipped at Rome save only Elagabalus. ⁵ He declared, furthermore, that the religions of the Jews and the Samaritans and the rites of the Christians must also be transferred to this place, in order that the priesthood of Elagabalus might include the mysteries of every form of worship.

^{4 1} Then, when he held his first audience with the senate, he gave orders that his mother should be asked to come into the senate-chamber. ² On her arrival she was invited to a place on the consuls' bench and there she took part in the drafting — that is to say, she witnessed the drawing up of the senate's decree. And Elagabalus was the only one of all the emperors under whom a woman attended the senate like a man, just as though she belonged to the senatorial order.

³ He also established a senaculum, or women's senate, on the Quirinal Hill. Before his time, in fact, a congress of matrons had met here, but only on certain festivals, or whenever a matron was presented with the insignia of a "consular marriage" — bestowed by the early emperors on their kinswomen, particularly

on those whose husbands were not nobles, in order that they might not lose their noble rank. 4 But now under the influence of Symiamira absurd decrees were enacted concerning rules to be applied to matrons, namely, what kind of clothing each might wear in public, who was to yield precedence and to whom, who was to advance to kiss another, who might ride in a chariot, on a horse, on a pack-animal, or on an ass, who might drive in a carriage drawn by mules or in one drawn by oxen, who might be carried in a litter, and whether the litter might be made of leather, or of bone, or covered with ivory or with silver, and lastly, who might wear gold or jewels on her shoes.

^{5.1} After he had spent the winter in Nicomedia, living in a depraved manner and indulging in unnatural vice with men, the soldiers soon began to regret that they had conspired against Macrinus to make this man emperor, and they turned their thoughts toward his cousin Alexander, who on the murder of Macrinus had been hailed by the senate as Caesar. 2 For who could tolerate an emperor who indulged in unnatural lusts of every kind, when not even a beast of this sort would be tolerated? 3 And even at Rome he did nothing but send out agents to search for those who had particularly large organs and bring them to the palace in order that he might enjoy their vigour. 4 Moreover, he used to have the story of Paris played in his house, and he himself would take the rôle of Venus, and suddenly drop his clothing to the ground and fall naked on his knees, one hand on his breast, the other before his private parts, his buttocks projecting meanwhile and thrust back in front of his partner in depravity. 5 He would likewise model the expression of his face on that with which Venus is usually painted, and he had his whole body depilated, deeming it the chief enjoyment of his life to appear fit and worthy to arouse the lusts of the greatest number.

^{6.1} He took money for honours and distinctions and positions of power, selling them in person or through his slaves and those who served his lusts. 2 He made appointments to the senate without regard to age, property, or rank, and solely at the price of money, and he sold the positions of captain and tribune, legate and general, likewise procuratorships and posts in Palace. 3 The charioteers Protogenes and Cordius, originally his comrades in the chariot-race, he later made his associates in his daily life and actions. 4 Many whose personal appearance pleased him he took from the stage, the Circus, and the arena and brought to the palace. 5 And such was his passion for Hierocles that he kissed him in a place which it is indecent even to mention, declaring that he was celebrating the festival of Flora.

⁶ He violated the chastity of a Vestal Virgin, and by removing the holy shrines he profaned the sacred rites of the Roman nation. 7 He also desired to extinguish the everlasting fire. In fact, it was his desire to abolish not only the religious

ceremonies of the Romans but also those of the whole world, his one wish being that the god Elagabalus should be worshipped everywhere. He even broke into the sanctuary of Vesta, into which only Vestal Virgins and the priests may enter, though himself defiled by every moral stain and in the company of those who had defiled themselves. 8 He also attempted to carry away the sacred shrine, but instead of the true one he seized only an earthenware one, which the Senior Vestal had shown him in an attempt to deceive him, and when he found nothing in it, he threw it down and broke it. The cult, however, did not suffer at his hands, for several shrines had been made, it is said, exactly like the true one, in order that none might ever be able to take this one away. 9 Though this be so, he nevertheless carried away the image which he believed to be the Palladium, and after washing it over with gold he placed it in the temple of his god.

⁷ 1 He also adopted the worship of the Great Mother and celebrated the rite of the taurobolium; and he carried off her image and the sacred objects which are kept hidden in a secret place. 2 He would toss his head to and fro among the castrated devotees of the goddess, and he infibulated himself, and did all that the eunuch-priests are wont to do; and the image of the goddess which he carried off he placed in the sanctuary of his god. 3 He also celebrated the rite of Salambo with all the wailing and the frenzy of the Syrian cult — thereby foreshadowing his own impending doom. 4 In fact, he asserted that all gods were merely the servants of his god, calling some its chamberlains, others its slaves, and others its attendants for divers purposes. 5 And he planned to carry off from their respective temples the stones which are said to be divine, among them the emblem of Diana, from its holy place at Laodicea, where it had been dedicated by Orestes.

⁶ Now Orestes, they say, dedicated not merely one image of Diana in one place, but many and in many places. 7 And after he purified himself at the Three Rivers in the Hebrus region in obedience to a divine response, he founded the city of Oresta — a city destined to be often stained with human blood. 8 As for this city of Oresta, Hadrian, after he had begun to suffer from madness, ordered that it should be called after his own name — also acting in obedience to a divine response, for he had been told to steal into the house or into the name of some madman. 9 Thereupon, they say, he recovered from his madness, which had caused him to order the execution of many senators, all of whom, however, were saved by Antoninus; 10 for he won the surname of Pius by leading them into the senate after all supposed that they had been put to death by the Emperor's order.

⁸ 1 Elagabalus also sacrificed human victims, and for this purpose he collected from the whole of Italy children of noble birth and beautiful appearance, whose

fathers and mothers were alive, intending, I suppose, that the sorrow, if suffered by two parents, should be all the greater. 2 ° Finally, he kept about him every kind of magician and had them perform daily sacrifices, himself urging them on and giving thanks to the gods because he found them to be well-disposed to these men; and all the while he would examine the children's vitals and torture the victims after the manner of his own native rites.

³ When he entered upon his consulship he threw presents to the populace to be scrambled for, no mere pieces of silver and gold, indeed, or confectionery or little animals, but fatted cattle and camels and asses and slaves, declaring that this was an imperial custom.

⁴ He made a savage attack on the memory of Macrinus and a still more savage one on that of Diadumenianus because he had received the name Antoninus — he called him a Pseudo-Antoninus — and because it was asserted that from a veritable profligate he had become very brave and honourable and dignified and austere. 5 And he even forced certain writers to recount concerning his profligacy some details which were unspeakable, or, more properly, intolerable to relate, considering that this was in a biography of him.

⁶ He made a public bath in the imperial palace and at the same time threw open the bath of Plautinus to the populace, that by this means he might get a supply of men with unusually large organs. 7 He also took care to have the whole city and the wharves searched for onobeli, as those were called who seemed particularly lusty.

^{9 1} When he was making plans to take up the war against the Marcomanni, which Marcus Antoninus had fought with great glory, he was told by certain persons that it was by the help of astrologers and magicians that Marcus had made the Marcomanni forever the liegemen and friends of the Roman people, and that it had been done by means of magic rites and a dedication. But when he inquired what this was or where it could be obtained, he could get no response. 2 For it was generally reported that he inquired about this dedication solely for the purpose of destroying it, hoping thereby to bring on the war; for he had been told that there was a prophesy that the Marcomannic war should be ended by an Antoninus — whereas he was called Varius and Elagabalus and a public laughing-stock, and he was, moreover, a disgrace to the name Antoninus, on which he had laid violent hands. 3 This report, moreover, was spread by those most of all who were aggrieved that men well equipped for gratifying his lusts and of larger resources were opposed to themselves. And for this reason they even began to plot his death. So much for domestic affairs.

^{10 1} As for the soldiers, they could not endure to have such a pest clothed with the name of emperor, and they all expressed their views, first one to another,

then in groups, turning their thoughts to Alexander, who previously, at the time when Macrinus was murdered, had been hailed by the senate as Caesar — he was the cousin of this Antoninus, for both were grandsons of Varia, from whom Elagabalus had the name Varius.

² During his reign Zoticus had such influence that all the chiefs of the palace-departments treated him as their master's consort. ³ This same Zoticus, furthermore, was the kind to abuse such a degree of intimacy, for under false pretences he sold all Elagabalus' promises and favours, and so, as far as he could, he amassed enormous wealth. To some men he held out threats, and to others promises, lying to them all, and as he came out from the emperors' presence, he would go up to each and say, "In regard to you I said this," "in regard to you I was told that," and "in regard to you this action will be taken". ⁴ That is the way of men of this kind, for, once admitted to too close an intimacy with a ruler, they sell information concerning his intentions, whether he be good or bad, and so, through the stupidity or the innocence of an emperor who does not detect their intrigues, batten on the shameless hawking of rumours. ⁵ With this man Elagabalus went through a nuptial ceremony and consummated a marriage, even having a bridal-matron and exclaiming, "Go to work, Cook" — and this at a time when Zoticus was ill. ⁶ After that he would ask philosophers and even men of the greatest dignity whether they, in their youth, had ever experienced what he was experiencing, — all without the slightest shame. ⁷ For indeed he never refrained from filthy conversation and would make indecent signs with his fingers and would show no regard for decency even in public gatherings or in the hearing of the people.

¹¹ He made his freedmen governors and legates, consuls and generals, and he brought disgrace on all offices of distinction by the appointment of base-born profligates. ² On one occasion he invited the nobles of the court to a vintage-festival, and when he had seated himself by the baskets of grapes, he began to ask the most dignified of them one by one whether he were responsive to Venus, and when the old men would blush he would cry out, "He is blushing, it's all right," regarding their silence and blushes as a confession. ³ He then narrated his own doings without any cloak of shame. ⁴ But when he saw that the elders blushed and kept silent, because neither their age nor their dignity was in keeping with such topics, he turned to the young men and began to question them about all their experiences. ⁵ And when they told him what one would expect of their age, he began to be merry, declaring that a vintage celebrated in such a manner was truly bacchanalian. ⁶ Many relate, furthermore, that he was the first to devise the custom of having slaves make jibes at their masters' expense during a vintage-festival, even in the hearing of their masters, which jibes he had

composed himself, most of them in Greek; several of these, indeed, are quoted by Marius Maximus in his *Life of Elagabalus*. 7 His courtiers, moreover, were men of depraved life, some of them old men looking like philosophers, who would do up their hair in nets, declare that they were living a life of depravity, and boast that they had husbands. Some say, however, that they only made a pretence of this in order that by counterfeiting the Emperor's vices they might stand higher in his favour.

¹² 1 As prefect of the guard he appointed a dancer who had been on the stage at Rome, as prefect of the watch a chariot-driver named Cordius, and as prefect of the grain-supply a barber named Claudius, 2 and to the other posts of distinction he advanced men whose sole recommendation was the enormous size of their privates. As collector of the five-percent tax on inheritances he appointed a mule-driver, a courier, a cook, and a locksmith. 3 When he went to the Camp or the Senate-house he took with him his grandmother, Varia by name, whom I have previously mentioned, in order that through her prestige he might get greater respect — for by himself he got none. And never before his time, as I have already said, did a woman come into the Senate-chamber or receive an invitation to take part in the drafting of a decree and express her opinion in the debate. 4 At his banquets he preferred to have perverts placed next to him and took special delight in touching or fondling them, and whenever he drank one of them was usually selected to hand him the cup.

¹³ 1 Among the base actions of his life of depravity he gave orders that Alexander, whom he had formally adopted, he removed from his presence, saying that he regretted the adoption. 2 Then he commanded the senate to take away from Alexander the name of Caesar. But when this was announced to the senate, there was a profound silence. For Alexander was an excellent youth, as was afterwards shown by the character of his rule, even though, be he was chaste, he was displeasing to his adoptive father — 3 he was also, as some declare, his cousin. Besides, he was loved by the soldiers and acceptable to the senate and the equestrian order. 4 Yet the Emperor's madness went the length of an attempt to carry out the basest design; for he despatched assassins to kill Alexander, and that in the following way: 5 Leaving his mother, grandmother, and cousin in the Palace, he himself withdrew to the Gardens of Spes Vetus on the ground that he was forming designs against some new youth, and there he issued an order to slay Alexander, a most excellent young man and one of whom the state had need. 6 He also sent a written order to the soldiers bidding them take away from Alexander the name of Caesar, 7 and he despatched men to smear mud on the inscriptions on his statues in the Camp, as is usually done to a tyrant. 8 He sent, furthermore, to Alexander's guardians, ordering them, if they

hoped for rewards and distinctions, to kill him in any way they wished, either in his bath, or by poison, or with the sword. 14 But evil men can accomplish nothing against the upright. For no power could induce any to commit so great a crime, and the weapons which he was making ready for others were turned against himself, and it was by the same violent means that he was directing at others that he himself was put to death.

² But immediately after the inscriptions on Alexander's statues were smeared with mud, all the soldiers were fired with anger, and they set out, some for the Palace and some for the gardens where Varius was, with the purpose of protecting Alexander and finally ridding the state of this filthy creature full of murderous intent. 3 And when they had come to the Palace they set a guard about Alexander and his mother and grandmother and then escorted them with the greatest care to the Camp; 4 Symiamira, Elagabalus' mother, followed them on foot, filled with anxiety about her son. 5 Then the soldiers went to the gardens, where they found Varius making preparations for a chariot-race and at the same time eagerly awaiting the news of his cousin's murder. 6 Alarmed by the sudden clatter of the soldiers, he crouched down in a corner and covered himself with the curtain which was at the door of the bed-chamber, 7 sending one of the prefects to the Camp to quiet the soldiers there and the other to placate those who had just entered the gardens. 8 Then Antiochianus, one of the prefects, reminded the soldiers who had come to the gardens of their oath of allegiance and finally persuaded them not to kill the Emperor — for, in fact, only a few had come and the majority had remained with the standard, which the tribune Aristomachus had kept back. So much for what happened in the gardens. 15 In the Camp, on the other hand, the soldiers replied to the entreaties of the prefect that they would spare Elagabalus' life on the condition that he would send away all his filthy creatures, his chariot-drivers, and his actors, and return to a decent mode of living, dismissing particularly those who, to the general sorrow, possessed the greatest influence over him and sold all his decisions, actual or pretended. 2 He did, finally, dismiss Hierocles, Cordius, and Mirissimus and two other base favourites who were making him even more of a fool than he was naturally. 3 The soldiers, furthermore, charged the prefects not to permit him to continue longer his present mode of living, and also to keep watch over Alexander that no violence might be done him, and at the same time to prevent the Caesar from seeing any of the friends of the Augustus, lest he imitate their baseness. 4 But Elagabalus with earnest entreaties kept demanding back Hierocles, that most shameless of men, and daily increased his plotting against Alexander. 5 Finally, on the Kalends of January, he refused to appear in public with his cousin — for they had been designated joint consuls. 6 At last,

however, when he was told by his grandmother and mother that the soldiers were threatening that they would kill him unless they saw that harmony was established between himself and his cousin, he put on the bordered toga and at the sixth hour of the day entered the senate, inviting his grandmother to the session and escorting her to a seat. 7 But then he refused to proceed to the Capitolium to assume the vows for the state and conduct the usual ceremonies, and accordingly everything was done by the city-praetor, just as if there were no consuls there.

^{16 1} Nevertheless he did not give up the murder of his cousin, but first, for fear that if he killed him the senate would only turn to some one else, he gave orders that the senate should at once leave the city. Even all those senators who had no carriages or slaves were ordered to set out at once, some of them being carried by porters, others using animals that chance threw in their way or that they hired for money. 2 And because Sabinus, a man of consular rank, to whom Ulpian dedicated some of his books, remained in the city, the Emperor called a centurion and ordered him to kill him, speaking in a low tone. 3 But the centurion, who was rather deaf, thought that he was being ordered to eject Sabinus from the city and acted accordingly; and so a centurion's infirmity saved Sabinus' life. 4 He dismissed both Ulpian the jurist because he was a righteous man and Silvinus the rhetorician, whom he had appointed tutor to Alexander. Silvinus, in fact, was put to death, but Ulpian was spared.

⁵ The soldiers, however, and particularly the members of the guard, either because they knew what evils were in store for Elagabalus, or because they foresaw his hatred for themselves, formed a conspiracy to set the state free. First they attacked the accomplices in his plan of murdering Alexander, killing some by tearing out the vital organs and others by piercing the anus, so that their deaths were as evil as their lives. 17 Next they fell upon Elagabalus himself and slew him in a latrine in which he had taken refuge. Then his body was dragged through the streets, and the soldiers further insulted it by thrusting it into a sewer. 2 But since the sewer chanced to be too small to admit the corpse, they attached a weight to it to keep it from floating, and hurled it from the Aemilian Bridge into the Tiber, in order that it might never be buried. 3 The body was also dragged around the Circus before it was thrown into the Tiber.

⁴ His name, that is to say the name Antoninus, was erased from the public records by order of the senate — though the name Varius Elagabalus was left —, for he had used the name Antoninus without valid claim, wishing to be thought the son of Antoninus. 5 After his death he was dubbed the *Tiberine*, the *Dragged*, the *Filthy*, and many other such names, all of which were to signify what seemed to have been done during his rule. 6 And he was the only one of all

the emperors whose body was dragged through the streets, thrust into a sewer, and hurled into the Tiber. 7 This befell him as a result of the general hatred of all, against which particularly emperors must be on their guard, since those who do not win the love of the senate, the people, and the soldiers do not win the right of burial.

⁸ No public works of his are in existence, save the temple of the god Elagabalus (called by some the Sun, by others Jupiter), the Amphitheatre as restored after its destruction by fire, and the public bath in the Vicus Sulpicius, begun by Antoninus, the son of Severus. 9 This bath, in fact, had been dedicated by Antoninus Caracalla, who bathed in it himself and opened it to the public, but the portico was left unbuilt, and this was added after his death by this spurious Antoninus, though actually completed by Alexander.

^{18 1} He was the last of the Antonines (though many think that later the Gordians had the cognomen Antoninus, whereas they were really called Antonius and not Antoninus), a man so detestable for his life, his character, and his utter depravity that the senate expunged from the records even his name. 2 I myself should not have referred to him as Antoninus save for the sake of identification, which frequently makes it necessary to use even those names which officially have been abolished.

With him was also slain his mother Symiamira, a most depraved woman and one worthy of such a son. 3 And the first measure enacted after the death of Antoninus Elagabalus provided that no woman should ever enter the senate, and that whoever should cause a woman to enter, his life should be declared doomed and forfeited to the kingdom of the dead.

(18)4 Concerning his life many filthy anecdotes have been put into writing, but since they are not worthy of being recorded, I have thought I ought to relate only such deeds as illustrate his extravagance. Some of these, it is said, were done before he ascended the throne, others after he was made emperor; for he himself declared that his models were Apicius among commoners and, among emperors, Otho and Vitellius. 19 For example, he was the first commoner to cover his couches with golden coverlets — for this was lawful then by authorization of Marcus Antoninus, who had sold at public auction all the imperial trappings. 2 Also, he gave summer-banquets in various colours, one day a green banquet, another day an iridescent one, and next in order a blue one, varying them continually every day of the summer. 3 Moreover, he was the first to use silver urns and casseroles, and vessels of chased silver, •one hundred pounds in weight, some of them spoiled by the lewdest designs. 4 He was also the first to concoct wine seasoned with mastich and with pennyroyal and all such mixtures, which our present luxury retains. 5 And rose-wine, of which he had

learned from others, he used to make more fragrant by adding pulverized pinecone. In fact, all these kinds of cups are not met with in books before the time of Elagabalus. 6 Indeed, for him life was nothing except a search after pleasures. He was the first to make force-meat of fish, or of oysters of various kinds or similar shell-fish, or of lobsters, crayfish and squills. 7 He used to strew roses and all manner of flowers, such as lilies, violets, hyacinths, and narcissus, over his banqueting-rooms, his couches and his porticoes, and then stroll about in them. 8 He would refuse to swim in a pool that was not perfumed with saffron or some other well-known essence. 9 And he could not rest easily on cushions that were not stuffed with rabbit-fur or feathers from under the wings of partridges, and he used, moreover, to change the pillows frequently.

²⁰ 1 He often showed contempt for the senate, calling them slaves in togas, while he treated the Roman people as the tiller of a single farm and the equestrian order as nothing at all. 2 He frequently invited the city-prefect to a drinking-bout after a banquet and also summoned the prefects of the guard, sending a master of ceremonies, in case they declined, to compel them to come. 3 And he wished to create a city-prefect for each region of Rome, thus making fourteen for the city; and he would have done it, too, had he lived, for he was always ready to promote men of the basest character and the lowest calling.

⁴ He had couches made of solid silver for use in his banqueting-rooms and his bed-chambers. 5 In imitation of Apicius he frequently ate camels-heels and also cocks-combs taken from the living birds, and the tongues of peacocks and nightingales, because he was told that one who ate them was immune from the plague. 6 He served to the palace-attendants, moreover, huge platters heaped up with the viscera of mullets, and flamingo-brains, partridge-eggs, thrush-brains, and the heads of parrots, pheasants, and peacocks. 7 And the beards of the mullets that he ordered to be served were so large that they were brought on, in place of cress or parsley or pickled beans or fenugreek, in well filled bowls and disk-shaped platters — a particularly amazing performance.

²¹ 1 He fed his dogs on goose-livers. Among his pets he had lions and leopards, which had been rendered harmless and trained by tamers, and these he would suddenly order during the dessert and the after-dessert to get up on the couches, thereby causing an amusing panic, for none knew that the beasts^o were harmless. 2 He sent grapes from Apamea to his stables for his horses, and he fed parrots and pheasants to his lions and other wild animals. 3 For ten successive days, moreover, he served wild sows' udders with the matrices, at the rate of thirty a day, serving, besides, peas with gold-pieces, lentils with onyx, beans with amber, and rice with pearls; 4 and he also sprinkled pearls on fish and truffles in lieu of pepper. 5 In a banqueting-room with a reversible ceiling he once overwhelmed

his parasites with violets and other flowers, so that some were actually smothered to death, being unable to crawl out to the top. 6 He flavoured his swimming-pools and bath-tubs with essence of spices or of roses or wormwood. And once he invited the common mob to a drinking-bout, and himself drank with the populace, taking so much that on seeing what he alone consumed, people supposed he had been drinking from one of his swimming-pools. 7 As banquet-favours, he gave eunuchs, or four-horse chariots, or horses with saddles, or mules, or litters, or carriages, or a thousand aurei or a hundred pounds of silver. 22 At his banquets he would also distribute chances inscribed on spoons, the chance of one person reading “ten camels,” of another “ten flies,” of another “ten pounds of gold,” of another “ten pounds of lead,” of another “ten ostriches,” of another “ten hens-eggs,” so that they were chances indeed and men tried their luck. 2 These he also gave at his games, distributing chances for ten bears or ten dormice, ten lettuces or ten pounds of gold. Indeed he was the first to introduce this practice of giving chances, which we still maintain. 3 And the performers too he invited to what really were chances, giving as prizes a dead dog or a pound of beef, or else a hundred aurei, or a hundred pieces of silver, or a hundred coppers, and so on. 4 All this so pleased the populace that after each occasion they rejoiced that he was emperor.

^{23 1} He gave a naval spectacle, it is said, on the Circus-canals, which had been filled with wine, and he sprinkled the people’s cloaks with perfume made from the wild grape; also he drove a chariot drawn by four elephants on the Vatican Hill, destroying the tombs which obstructed the way, and he harnessed four camels to a chariot at a private spectacle in the Circus. 2 It is also said that he collected serpents with the aid of priests of the Marsic nation and suddenly let them loose before dawn, when the populace usually assembled for the more frequented games, and many people were injured by their fangs as well as in the general panic. 3 He would wear a tunic made wholly of cloth of gold, or one made of purple, or a Persian one studded with jewels, and at such times he would say that he felt oppressed by the weight of his pleasures. 4 He even wore jewels on his shoes, sometimes engraved ones — a practice which aroused the derision of all, as if, forsooth, the engraving of famous artists could be seen on jewels attached to his feet. 5 He wished to wear also a jewelled diadem in order that his beauty might be increased and his face look more like a woman’s; and in his own house he did wear one. 6 He promised a phoenix to some guests, it is said, or in lieu of the bird a thousand pounds of gold, and this sum he handed out in the imperial residence. 7 He constructed swimming-pools filled with sea-water in places especially far from the coast, and would hand them over to individual friends who swam in them, or at another time he would fill one with

fish. 8 One summer he made a mountain of snow in the pleasure-garden attached to his house, having snow carried there for the purpose. When on the sea-coast he never ate fish, but in places most remote from the sea he regularly served all manner of sea-food, and the country-folk in the interior he fed with the milt of lampreys and pikes.

²⁴ 1 The fish that he ate were cooked in a bluish sauce that preserved their natural colour, as though they were still in the sea-water. He supplied swimming-pools that he used for the moment with essence of roses and with the flowers themselves, and when he bathed with all his courtiers he would furnish oil of nard for the hot-rooms; he also furnished balsam-oil for the lamps. 2 He never had intercourse with the same woman twice except with his wife, and he opened brothels in his house for his friends, his clients, and his slaves. 3 He never spent less on a banquet than one hundred thousand sesterces, that is, thirty pounds of silver; and sometimes he even spent as much as three million when all the cost was computed. In fact, he even outdid the banquets of Vitellius and Apicius. 4 He would take fish from his ponds by the ox-load, and then, as he passed through the market, bewail the public poverty. 5 He used to bind his parasites to a water-wheel and, by a turn of the wheel, plunge them into the water and then bring them back to the surface again, calling them meanwhile river-Ixions. 6 He used Lacedaemonian stone and porphyry to pave the open spaces in the Palace, which he called Antonine; this pavement lasted down to within our own memory but was lately torn up and destroyed. 7 And he planned to erect a single column of enormous size, which could be ascended inside, and to place on its summit the god Elagabalus, but he could not find enough stone, even though he planned to bring it from the district of Thebes.

²⁵ 1 When his friends became drunk he would often shut them up, and suddenly during the night let in his lions and leopards and bears — all of them harmless — so that his friends on awakening at dawn, or worse, during the night, would find lions and leopards and bears in the room with themselves; and some even died from this cause. 2 Some of his humbler friends he would seat on air-pillows instead of on cushions and let out the air while they were dining, so that often the diners were suddenly found under the table. 3 Finally, he was the first to think of placing a semi-circular group on the ground instead of on couches, with the purpose of having the air-pillows loosened by slaves who stood at the feet of the guests and the air thus let out.

⁴ When adultery was represented on the stage, he would order what was usually done in pretence to be carried out in fact. 5 He often purchased harlots from all the procurers and then set them free. 6 Once during a private conversation the question arose as to how many ruptured people there were in

the city of Rome, and he thereupon issued an order that all should be noted and brought to his baths, and then he bathed with them, some of them being men of distinction. 7 Before a banquet he would frequently watch gladiatorial fights and boxing matches, and he had a couch spread for himself in an upper gallery and during luncheon exhibited criminals in a wild-beast hunt. 9 ° His parasites would often be served during dessert with food made of wax or wood or ivory, sometimes of earthenware, or at times even of marble or stone; so that all that he ate himself would be served to them too, but different in substance and only to be looked at, and all the while they would merely drink with each course and wash their hands, just as if they had really eaten.

^{26 1} He was the first of the Romans, it is said, who wore clothing wholly of silk, although garments partly of silk were in use before his time. Linen that had been washed he would never touch, saying that washed linen was worn only by beggars. 2 He would often appear in public after dinner dressed in a Dalmatian tunic, and then he would call himself Fabius Gurgus or Scipio, because he was wearing the same kind of clothing which Fabius and Cornelius wore when in their youth they were brought out in public by their parents in order to improve their manners.

³ He gathered together in a public building all the harlots from the Circus, the theatre, the Stadium and all other places of amusement, and from the public baths, and then delivered a speech to them, as one might to soldiers, calling them “comrades” and discoursing upon various kinds of postures and debaucheries. 4 Afterward he invited to a similar gathering procurers, catamites collected together from all sides, and lascivious boys and young men. 5 And whereas he had appeared before the harlots in a woman’s costume and with protruding bosom, he met the catamites in the garb of a boy who is exposed for prostitution. After his speech he announced a largess of three aurei each, just as if they were soldiers, and asked them to pray the gods that they might find others to recommend to him.

⁶ He used, too, to play jokes on his slaves, even ordering them to bring him a thousand pounds of spiders-webs and offering them a prize; and he collected, it is said, ten thousand pounds, and then remarked that one could realize from that how great a city was Rome. 7 He also used to send to his parasites jars of frogs, scorpions, snakes, and any other such reptiles, as their yearly allowance of provisions, 8 and he would shut up a vast number of flies in jars of this sort and call them tamed bees.

^{27 1} He often brought four-horse chariots from the circus into his banqueting-rooms or porticoes while he lunched or dined, compelling his guests to drive, even though they were old men and some of them had held public office. 2 Even

when emperor, he would give an order to bring in to him ten thousand mice, a thousand weasels, or a thousand shrew-mice. 3 So skilful were his confectioners and dairymen, that all the various kinds of food that were served by his cooks, either meat-cooks or fruit-cooks, they would also serve up, making them now out of confectionery or again out of milk products. 4 His parasites he would serve with dinners made of glass, and at times he would send to their table only embroidered napkins with pictures of the viands that were set before himself, as many in number as the courses which he was to have, so that they were served only with representations made by the needle or the loom. 5 Sometimes, however, paintings too were displayed to them, so that they were served with the whole dinner, as it were, but were all the while tormented by hunger. 6 He would also mix jewels with apples and flowers, and he would throw out of the window quite as much food as he served to his friends. 7 He gave an order, too, that an amount of public grain equal to one year's tribute should be given to all the harlots, procurers, and catamites who were within the walls, and promised an equal amount to those without, for, thanks to the foresight of Severus and Trajan, there was in Rome at that time a store of grain equal to seven years' tribute.

²⁸ 1 He would harness four huge dogs to a chariot and drive about within the royal residence, and he did the same thing, before he was made emperor, on his country-estates. 2 He even appeared in public driving four stags of vast size. Once he harnessed lions to his chariot and called himself the Great Mother, and on another occasion, tigers, and called himself Dionysus; and he always appeared in the particular garb in which the deity that he was representing was usually depicted. 3 He kept at Rome tiny Egyptian snakes, called by the natives "good genii," besides hippopotami, a crocodile, and a rhinoceros, and, in fact, everything Egyptian which was of such a kind that it could be supplied. 4 And sometimes at his banquets he served ostriches, saying that the Jews had been commanded to eat them.

⁵ It seems indeed a surprising thing that he is said to have done when he invited men of the highest rank to a luncheon and covered a semi-circular couch with saffron-flowers, and then said that he was providing them with the kind of hay that their rank demanded. 6 The occupations of the day he performed at night, and those of the night in the daytime, and he considered it a mark of luxury to wait until a late hour before rising from sleep and beginning to hold his levee, and also to remain awake until morning. He received his courtiers every day, and he seldom let any go without a gift, save those whom he found to be thrifty, for he regarded these as worthless.

²⁹ 1 His chariots were made of jewels and gold, for he scorned those that were merely of silver or ivory or bronze. 2 He would harness women of the greatest

beauty to a wheel-barrow in fours, in twos, or in threes or even more, and would drive them about, usually naked himself, as were also the women who were pulling him.

³ He had the custom, moreover, of asking to dinner eight bald men, or else eight one-eyed men, or eight men who suffered from gout, or eight deaf men, or eight men of dark complexion, or eight tall men, or, again, eight fat men, his purpose being, in the case of these last, since they could not be accommodated on one couch, to call forth general laughter. ⁴ He would present to his guests all the silver-plate that he had in the banqueting-room and all the supply of goblets, and he did it very often too. ⁵ He was the first Roman emperor to serve at a public banquet fish-pickle mixed with water, for previously this had been only a soldier's dish — a usage which later was promptly restored by Alexander. ⁶ He would propose to his guests, furthermore, by way of a feat, that they should invent new sauces for giving flavour to the food, and he would offer a very large prize for the man whose invention should please him, even presenting him with a silk garment — then regarded as a rarity and a mark of honour. ⁷ On the other hand, if the sauce did not please him, the inventor was ordered to continue eating it until he invented a better one. ⁸ Of course he always sat among flowers or perfumes of great value, ⁹ and he loved to hear the prices of the food served at his table exaggerated, asserting it was an appetizer for the banquet.

³⁰¹ He got himself up as a confectioner, a perfumer, a cook, a shop-keeper, or a procurer, and he even practised all these occupations in his own house continually. ² At one dinner where there were many tables he brought in the heads of six hundred ostriches in order that the brains might be eaten. ³ Occasionally he gave a banquet in which he would serve twenty-two courses of extraordinary viands, and between each course he and his guests would bathe and dally with women, all taking an oath that they were deriving enjoyment. ⁴ And once he gave a banquet in which one course was served in the house of each guest, and although one lived on the Capitoline Hill, one on the Palatine, one beyond the Rampart, one on the Caelian Hill, and one across the Tiber, nevertheless each course was served in order in one of the houses, and they went about to the homes of all. ⁵ It was difficult, therefore, to finish the banquet within a whole day, especially as between the courses they bathed and dallied with women. He always served a course of Sybariticum, consisting of oil and fish-pickle, which the men of Sybaris invented in the year in which they all perished. ⁷ It is further related of him that he constructed baths in many places, bathed in them once, and immediately demolished them, merely in order that he might not derive any advantage from them. And he is said to have done the same with houses, imperial headquarters, and summer-dwellings. ⁸ However, these

and some other things which surpass credence, I believe to have been fabricated by those who wished to vilify Elagabalus in order to curry favour with Alexander.

³¹ 1 He purchased, it is said, a very famous and very beautiful harlot for one hundred thousand sesterces, and then kept her untouched, as though she were a virgin. 2 When some one asked him before he was made emperor, “Are you not afraid of becoming poor?” he replied, so they say, “What could be better than that I should be my own heir and my wife’s too?” 3 He had abundant means besides, bequeathed to him by many out of regard for his father. Furthermore, he said that he did not wish to have sons, lest one of them should chance to be thrifty. 4 He would have perfumes from India burned without any coals in order that the fumes might fill his apartments. Even while a commoner he never made a journey with fewer than sixty wagons, though his grandmother Varia used to protest that he would squander all his substance; 5 but after he became emperor he would take with him, it is said, as many as six hundred, asserting that the king of the Persians travelled with ten thousand camels and Nero with five hundred carriages. 6 The reason for all these vehicles was the vast number of his procurers and bawds, harlots, catamites and lusty partners in depravity. 7 In the public baths he always bathed with the women, and he even treated them himself with a depilatory ointment, which he applied also to his own beard, and shameful though it be to say it, in the same place where the women were treated and at the same hour. He shaved his minions’ groins, using the razor with his own hand — with which he would then shave his beard. 8 He would strew gold and silver dust about a portico and then lament that he could not strew the dust of amber also; and he did this often when he proceeded on foot to his horse or his carriage, as they do today with golden sand.

³² 1 He never put on the same shoes twice and never, it is said, wore the same ring a second time. He often tore up costly garments. Once he took a whale and weighed it and then sent his friends its weight in fish. 2 He sank some heavily laden ships in the harbour and then said that this was a sign of greatness of soul. He used vessels of gold for relieving himself and his urinals were made of murra or onyx. 3 And he is said to have remarked: “If I ever have an heir, I shall appoint a guardian for him, to make him do what I have myself done and intend to do”. 4 He was accustomed, furthermore, to have dinners served to him of the following kind: one day he would eat nothing at all but pheasant, serving only pheasant-meat at every course; another day he would serve only chicken, another some kind of fish and again a different kind, again pork, or ostrich, or greens, or fruit, or sweets, or dairy-products. 5 He would often shut up his friends in halting-places for the night with old hags from Ethiopia and compel them to stay

there until morning, saying that the most beautiful women were kept in these places. 6 He did this same thing with boys too — for then, before the time of Philip that is, such a thing was lawful. 7 Sometimes he laughed so loud in the theatre that no one else could be heard by the audience. 8 He could sing and dance, play the pipes, the horn and the pandura, and have also performed on the organ. 9 On one single day, it is said, he visited every prostitute from the Circus, the theatre, the Amphitheatre, and all the public places of Rome, covering his head with a muleteer's cap in order to escape recognition; he did not, however, gratify his passions, but merely gave an aureus to each prostitute, saying as he did so: "Let no one know it, but this is a present from Antoninus". 33 He invented certain new kinds of vice, even going beyond the pervers used by the debauchees of old, and he was well acquainted with all the arrangements of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero.

² The prophecy had been made to him by some Syrian priests that he would die a violent death. 3 And so he had prepared cords entwined with purple and scarlet silk, in order that, if need arose, he could put an end to his life by the noose. 4 He had gold swords, too, in readiness, with which to stab himself, should any violence impend. 5 He also had poisons ready, in ceraunites and sapphires and emeralds, with which to kill himself if destruction threatened. 6 And he also built a very high tower from which to throw himself down, constructed of boards gilded and jewelled in his own presence, for even his death, he declared, should be costly and marked by luxury, in order that it might be said that no one had ever died in this fashion. 7 But all these preparations availed him nothing, for, as we have said, he was slain by common soldiers, dragged through the streets, contemptuously thrust into sewers, and finally cast into the Tiber.

⁸ He was the last of those in public life to bear the name Antoninus, and all knew that in the case of this Antoninus his life was as false as his name.

^{34 1} It may perhaps seem strange to some, revered Constantine, that such a scourge as I have described should ever have sat on the throne of the emperors, and, moreover, for nearly three years. Such was the lack at that time in the state of any who could remove him from the government of Rome's majesty, whereas a deliverer from the tyrant had not been wanting in the case of Nero, Vitellius, Caligula, and other such emperors. 2 But first of all I ask for pardon for having set down in writing what I have found in various authors, even though I have passed over in silence many vile details and those things which may not even be spoken of without the greatest shame. 3 But whatever I have told, I have covered up as best I could by the use of veiled terms. 4 Then too I have always believed that we must remember what Your Clemency is wont to say: "It is Fortune that

makes a man emperor". There have indeed been unrighteous rulers and even very base ones. 5 But, as Your Piety is wont to declare, men must look to it that those be worthy of the imperial office whom the power of Fate has called to the destiny of being emperor. 6 Furthermore, since this man was the last of the Antonines and never again did one of this name appear in public life as emperor, the following fact must also be mentioned, in order that no confusion may arise when I shall begin to tell of the two Gordians, father and son, who desired to be called after the family of the Antonines: in the first place, they had not the surname but only the praenomen of the Antonines; 7 in the second, as I find in my books, their name was Antonius, and not Antoninus.

^{35 1} So much concerning Elagabalus, the details of whose life you have wished me, though unwilling and reluctant, to gather together from Greek and Latin books and to set down in writing and present to you, inasmuch as I have already presented the lives of earlier emperors. 2 Now I shall begin to write of emperors who followed after. Of these the most righteous and the most worthy of careful narration was Alexander (who was emperor for thirteen years, whereas the others ruled but for six months or at most for one or two years), the most distinguished was Aurelian, but the glory of them all was Claudius, the founder of your family. 3 About this man I fear to tell the truth in writing to Your Clemency, lest I may seem to the malicious to be a flatterer; but yet I shall be delivered from the envy of evil men, inasmuch as I have seen that in the eyes of others also he was the most illustrious. 4 To these rulers must be joined Diocletian, father of the golden age, and Maximian, father of the iron, as they commonly say, and all the others down to the time of Your Piety. But as for you, 5 O revered Augustus, you shall receive honour in the many and more eloquent pages of those to whom a more kindly nature has granted this boon. 6 To these emperors we must add Licinius and Maxentius, all whose power has been made subject to your sway, writing of them, however, in such a way that full justice shall be done to their prowess. 7 For I will not, as is the wont of many writers, detract from the greatness of those who have been vanquished, since I perceive that if, in writing of them, I shall tell the whole truth concerning the noble qualities which they possessed, it will but enhance your glory.

The Life of Severus Alexander

1.1 After the murder of Varius Elagabalus — for thus we prefer to call him rather than Antoninus, for, plague that he was, he showed none of the traits of the Antonines, 2 and his name Antoninus, furthermore, was expunged from the public records by order of the senate — for the curing of the human race the imperial power passed to Aurelius Alexander. He was born in the city of Arca and he was the son of Varius, the grandson of Varia, and the cousin of Elagabalus himself. The name of Caesar had been bestowed on him by the senate previously, that is, after the death of Macrinus; 3 now he was given the name of Augustus, and it was further granted him by the senate that on the same day he should take the title of Father of his Country, the proconsular command, the tribunician power, and the privilege of making five proposals to the House.

4 Now lest this quick succession of honours may seem precipitate, I will set forth the reasons which moved the senate to grant and the Emperor to accept them. 5 For it befitted neither the senate's dignity to bestow all of them together, nor yet a good prince to seize upon so many honours at one time. 6 But the soldiers had now grown accustomed to appoint their own emperors, often in a disorderly fashion, and also to change them at will, sometimes alleging in their own defence that they had taken action only because they did not know that the senate had named a ruler. 7 For they had chosen as emperors Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Avidius Cassius, and, in earlier years, Lucius Vindex and Lucius Antonius; and they had chosen even Severus too, after the senate had already named Julianus as prince. And thus were sown the seeds of civil wars, in which it necessarily happened that soldiers enlisted to fight against a foreign foe fell at the hands of their brothers. 2 For this reason, then, the senate hastened to bestow all these honours on Alexander at the same time, as though he had long been emperor. 2 To this, moreover, must be added the great desire of the senate and people for Alexander, now that they had been delivered from that scourge who had not only sullied the name of the Antonines but brought shame upon the Roman Empire. 3 Indeed, they vied with one another in bestowing on him all manner of titles and powers. 4 He, then, was the first of all the emperors to receive at one time all insignia and all forms of honour, commended to them, as he was, by the name of Caesar, earned some years previously, but commended still more by his life and morals. He had won great favour, too, from the fact that Elagabalus had tried to slay him, but without success because of the resistance of the soldiers and the opposition of the senate. 5 All these considerations,

however, would have availed him little, had he not shown himself worthy that the senate should honour him, that the soldiers should be eager for his preservation, and the voice of all good citizens name him their prince.

³¹ Alexander, then, the son of Mamaea (for so he is called by many), had been nurtured from his earliest boyhood in all excellent arts, civil and military. Not a single day, indeed, did he allow to pass in which he did not train himself for literature and for military service. ² His teachers were: during his early childhood, Valerius Cordus, Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Philippus (his father's freedman who afterwards wrote his life); ³ while he lived in his native town, the Greek grammarian, Neho, the rhetorician Serapio, and the philosopher Stilio; and when he was at Rome, the grammarian Scaurinus (the son of Scaurinus and a most famous teacher), and the rhetoricians Julius Frontinus, Baebius Macrianus, and Julius Granianus, whose exercises in rhetoric are in use today. In Latin literature, however, he was not very proficient, as is shown by the orations which he delivered in the senate, and also by the speeches which he made before the soldiers or the people. ⁴ And indeed he did not greatly value the power to speak in Latin, although he was very fond of men of letters, fearing them at the same time, lest they might write something harsh about him. ⁵ Indeed, it was his wish that those whom he found worthy of the privilege should be informed of all that he did, both officially and in his private life, and he even gave them information himself if they chanced to be absent at the time, begging them that if it were true, they should include it in their books.

^{4 1} He forbade men to call him *Lord*, and he gave orders that people should write to him as they would to a commoner, retaining only the title Imperator. ² He removed from the imperial footwear and garments all the jewels that had been used by Elagabalus, and he wore a plain white robe without any gold, just as he is always depicted, and ordinary cloaks and togas. ³ He associated with his friends on such familiar terms that he would sit with them as equals, attend their banquets, have some of them as his own daily guests, even when they were not formally summoned, and hold a morning levee like any senator with open curtains and without the presence of ushers, or, at least, with none but those who acted as attendants at the doors, whereas previously it was not possible for people to pay their respects to the emperor for the reason that he could not see them.

⁴ As to his physique, in addition to the grace and the manly beauty still to be seen in his portraits and statues, he had the strength and height of a soldier and the vigour of the military man who knows the power of his body and always maintains it. ⁵ Besides this, he endeared himself to all men; some even called him Pius, but all regarded him as a holy man and one of great value to the state.

6 And when Elagabalus was plotting against him, he received in the temple owing to the Praenestine Goddess the following oracle:

“If ever thou breakest the Fates’ cruel power,
Thou a Marcellus shalt be.”

⁵ ¹ He was given the name Alexander because he was born in a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great in the city of Arca, whither his father and mother had chanced to go on the feast-day of Alexander for the purpose of attending the sacred festival. 2 The proof of this is the fact that this Alexander, the son of Mamaea, celebrated as his birthday that very day on which Alexander the Great departed this life. 3 The name Antoninus was proffered him by the senate, but he refused it, although he was connected with Caracalla by a closer degree of kinship than the spurious Antoninus. 4 For, as Marius Maximus narrates in his Life of Severus, Severus, at that time only a commoner and a man of no great position, married a noble-woman from the East, whose horoscope, he learned, declared that she should be the wife of an emperor; and she was a kinswoman of Alexander, to whom Varius Elagabalus, as a matter of fact, was a cousin on his mother’s side. 5 He refused also the title of “the Great,” which, because he was an Alexander, was offered to him by vote of the senate.

⁶ ¹ It will not be without interest to re read the oration in which Alexander refused the names of Antoninus and “the Great,” which were offered him by the senate. But before I quote it, I will insert the acclamations of the senate, by which these names were decreed. 2 Extract from the City Gazette; On the day before the Nones of March, when the senate met in full session in the Senate-Chamber (that is, in the Temple of Concord, a formally consecrated sanctuary), and when Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus had been requested to proceed thither and, after at first refusing for the reason that he knew that action was to be taken with regard to his titles, had finally appeared before the senate, 3 the following acclamations were uttered: “Augustus, free from all guilt, may the gods keep you! Alexander, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! The gods have given you to us, may the gods preserve you! The gods have rescued you from the hands of the foul man, may the gods preserve you forever! 4 You too have endured the foul tyrant, you too had reason to grieve that the filthy and foul one lived. The gods have cast him forth root and branch, and you have they saved. The infamous emperor has been duly condemned. 5 Happy are we in your rule, happy to is the state. The infamous emperor has been dragged with the hook, as an example of what men should fear; justly punished is the voluptuous emperor, punished justly he who defiled the public honours. May the gods in Heaven grant long life to Alexander! Thus are the judgments of the gods revealed.” 7 And when Alexander had expressed his thanks the acclamations arose again:

“Antoninus Alexander, may the gods keep you! Aurelius Antoninus, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Pius, may the gods keep you! 2 Receive the name Antoninus, we beseech you. Grant to our righteous emperors this boon, that you should be called Antoninus. Purify the name of the Antonines. Purify what he has defiled. Restore to its former glory the name of the Antonines. Let the blood of the Antonines know itself once more. 3 Avenge the wrongs of Marcus. Avenge the wrongs of Verus. Avenge the wrongs of Bassianus. 4 Worse than Commodus is Elagabalus alone. No emperor he, nor Antoninus, nor citizen, nor senator, nor man of noble blood, nor Roman. 5 In you is our salvation, in you our life. That we may have joy in living, long life to Alexander of the house of the Antonines! The temples of the Antonines let an Antoninus consecrate. The Parthians and the Persians let an Antoninus vanquish. 6 The sacred name let the consecrated receive. The sacred name let the pure receive. May the gods remember the name of Antoninus, may the gods preserve the honours of the Antonines! In you are all things, through you are all things. Hail, O Antoninus!”

^{8 1} After these acclamations Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus spoke: “I thank you, O Conscript Fathers, and not now for the first time, both for the name of Caesar and for the life that has been spared to me, and also because you have bestowed on me the name of Augustus, the office of Pontifex Maximus, the tribunician power, and the proconsular command, all of which you have conferred on me without precedent on a single day.” 2 And when he had spoken, they cried out: “These honours you have accepted, now accept also the name Antoninus. 3 Let the senate be deemed worthy of this boon, let the Antonines be deemed worthy. Antoninus Augustus, may the gods keep you, may the gods preserve you as Antoninus! Let the name of Antoninus appear again on our coins. Let an Antoninus consecrate the temples of the Antonines.”

⁴ Then Aurelius Alexander Augustus spoke again: “Do not, I beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, do not force upon me the necessity of so difficult a task, that I should be constrained to do justice to so great a name, when even this very name which I now bear, albeit a foreign one, seems to weigh heavily upon me. 5 For all illustrious names are burdensome indeed. Who, pray, would give the name of Cicero to one who was dumb, or Varro to one who was unlearned, or Metellus to one who was undutiful? And who would endure — though this may the gods forbend! — that the man who failed to live up to the tradition of his name should continue to dwell amid the most illustrious forms of honour?” 9 Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: “How great was the name, or rather the divinity, of the Antonines, Your Clemency remembers well. If you think of righteousness, who more honest than Verus? If of bravery, who more brave than Bassianus? 2 For on Commodus I have no wish to dwell, who was the

more depraved for this very reason, that with those evil ways of his he still held the name of Antoninus. 3 Diadumenianus, moreover, had neither the time nor the years, and it was only through his father's artifice that he seized upon this name." 4 Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: "Surely, not long ago, O Conscript Fathers, when that filthiest of all creatures, both two-footed and four-footed, vaunted the name of Antoninus, and in baseness and debauchery outdid a Nero, a Vitellius, and a Commodus, you remember what groanings arose from all, and how in the gatherings of the populace and of all honourable men there was but a single cry — that he was unworthy to bear the name of Antoninus, and that by such a plague as he that great name was profaned." 5 When he had spoken, there were again acclamations: "May the gods avert such evils! We fear them not with you as our emperor. We are safe from them with you as our leader. You have triumphed over vice, you have triumphed over crime, you have triumphed over dishonour. 6 You will add lustre to the name of Antoninus. We foresee it surely, we foresee it clearly. From your childhood on we have esteemed you, now too we esteem you." 7 Again the Emperor; "It is not that I shrink, O Conscript Fathers, from accepting this revered name merely because I fear that my life may fall into vices which will cause me to feel shame for the name; but I do not desire to take a name which, in the first place, belongs to a house that is no kin to me, and, in the second, I feel assured, will weigh heavily upon me." 10 And when he had spoken, there were acclamations as before. Again he spoke: 2 "If indeed I take the name of Antoninus, I may take also the name of Trajan, the name of Titus, and the name of Vespasian." 3 And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: "As you are now Augustus, so also be Antoninus." Again the Emperor: "I see, O Conscript Fathers, what impels you to bestow upon us this name also. 4 The first Augustus was the first founder of this Empire, and to his name we all succeed, either by some form of adoption or by hereditary claim. Even the Antonines themselves bore the name of Augustus. 5 Likewise the first Antoninus gave his name to Marcus and also to Verus by a process of adoption, while in the case of Commodus it was inherited, in Diadumenianus assumed, in Bassianus simulated, but in Aurelius it would be a mockery." 6 And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: "Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! May the gods in Heaven look with favour upon your modesty, your wisdom, your integrity, your purity! Hence we can see what an emperor you will be, and hence we esteem you. 7 You will be a proof that the senate can choose its rulers with wisdom. You will be a proof that the choice of the senate is the best of all. Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Let Alexander Augustus consecrate the temples of the Antonines. Our 8 Caesar, our Augustus, our

emperor, may the gods keep you! May you be victorious, may you prosper, and may you rule for many years!” 11 Alexander the Emperor spoke: I perceive, O Conscript Fathers, that I have obtained my desire, and I count it as gain, feeling and expressing the deepest gratitude. And I will endeavour to make the name which I bring to this office so famous that it will be coveted by future emperors and be bestowed upon the righteous in testimony of your loyalty.” 2 Thereupon there were acclamations: “O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you! If you have rejected the surname Antoninus, accept then the praenomen of ‘the Great.’ O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you!” 3 And when they had cried this out many times, Alexander Augustus spoke: “It would be easier, O Conscript Fathers, to take the name of the Antonines, for in so doing I should make some concession either to kinship or to a joint possession in that imperial name. 4 But why should I accept the name of ‘the Great’? What great thing have I done? Alexander, indeed, received it after great achievements, and Pompey after great triumphs. 5 Be silent then, O revered Fathers, and do you in your greatness hold me as one of yourselves rather than force upon me the use of the name of ‘the Great.’ “ 12 Thereupon they cried out “Aurelius Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you!” and all the rest in the usual manner.

2 When the senate had adjourned after the transaction of much other business on that same day, the Emperor returned home in the manner of one celebrating a triumph. 3 For he seemed much more illustrious for refusing to receive names which did not belong to him than if he had received them, and he obtained from this refusal a reputation for steadfastness and mature dignity, since, though but one single man, or rather youth, he could not be moved by the persuasions of the entire senate. 4 Nevertheless, although the entreaties of the senate could not persuade him to take the name of either Antoninus or “the Great,” the troops conferred on him the name Severus on account of his great strength of spirit and his marvellous and matchless fortitude in the face of the soldiers’ insolence. 5 This won him profound respect in his own time, and great renown among later generations, especially since it came to pass further that he was given this name on account of his courageous spirit; for he is the only one of whom it is known that he dismissed mutinous legions, as I shall tell at the proper place, and, moreover, inflicted the harshest punishments on soldiers who chanced to commit any deed which could seem unlawful, as we shall also relate in its own place.

^{13.1} The omens that predicted his rule were as follows: First, he was born on the anniversary of that day on which, it is said, Alexander the Great departed this life; secondly, his mother bore him in a temple dedicated to Alexander; and thirdly, he was called by Alexander’s name. Furthermore, a dove’s egg of purple hue, laid the very day he was born, was presented to his mother by an old

woman; and from this the soothsayers prophesied that he would indeed be emperor, but not for long, and that he would speedily succeed to the imperial power. 2 Furthermore, a picture of the Emperor Trajan, which hung over his father's marriage-bed, fell down upon the bed at the time that Alexander was born in the temple. 3 We must add, moreover, that a woman named Olympias acted as his nurse — this was also the name of the mother of Alexander the Great — 4 and it happened by chance that he was reared by a certain peasant named Philip — which was the name of Alexander's father. 5 It is said that on the day after his birth a star of the first magnitude was visible for the entire day at Arca Caesarea, and also that in the neighbourhood of his father's house the sun was encircled with a gleaming ring. 6 And the soothsayers, when they commended his birthday to the favour of the gods, declared that he would some day hold the supreme power, because some sacrificial victims were brought in from a farm of the Emperor Severus, which the tenants had made ready in order to do honour to the Emperor. 7 Also, a laurel sprang up in his house close to a peach-tree, and within a single year it outgrew the peach, and from this the soothsayers predicted that he was destined to conquer the Persians. 14 The night before he was born his mother dreamed that she brought forth a purple snake, 2 and on the same night his father saw himself in a dream carried to the sky on the wings of the Victory of Rome which is in the Senate-Chamber. 3 And when Alexander himself consulted a prophet about his future, being still a small child, he received, it is said, the following verses, 4 and first of all, by the oracle

“Thee doth empire await on earth and in Heaven”

it was understood that he was even to have a place among the deified emperors; then came

“Thee doth empire await which rules an empire”

by which it was understood that he should become ruler of the Roman Empire; for where, save at Rome, is there an imperial power that rules an empire? This same story, too, is related with regard to some Greek verses. 5 Moreover, when at his mother's bidding he turned his attention from philosophy and music to other pursuits, he seemed to be alluded to in the following verses from the Vergil-oracle:

“Others, indeed, shall fashion more gracefully life-breathing bronzes,
Well I believe it, and call from the marble faces more lifelike,
Others more skilfully plead in the court-room and measure out closely
Pathways through Heaven above and tell of the stars in their risings;
Thou, O Roman, remember to rule all the nations with power.
These arts ever be thine: The precepts of peace to inculcate,
Those that are proud to cast down from their seats, to the humbled show

mercy.”

⁶ There were many other portents, too, which made it clear that he was to be the ruler of all mankind.

His eyes were very brilliant and hard to look at for a long time. He was very often able to read thoughts and he had an exceptional memory for facts — though Acholius used to maintain that he was aided by a mnemonic device. ⁷ After he succeeded to the imperial power, while still a boy, he used to do everything in conjunction with his mother, so that she seemed to have an equal share in the rule, a woman greatly revered, but covetous and greedy for gold and silver.

^{15 1} When he began to play the part of emperor, his first acts to remove from their official posts and duties and from all connexion with the government all those judges whom that filthy creature had raised from the lowest class. Next, he purified the senate and the equestrian order; ² then he purified the tribes and the lists of those whose positions depended on the privileges accorded to soldiers, and the Palace, too, and all his own suite, dismissing from service at the court all the depraved and those of ill-repute. And he permitted none save those who were needed to remain in the retinue of the Palace. ³ Then he bound himself by an oath that he would not retain any supernumeraries, that is, any holders of sinecures, his purpose being to relieve the state of the burden of their rations; for he characterized as a public evil an emperor who fed on the vitals of the provincials any men neither necessary nor useful to the commonwealth. ⁴ He issued orders that judges guilty of theft should never appear in any city, and that if they did, they should be banished by the ruler of the province. ⁵ He gave careful attention to the rationing of the troops, and he inflicted capital punishment on tribunes who gave any privileges to soldiers in return for tithes of their rations. ⁶ He issued instructions that the chiefs of the bureaux and those jurists who were most learned and most loyal to himself, of whom the foremost at that time was Ulpian, should examine and arrange in order all state-business and all law-suits, and then submit them to himself.

^{16 1} The respective rights of the people and the privy-purse he provided for in innumerable just laws, and he never formally issued an imperial order save in conjunction with twenty of the most learned jurists and at least fifty men of wisdom who were also skilled in speaking, his purpose being to have in his council as many votes as were requisite to pass a decree of the senate. ² The opinion of a man would be asked and whatever he said written down, but before anyone spoke, he was granted time for inquiry and reflection, in order that he might not be compelled to speak without due thought on matters of great importance. ³ It was his custom, furthermore, when dealing with matters of law

or public business, to summon only those who were learned and skilled in speaking, but when matters of war were discussed, to summon former soldiers and old men who had served with honour and had knowledge of strategic positions, warfare, and camps; and he would also send for all the men of letters, particularly those versed in history, and ask them what action in cases like those under discussion had been taken by previous emperors, either of the Romans or of foreign nations.

^{17 1} Encolpius, with whom Alexander was on most intimate terms, used to say that the Emperor, whenever he saw a thieving judge, had a finger ready to tear out the man's eye; such was his hatred for those whom he found guilty of theft. 2 It is told, furthermore, by Septimius, who has given a good account of Alexander's life, that so great was his indignation at judges, who, although not actually found guilty, yet laboured under the reputation of being dishonest, that, even if he merely chanced to see them, he would vent all the bile of his anger in great perturbation of spirit and with his whole countenance aflame, so that he became unable to speak. 3 Indeed, when a certain Septimius Arabianus, who had been notorious because of accusations of theft, but had been acquitted under Elagabalus, came with the senators to pay his respects to the Emperor, Alexander exclaimed: 4 "O Marna, O Jupiter, O ye gods in Heaven, not only is Arabianus alive, but he comes into the senate, and perhaps he is even hoping for some favour from me; does he consider me so foolish and so stupid?"

In greeting him at his levees it was customary to address him by his name only, that is, "Hail, Alexander". 18 And if any man bowed his head or said aught that was over-polite as a flatterer, he was either ejected, in case the degree of his station permitted it, or else, if his rank could not be subjected to graver affront, he was ridiculed with loud laughter. 2 At his levees he granted an audience to all senators, but even so he admitted to his presence none but the honest and those of good report; and — according to the custom said to be observed in the Eleusinian mysteries, where none may enter save those who know themselves to be guiltless — he gave orders that the herald should proclaim that no one who knew himself to be a thief should come to pay his respects to the emperor, lest he might in some way be discovered and receive capital punishment. 3 Also, he forbade any one to worship him, whereas Elagabalus had begun to receive adoration in the manner of the king of the Persians. 4 Furthermore, he was the originator of the saying that only thieves complain of poverty — their purpose being to conceal the wickedness of their lives. 5 He used also to quote a well known proverb about thieves, using a Greek version which is rendered into Latin thus: "Whoso steals much but gives a little to his judges, he shall go free." The Greek, however, is as follows:

“Who much has thieved, through payment small shall be absolved.”

¹⁹ ¹ He always chose his prefects of the guard subject to the authorization of the senate and the senate actually appointed the prefect of the city. Once he even appointed as second prefect of the guard a man who had tried to avoid the appointment, saying that it was the reluctant and not the seekers of office who should be given positions in the state. ² He never appointed anyone to the senate without consulting all the senators present; for it was his policy that a senator should be chosen only in accordance with the opinions of all, that men of the highest rank should give their testimony, and that, if either those who gave testimony or those who subsequently expressed their opinion had spoken falsely, they should be degraded to the lowest class of citizens, the sentence being carried out without any prospect of mercy, just as if they had been found guilty of fraud. ³ Moreover, he never appointed senators except on the vote of the men of highest rank in the Palace, asserting that he who created a senator should himself be a great man. ⁴ And he would never enrol freedmen in the equestrian order, for he always maintained that this order was the nursery for senators.

²⁰ ¹ So considerate was he that he would never have anyone ordered to stand aside, always showed himself courteous and gracious to all, visited the sick, not merely his friends of the first and second degrees, but also those of lower rank, desired that every man should speak his thoughts freely and heard him when he spoke, and, when he had heard, ordered improvement and reform as the case demanded; ² but if anything was not done well, he would reprove it in person, though without any arrogance or bitterness of spirit. He would grant an audience to any except those whom persistent rumours charged with dishonesty, and he would always make inquiries concerning the absent. ³ Finally, when his mother Mamaea and his wife Memmia, the daughter of Sulpicius, a man of consular rank, and the grand-daughter of Catulus, would often upbraid him for excessive informality, saying, “You have made your rule too gentle and the authority of the empire less respected,” he would reply, “Yes, but I have made it more secure and more lasting.” ⁴ In short, he never allowed a day to pass without doing some kind, some generous, or some righteous deed, and yet he never ruined the public treasury.

²¹ ¹ He gave orders that few sentences should be pronounced, but those that were pronounced he would not reverse. He assigned public revenues to individual communities for the advancement of their own special handicrafts. ² And he loaned out public money on interest at four-per cent, but to many of the poor he even advanced money without interest for the purchase of lands, the loans to be repaid from their profits.

³ His prefects of the guard he would promote to the rank of senator in order

that they might belong to the class of The Illustrious and be so addressed. 4 Previous to his time such promotions had been made rarely, or, if made at all, had been of short duration; indeed — as Marius Maximus says in many of his biographies — whenever an emperor wished to appoint a successor to the prefect of the guard, he merely had a freedman take him a tunic with the broad stripe. 5 Alexander, however, in wishing the prefects to be senators had this end in view, namely, that no one might pass judgment on a Roman senator who was not a senator himself.

6 He knew all about his soldiers, wherever he might be; even in his bed-chamber he had records containing the numbers of the troops and the length of each man's service, and when he was alone he constantly went over their budgets, their numbers, their several ranks, and their pay, in order that he might be thoroughly conversant with every detail. 7 Finally, whenever there was anything to be done in the presence of the soldiers, he could even call many of them by name. 8 He would also make notes about those whom he was to promote and read through each memorandum, actually making a note at the same time both of the date and the name of the man on whose recommendation the promotion was made.

9 He greatly improved the provisioning of the populace of Rome, for, whereas Elagabalus had wasted the grain-supply, Alexander, by purchasing grain at his own expense, restored it to its former status. 22 In order to bring merchants to Rome of their own accord he bestowed the greatest privileges on them, 2 and he established anew the largess of oil which Severus had given to the populace and Elagabalus had reduced when he conferred the prefecture of the grain-supply on the basest. 3 The right of bringing suit, which that same filthy wretch had abrogated, he restored to all. 4 He erected in Rome very many great engineering-works. He respected the privileges of the Jews and allowed the Christians to exist unmolested. 5 He paid great deference to the Pontifices, to the Board of Fifteen, and to the Augurs, even permitting certain cases involving sacred matters, though already decided by himself, to be reopened and presented in a different aspect. 6 Whenever he discovered that the praises accorded to a returning provincial governor were genuine and not the result of intrigue, he would always ask the man to ride in his own carriage with him when on a journey and also help him by means of presents, saying that rogues should be driven from public office and impoverished, but that the upright should be retained and enriched. 7 Once, when the populace of Rome petitioned him for a reduction of prices, he had a herald ask them what kinds of food they considered too dear, and when they cried out immediately “beef and pork” 8 he refused to proclaim a general reduction but gave orders that no one should slaughter a sow

or a suckling-pig, a cow or a calf. As a result, in two years or, in fact, in little more than one year, there was such an abundance of pork and beef, that whereas a pound had previously cost eight minutuli, the price of both these meats was reduced to two and even one per pound.

²³ 1 When soldiers brought charges against their tribunes he would hear them with attention, and whenever he found a tribune guilty, he would punish him in proportion to the degree of his offence, leaving no prospect of pardon. 2 In gathering information about any person he would always use agents whom he could trust, and it was his practice to employ for this purpose men whom no one knew, for he used to say that every man could be bribed. 3 He always had his slaves wear slaves' attire, but his freedmen that of the free-born. 4 He removed all eunuchs from his service and gave orders that they should serve his wife as slaves. 5 And whereas Elagabalus had been the slave of his eunuchs, Alexander reduced them to a limited number and removed them from all duties in the Palace except the care of the women's baths; 6 and whereas Elagabalus had also placed many over the administration of the finances and in procuratorships, Alexander took away from them even their previous positions. 7 For he used to say that eunuchs were a third sex of the human race, one not to be seen or employed by men and scarcely even by women of noble birth. 8 And when one of them sold a false promise in his name and received a hundred aurei from one of the soldiers, he ordered him to be crucified along the road which his slaves used in great numbers on their way to the imperial country-estates.

²⁴ 1 Very many provinces which had previously been governed by legates were transferred by him to the class which was ruled by equestrian governors, and the provinces which were under proconsuls were governed according to the wish of the senate. 2 He forbade the maintenance in Rome of baths used by both sexes — which had, indeed, been forbidden previously but had been allowed by Elagabalus. 3 He ordered that the taxes imposed on procurers, harlots, and catamites should not be deposited in the public treasury, but utilized them to meet the state's expenditures for the restoration of the theatre, the Circus, the Amphitheatre, and the Stadium. 4 In fact, he had it in mind to prohibit catamites altogether — which was afterwards done by Philip — but he feared that such a prohibition would merely convert an evil recognized by the state into a vice practised in private — for men when driven on by passion are more apt to demand a vice which is prohibited. 5 He imposed a very profitable tax on makers of trousers, weavers of linen, glass-workers, furriers, locksmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, and workers in the other crafts, and gave orders that the proceeds should be devoted to the maintenance of the baths for the use of the populace, not only those that he had himself built, but also those that were

previously in existence; 6 he also assigned certain forests as a source of income for the public baths. In addition, he donated oil for the lighting of the baths, whereas previously these were not open before dawn and were closed before sunset.

²⁵ 1 Some writers have maintained in their books that Alexander's reign was without bloodshed. 2 This, however, is not the case, for he was given the name of Severus by the soldiers because of his strictness, 3 and his punishments were in some cases much too harsh.

He restored the public works of former emperors and built many new ones himself, among them the bath which was called by his own name adjacent to what had been the Neronian 4 and also the aqueduct which still has the name Alexandriana. Next to this bath he planted a grove of trees on the site of some private dwellings which he purposed and then tore down. 5 One bath-tub he called "the Ocean" — and he was the first of the emperors to do this, for Trajan had not done this but had merely called his tubs after the different days. 6 The Baths of Antoninus Caracalla he completed and beautified by the addition of a portico. 7 Moreover, he was the first to use the so called Alexandrian marble-work, which is made of two kinds of stone, porphyry and Lacedaemonian marble, and he employed this kind of material in the ornamentation of the open places in the Palace. 8 He set up in the city many statues of colossal size, calling together sculptors from all places. 9 And he had himself depicted on many of his coins in the costume of Alexander the Great, some of these coins being made of electrum but most of them of gold.

¹⁰ He forbade women of evil reputation to attend the levees of his mother and his wife. 11 According to the custom of the ancient tribunes and consuls he made many speeches throughout the city. 26 Thrice he presented a largess to the populace, and thrice a gift of money to the soldiers, and to the populace he also gave meat. 2 He reduced the interest demanded by money-lenders to the rate of four-per cent — in this measure, too, looking out for the welfare of the poor — 3 and in the case of senators who loaned money, he first ordered them not to take any interest at all save what they might receive as a gift, but afterwards permitted them to exact six-per cent, abrogating, however, the privilege of receiving gifts. 4 He placed statues of the foremost men in the Forum of Trajan, moving them thither from all sides.

⁵ He held in especial honour Ulpian and Paulus, whom, some say, Elagabalus made prefects of the guard, others, Alexander himself. 6 Ulpian, it is related, was a member of Alexander's council as well as chief of a bureau, but both of them are said to have sat on the bench with Papinian.

⁷ Alexander also began the Basilica Alexandrina, situated between the Campus

Martius and the Saepta of Agrippa, •one hundred feet broad and one thousand long and so constructed that its weight rested wholly on columns; its completion, however, was prevented by his death. 8 The shrines of Isis and Serapis he supplied with a suitable equipment, providing them with statues, Delian slaves, and all the apparatus used in mystic rites. 9 Toward his mother Mamaea he showed singular devotion, even to the extent of constructing in the Palace at Rome certain apartments named after her (which the ignorant mob of today calls “ad Mammam”) and also near Baiae a palace and a pool, still listed officially under the name of Mamaea. 10 He also built in the district of Baiae other magnificent public works in honour of his kinsmen, and huge pools, besides, formed by letting in the sea. 11 The bridges which Trajan had built he restored almost everywhere, and he constructed new ones, too, but on those that he restored he retained Trajan’s name.

²⁷ 1 It was his intention to assign a peculiar type of clothing to each imperial staff, not only to the various ranks — in order that they might be distinguished by their garments — but also to the slaves as a class — that they might be easily recognized when among the populace and held in check in case of disorder, and also that they might be prevented from mingling with the free-born. 2 This measure, however, was regarded with disapproval by Ulpian and Paulus, who declared that it would cause much brawling in case the men were at all quick to quarrel. 3 Thereupon it was held to be sufficient to make a distinction between Roman knights and senators by means of the width of the purple stripe. 4 But permission was given to old men to wear cloaks in the city as a protection against the cold, whereas previously this kind of garment had not been used except on journeys or in rainy weather. Matrons, on the other hand, were forbidden to wear cloaks in the city but permitted to use them while on a journey.

⁵ He could deliver orations in Greek better than in Latin, he wrote verse that was not lacking in charm, and he had a taste for music. He was expert in astrology, and in accordance with his command astrologers even established themselves officially in Rome and professed their art openly for the purpose of supplying information. 6 He was also well versed in divination, and so skilled an observer of birds was he that he surpassed both the Spanish Vascones and the augurs of the Pannonians. 7 He was a student of geometry, he painted marvellously, and he sang with distinction, though he never allowed any listeners to be present except his slaves. 8 He composed in verse the lives of the good emperors. 9 He could play the lyre, the clarinet, and the organ, and he could even blow the trumpet, but this he never did openly while emperor. Moreover, he was a wrestler of the first rank, 10 and he was great in arms, winning many wars and

with great glory.

^{28 1} He held the regular consulship only three times, merely entering upon the office and on the first legal day always appointing some one else in his place. 2 As a judge he was especially harsh towards thieves, referring to them as guilty of daily crime, and he would pronounce most severe sentences on them, declaring that they were the only real enemies and foes of the state. 3 When a clerk at a meeting of the imperial council brought in a falsified brief of a case, he ordered the tendons of his fingers to be cut, in order that he might never be able to write again, and then banished him. 4 Once a certain man, who had held public office and had at some time been accused of evil living and theft, sought by means of undue intriguing to enter military service and was admitted because he had paid court to certain friendly kings; but immediately thereafter he was detected in a theft, even in the very presence of his patrons, and was ordered to plead his case before the kings, and his guilt being established he was convicted. 5 Thereupon the kings were asked what penalty thieves suffered at their hands, and they replied “the cross,” and at this reply the man was crucified. So not only was the intriguer condemned by his own patrons, but also Alexander’s policy of clemency, which he particularly desired to maintain, was duly upheld.

⁶ In the Forum of Nerva (which they call the Forum Transitorium) he set up colossal statues of the deified emperors, some on foot and nude, others on horseback, with all their titles and with columns of bronze containing lists of their exploits, doing this after the example of Augustus, who erected in his forum marble statues of the most illustrious men, together with the record of their achievements. 7 He wished it to be thought that he derived his descent from the race of the Romans, for he felt shame at being called a Syrian, especially because, on the occasion of a certain festival, the people of Antioch and of Egypt and Alexandria had annoyed him with jibes, as is their custom, calling him a Syrian synagogue-chief and a high priest.

^{29 1} Before I tell of his wars and his campaigns and his victories, I will relate a few details of his private every-day life. 2 His manner of living was as follows: First of all, if it were permissible, that is to say, if he had not lain with his wife, in the early morning hours he would worship in the sanctuary of his Lares, in which he kept statues of the deified emperors — of whom, however, only the best had been selected — and also of certain holy souls, among them Apollonius, and, according to a contemporary writer, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of this same character and, besides, the portraits of his ancestors. 3 If this act of worship were not possible, he would ride about, or fish, or walk, or hunt, according to the character of the place in which he was. 4 Next, if the hour permitted, he would give earnest attention to public business, for all matters both

military and civil, were, as I have said previously, worked over by his friends — who were, however, upright and faithful and never open to bribes — and when they had been thus worked over they were given his endorsement, except when it pleased him to make some alteration. 5 Of course, if necessity demanded it, he would give his attention to public business even before dawn and continue at it up to an advanced hour, never growing weary or giving up in irritation or anger, but always with a serene brow and cheerful in every task. 6 He was, indeed, a man, of great sagacity, and he could not be tricked, and whoever tried to impose on him by some sharp practice was always found out and punished.

³⁰ 1 After the public business, whether military or civil, he would give even greater attention to reading Greek, usually Plato's *Republic*. 2 When he read Latin, there was nothing that he would read in preference to Cicero *on Duties* and *on the State*, but sometimes he would read speeches or the poets, among them Serenus Sammonicus, whom he himself had known and loved, and also Horace. 3 He would read, too, the life of Alexander the Great, whom he particularly sought to resemble, although he always denounced his drunkenness and his brutality toward his friends, in spite of the fact that these vices were denied by trustworthy writers, whom Alexander in most cases believed. 4 After his reading he would devote himself to exercise, either ball-playing or running or some mild wrestling. Then, after having himself rubbed with oil, he would bathe, but rarely, if ever, in a hot bath, for he always used a swimming-pool, remaining in it about an hour; and before he took any food he would drink about a pint of cold water from the Claudian aqueduct. 5 On coming out of the bath he would take a quantity of milk and bread, some eggs, and then a drink of mead. Thus refreshed, he would sometimes proceed to luncheon, sometimes put off eating until the evening meal, but more frequently he took luncheon. 6 And he often partook of Hadrian's tetrapharmacum, which Marius Maximus describes in his work on the life of Hadrian.

³¹ 1 The afternoon hours he always devoted to signing and reading letters. Meanwhile, the heads of the bureaus of the Imperial Correspondence, the Petitions, and the Memoranda would always stand beside him, or occasionally, if unable to stand on account of ill-health, they would be seated, while the secretaries and those who administered the particular bureau re read everything to him; then he would add with his own hand whatever was to be added, but in conformity with the opinion of the man who was regarded as the most expert. 2 After attending to the letters, he would receive his friends, all of them at once, and speak with all equally, and he never received anyone alone except the prefect of the guard, Ulpian that is, who, because he was so pre eminently just, had always been his assistant on the bench. 3 Moreover, whenever he sent for

anyone for a consultation, he would give orders to summon Ulpian also.

⁴ He used to call Vergil the Plato of poets and he kept his portrait, together with a likeness of Cicero, in his second sanctuary of the Lares, where he also had portraits of Achilles and the great heroes. ⁵ But Alexander the Great he enshrined in his greater sanctuary along with the most righteous men and the deified emperors.

^{32 1} He never showed harshness to any of his friends or companions, or, for that matter, to any of the heads of the bureaus or the chiefs of staff. ² Indeed, he would always refer their cases to the prefects of the guard, declaring that if any one deserved harsh treatment from the emperor, he ought to be condemned and not dismissed. ³ Whenever he appointed a successor to anyone in the man's own presence, he would always add, "The State is grateful to you"; he would reward him, too, in order that after his retirement he might live respectably and in keeping with his rank, presenting him with such gifts as lands, cattle, horses, grain, tools, the cost of building a house, marbles for beautifying it, and the labour which the character of the construction demanded. ⁴ He rarely distributed gold or silver except to the soldiers, maintaining that it was a sin for the steward of the state to use for his own pleasures or those of his friends that which was contributed by the people of the provinces. ⁵ But to the city of Rome he remitted the tax on merchants and the crown-gold.

^{33 1} He appointed fourteen overseers of the city of Rome, chosen from among the ex-consuls, and these he commanded to hear city-cases in conjunction with the prefect of the city, ² giving orders that all of them, or at least a majority, should be present whenever the records were made. He also formed guilds of all the wine-dealers, the green-grocers, the boot-makers, and in short, of all the trades, and he granted them advocates chosen from their own numbers and designated the judge to whose jurisdiction each should belong.

³ To actors he never presented either gold or silver, and rarely money. He did away with the costly garments which Elagabalus had provided, and he dressed the soldiers who are called the Paraders, in bright uniforms, not costly, indeed, but elegant. Nor did he ever spend much for their standards or for the royal outfit of gold and silk, declaring that the imperial power was based, not on outward show, but on valour. ⁴ For his own use he re introduced the rough cloaks worn by Severus and tunics without the purple stripe and those with long sleeves and purple ones of small size. ³⁴ Moreover, his banquets were utterly devoid of gold plate, and his goblets were always moderate in size though elegant. And his service of plate never exceeded the weight of two hundred pounds of silver.

² All the dwarfs, both male and female, fools, catamites who had good voices, all kinds of entertainers at table, and actors of pantomimes he made public

property; those, however, who were not of any use were assigned, each to a different town, for support, in order that no one town might be burdened by a new kind of beggars. 3 The eunuchs, whom Elagabalus had had in his base councils and had promoted, he presented to his friends, adding a statement to the effect that if they did not return to honest ways, it should be lawful to put them to death without authority from the courts. 4 Women of ill repute, of whom he arrested an enormous number, he ordered to become public prostitutes, and he deported all catamites, some of them, with whom that scourge had carried on a most pernicious intimacy, being drowned by shipwreck.

⁵ None of his servants ever wore a garment ornamented with gold, not even at a public banquet. 6 When he dined with the members of his household, he would invite Ulpian or some other man of learning, in order to have conversation of a literary character, for this, he used to say, refreshed and nourished him. 7 When he dined in private he would even keep a book on the table and read, usually Greek; Latin poets, however, he used to read also. 8 His state-dinners were conducted with the same simplicity as his private ones, except that the number of covers and the crowd of guests was greatly increased, though this was always displeasing to him, and he would say that he was feeding in a theatre or a circus.

^{35 1} He heard orators and poets with pleasure — not, indeed, when they made laudatory addresses to himself, which, following the example of Pescennius Niger, he considered a foolish custom, but when they recited speeches or the deeds of ancient men of eminence — and with still greater pleasure, when they related the praises of Alexander the Great or of the better emperors of the past, or of the great men of the city of Rome. 2 Moreover, he often resorted to the Athenaeum to hear both Greek and Latin rhetoricians and poets, 3 and he would listen to the orators of the Forum, as they read aloud the pleas which they had already delivered before himself or the city-prefects. 4 And he used to preside at contests, particularly at the Hercules-contest, which was held in honour of Alexander the Great.

⁵ There were certain men that he always refused to see alone in the afternoon or, for that matter, in the morning hours, because he found out that they had said many things about him falsely, and chief among them was Verconius Turinus. 6 For Turinus had been treated by him as an intimate friend, and all the while he had sold favours under false pretences, with the result that he brought Alexander's rule into disrepute, for he made the Emperor seem a mere fool whom he, Turinus, had completely in his power and could persuade to do anything; in this way he made all believe that the Emperor did everything at his beck and call. 36 He was finally caught, however, by the following trick: A certain man was deputed to present a petition to the Emperor publicly, but

secretly to ask Turinus, as it were for protection, namely, that he would privately plead with Alexander in his behalf. 2 All this was done, and Turinus promised him his support and later told him that he had said certain things to the Emperor (whereas in reality he had said nothing at all), and that it now depended on him alone whether or not the request would be granted; he then offered a favourable decision in return for money. And when Alexander ordered the petitioner to be summoned for a second hearing, Turinus, though apparently occupied in doing something else, signalled to the man by nodding his head, but said nothing to him in the room; then his petition was granted, and Turinus, in return for a favour sold under false pretences, received a huge reward from the successful petitioner. Thereupon Alexander ordered him to be indicted, and when all the charges had been proved by witnesses, of whom some were present and saw what Turinus had received and others heard what he had promised, he issued instructions to bind him to a stake in the Forum Transitorium. Then he ordered a fire of straw and wet logs to be made and had him suffocated by the smoke, and all the while a herald cried aloud, "The seller of smoke is punished by smoke." 3 And in order that it might not be thought that he was too cruel in thus punishing one single offence, he made a careful investigation before sentencing Turinus, and found that when selling a decision in a law-suit he had often taken money from both parties, and that he had also accepted bribes from all who had obtained appointments to commands or provinces.

³⁷¹ He used to attend the public spectacles, but he was very niggardly in giving presents, saying that the actors and wild-beast hunters and chariot-drivers should be treated as if they were our slaves, or huntsmen, or grooms, or ministers to our pleasure. 2 His banquets were neither sumptuous nor yet too frugal, but always characterized by the greatest good-taste. None but white napkins were used, though they often had a scarlet stripe; but they were never embroidered in gold, though these had been introduced by Elagabalus, and even before his time, they say, by Hadrian. 3 The daily provision for his table was as follows: thirty pints of wine for a whole day, thirty pounds of bread of the first quality, and fifty pounds of bread of the second quality used for giving away — 4 for he always gave away to his table-servants not only bread but also portions of greens or meat or vegetables, all with his own hand, playing the part of the father of a household with all the maturity of an old man. 5 The provision further included thirty pounds of various meats and two fowls. 6 On feast-days, however, a goose was served, and a pheasant on the Kalends of January and also during the Hilaria of the Great Mother, the Games of Apollo, the Feast of Jupiter, the Saturnalia, and other festivals of this kind, and sometimes even a brace was brought in besides the two fowls. 7 He had a hare every day and often game, but this he would

share with his friends, chiefly those whom he knew to have none of their own. 8 For he never gave any of these gifts to the rich, though he was always ready to receive presents from them. 9 Every day he had four pints of mead without pepper and two with pepper. In short, lest it be too tedious to give an account of all that he ate, which has been done in great detail by Gargilius, a contemporary writer, everything was served to him in due measure and according to reason. 10 But he was inordinately fond of fruit and usually had it served to him as dessert; hence arose the witticism that Alexander had, not a second course, but a second meal. 11 He himself would consume the greatest amount of food and he would drink wine neither too sparingly nor yet in large quantities, but nevertheless in fair amounts. 12 He always drank pure cold water as well, but in summer he would add wine flavoured with essence of roses — the only one of Elagabalus's various kinds of flavourings that he retained.

³⁸ 1 Now — since mention has been made of hares — his custom of having a hare every day gave rise to a witticism in verse; for many say that those who have eaten a hare are beautiful for the next seven days, and this belief is also indicated in an epigram of Martial's directed at a woman named Gellia as follows:

2 "When you send me a hare, dear Gellia, you send me a message plain:
'For the next seven days, dear Marcus, a beautiful man you'll remain.'
If you tell me the truth, dear Gellia, if you send me a promise fair,
You have never yourself, dear Gellia, *you* have never eaten a hare."

3 These verses, however, Martial wrote to a woman who was ugly, but a poet of Alexander's time wrote to him the following:

4 "If you see our king is fair,
Fair the child of Syrian race,
'Tis the hunt and meals of hare
Give him everlasting grace."

5 And when one of his friends brought him these lines, he replied, it is said, in Greek verses to the following effect:

6 "Since you think your king is fair,
Fool, by vulgar stories taught,
I'm not angry — if you're right.
But I wish *you*'d eat a hare
And remove your ugly thought;
Cease to hate the fair with spite."

³⁹ 1 When he had with him friends of the military class he would observe a custom which Trajan had introduced, namely, that of drinking after the dessert as many as five goblets; he, however, would serve his friends one goblet only, to be

drunk in honour of Alexander the Great, and it was a rather small one too, though it was always permissible to ask openly for a larger one. 2 In the enjoyment of love he was temperate, and he would have nothing to do with catamites, in fact, he even wished to have a law passed, as I have said before, doing away with them altogether.

³ He built a public store-house in each region of the city, and to this anyone who had no store-house of his own might take his property. He built a bath, too in every region which happened to have none, ⁴ and even today many of these are still called Alexander's. 5 And he also constructed magnificent dwellings and presented them to his friends, especially to the upright.

⁶ The taxes paid to the state were so reduced that those whose tax under Elagabalus had amounted to ten aurei now paid a third of an aureus, a thirtieth, that is, of their former tax. 7 Then for the first time half-aurei were minted, and also third-aurei, after the tax had been reduced to this amount; and Alexander declared that quarter-aurei too would be issued — for he could not issue a smaller coin. 8 And he did indeed coin these, but kept them in the mint, waiting to issue them until he could reduce the tax; however, when this proved impossible because of the needs of the state, he had them melted down and issued only third-aurei and solidi. 9 He also melted down the pieces of two, three, four, and ten aurei, and the coins of larger denominations even up to the value of a pound and of a hundred aurei — which had been introduced by Elagabalus — and so withdrew them from circulation. 10 The coins made therefrom were designated only by the name of the metal itself, for, as he himself said, it would result in the emperor's giving too generous largesses, if, when it were possible for him to bestow many pieces of smaller value, he should be compelled to bestow thirty or fifty or a hundred by giving the value of ten or more in a single piece.

⁴⁰ ¹ He himself had very few silk garments, and he never wore one that was wholly silk or gave away one that was even partly silk. He envied no man his wealth. 2 He gave aid to the poor; and in the case of men who had held public office, when he saw that their poverty was genuine, and not simulated or due to extravagance, he would always help them with many useful gifts, such as lands, slaves, draught-animals, herds, and farm-implements. 3 He always kept his robes in his treasury for a year and then ordered them to be given away at once. Every garment that he gave away he inspected in person. He would give away all his gold and silver, and very frequently too. 5 He would also give away equipment for the troops, such as leggings, trousers, and boots. 6 He would always insist most rigorously on having purple of the brightest hue, not for his own use but for that of matrons, in case they were able or eager to have it, and in any case with a

view to having it put on sale; and even today that purple is still called Alexandrian, which is commonly spoken of as Probian merely because Aurelius Probus, the superintendent of the dye-works, invented this kind of dye. 7 He himself usually wore a scarlet cloak, but when in Rome and the cities of Italy he was always dressed in the toga. 8 On the other hand, he never assumed the bordered or the gold-embroidered toga except when consul, and then it was always the one which was brought out from the temple of Jupiter and assumed by all the other praetors and consuls. 9 He also assumed the bordered toga when he performed sacrifices, but then only as pontifex maximus, and not as emperor. 10 He was always eager to get good linen, without any purple in it, for he used to say, "If these garments are made of linen in order to prevent their being rough, what is the use of having purple in the linen?" 11 And as for inserting gold threads, he deemed it madness, since in addition to being rough they also made the garment stiff. He always wore bands on his legs, and he used white trousers, not scarlet ones, as had formerly been the custom.

⁴¹ 1 All the jewels that he had he sold and the proceeds he deposited in the public treasury, saying that men had no need of jewels, and that the women of the royal household should be content with one hair-net, a pair of earrings, a necklace of pearls, a diadem to wear while sacrificing, a single cloak ornamented with gold, and one robe with an embroidered border, not to contain more than six ounces of gold. 2 In every way he exercised a censorship on the customs of his age quite in keeping with his own manner of life, for illustrious men followed his example and noble matrons that of his wife. 3 The palace-servants were so reduced in number that in each department there were no more than absolute necessity demanded; and the fullers, the tailors, the bakers, the cup-bearers, and all the court-servants were granted rations but not any official rank, as had been the practice of that scourge, and only single rations too, rarely double ones. 4 And since he never had more than two hundred pounds of silver-plate in his table service, and a correspondingly small number of servants, when he gave banquets he would borrow from his friends silver-plate, servants, and couch-covers — a custom still in vogue to day when the prefects give banquets in the emperor's absence. 5 He never had dramatic entertainments at his banquets, but his chief amusement consisted in having young dogs play with little pigs, or partridges fight with one another, or tiny little birds fly about to and fro. 6 He did have one kind of amusement in the Palace which gave him the greatest pleasure and afforded him relief from the cares of state; 7 for he arranged aviaries of pea-fowl, pheasants, hens, ducks, and partridges, and from these he derived great amusement, but most of all from his doves, of which he had, it is said, as many as twenty thousand. And in order that the food for these might not become a

burden to the grain-supply, he had slaves to provide the necessary income, who maintained the doves on the proceeds of the eggs and the squabs and the young birds.

⁴² ¹ He frequently used the public baths in company with the populace, especially in summer, using both those built by himself and the older ones, and he would return to the Palace in his bathing-costume, retaining only this much of the emperor, namely, that he put on a scarlet cloak. ² As runners he had none but slaves, for he said that a free-born man ought not to run except in a contest held in honour of a god; and he had none but slaves as cooks, bakers, fullers, and bath-keepers, buying more if there was any lack. ³ During his reign only one palace-physician received a salary, while all the others, of whom there were never more than six, received double or triple rations, one being of the finest kind, the others of different quality. ⁴ Whenever he advanced judicial officers he provided them, after the custom of the ancients (described also by Cicero), with silver and all needed equipment, providing a provincial governor with twenty pounds of silver, six she-mules, a pair of mules, a pair of horses, two garments for use in the forum, two for use at home, and one for the bath, one hundred aurei, one cook, one muleteer, and a concubine in the case of a man who had no wife and could not live without a woman. Of these, the mules and the horses, the muleteer and the cook were to be returned when the governor laid down his office; the rest, however, he might keep if he had governed well, but if ill, he must return them fourfold and also undergo the punishment imposed for embezzlement or extortion.

⁴³ ¹ He enacted laws without number. He permitted every senator to use a carriage in the city and to have a coach ornamented with silver, thinking that it enhanced the dignity of Rome that these should be used by the senators of so great a city. ² In appointing consuls, either regular or substitute, he always asked for the opinion of the senate; he reduced their expenses, furthermore, and arranged for the days of their entry into office in accordance with the ancient system. ³ He issued an order that a quaestor who was the nominee of the emperor should give games to the people at his own expense, but with the understanding that after the quaestorship he was to receive a praetorship and then govern a province; ⁴ ordinary quaestors, on the other hand, were authorized to pay for their games — which were less lavish — out of the revenues of the privy-purse. And it was his intention to have the games given at regular intervals throughout the whole year, in order that the people might have a spectacle every thirty days, but this plan, for some unknown reason, was never carried out. ⁵ Every seven days, when he was in the city, he went up to the Capitolium, and he visited the other temples frequently. ⁶ He also wished to build a temple to Christ

and give him a place among the gods — a measure, which, they say, was also considered by Hadrian. For Hadrian ordered a temple without an image to be built in every city, and because these temples, built by him with this intention, so they say, are dedicated to no particular deity, they are called today merely Hadrian's temples. 7 Alexander, however, was prevented from carrying out this purpose, because those who examined the sacred victims ascertained that if he did, all men would become Christians and the other temples would of necessity be abandoned.

⁴⁴ 1 He was very kindly in his jests, agreeable in his conversation, and generous at his banquets, so much so, in fact, that anyone might ask for whatever he wished. 2 He was diligent in amassing gold, careful in keeping it, and zealous in procuring it, and he never put any one to death. 3 He did not like to be called a Syrian and asserted that his ancestors were Romans, and he had his family-tree depicted, showing that he was descended from the Metelli.

⁴ To rhetoricians, grammarians, physicians, soothsayers, astrologers, engineers, and architects he paid regular salaries and assigned lecture-rooms, and he ordered rations to be given to their pupils, provided these were sons of poor men and free-born. 5 Also in the provinces he granted many privileges to pleaders in the courts, and to some, whom he appointed to plead cases without remuneration, he even gave rations. 6 The laws governing literary contests he made more stringent, always observing them most scrupulously himself, and he frequently attended performances in the theatre. 7 He planned to repair the Theatre of Marcellus, 8 and in many cities, which had been rendered unsightly by earthquakes, he made an appropriation from the public revenues to pay for the restoration of both public and private buildings. 9 But to temples he never made donations of more than four or five pounds of silver, and of gold not even a mite or the thinnest leaf, and he was even heard to murmur a line of Persius Flaccus:

“What place has gold in sanctuaries?”

⁴⁵ 1 He conducted military expeditions, which I shall describe in their proper place. But first I will tell of his way of dealing with matters to be kept secret or announced publicly. 2 He always kept secret the plan for a campaign, but announced openly the length of each day's march; and he would even issue a proclamation two months beforehand, in which was written, “On such and such a day, and at such and such an hour, I shall depart from the city, and, if the gods so will, I shall tarry at the first halting-place.” Then were listed in order all the halting-places, next the camping-stations, and next the places where provisions were to be found, for the whole length of the march as far as the boundaries of the barbarians' country. 3 From here on everything was kept secret and all took

every precaution to keep the barbarians in ignorance of the plans of the Romans. 4 It is certain, moreover, that he never practised any deception in anything that he announced publicly, for he declared that he would not allow the palace-officials to sell his plans, as had been done under Elagabalus, when everything was sold by the eunuchs — 5 a class of men who desire that all the palace-affairs should be kept secret, solely in order that they alone may seem to have knowledge of them and thus possess the means of obtaining influence or money.

⁶ Now since we happen to have made mention of his practice of announcing his plans publicly — whenever Alexander desired to name any man governor of a province, or make him an officer in the army, or appoint him a procurator, that is to say, a revenue-officer, he always announced his name publicly and charged the people, in case anyone wished to bring an accusation against him, to prove it by irrefutable evidence, declaring that anyone who failed to prove his charge should suffer capital punishment. 7 For, he used to say, it was unjust that, when Christians and Jews observed this custom in announcing the names of those who were to be ordained priests, it should not be similarly observed in the case of governors of provinces, to whose keeping were committed the fortunes and lives of men. 46 Furthermore, the assistants of the governors were granted regular salaries, though he often said that only those men ought to be promoted who could carry on the administration of the state by their own efforts and did not need the aid of assistants, adding that soldiers had their own particular sphere, and scholars theirs, and that accordingly it was the duty of every man to do whatever he could.

² Treasure-trove he always gave to the finders, and if these were numerous he would include among them the officials of his various departments. 3 He always remembered and wrote down the names of those to whom he had granted some favour, and if he knew that there was a man who had not asked for something, or at any rate not much, which would cause his expenses to increase, he would call him and say, “Why is it, that you do not ask for some present? Is it because you wish me to be your debtor? ask for something, then, that you may not, by remaining a private citizen, have cause to complain of me.” 4 When he granted favours, moreover, he would grant those which would not damage his reputation, such as, for instance, the property of those who had suffered punishment, but never the gold or the silver or the jewels, for all these he deposited in the public treasury; or he would grant civil offices, but never military, or else those posts which had to do with the collection of the revenues. 5 His revenue-officers he would change frequently, and none held office for longer than a year; and even if the officers were upright, he detested them and referred to them as a necessary evil. And when he appointed governors of provinces, proconsuls, or legates, it

was never as a favour but solely on the basis of his own judgment or that of the senate.

⁴⁷ 1 During his campaigns he made such careful provision for the soldiers that they were furnished with supplies at each halting-place and were never compelled to carry food for the usual period of seventeen days, except in the enemy's country. And even then he lightened their burdens by using mules and camels, saying that he was more concerned for the soldiers' welfare than for his own, for on them depended the safety of the state. 2 When any of the soldiers were ill he would visit them personally in their tents, even those of the lowest rank, and have them carried in carts and provided with every necessity; 3 and if by any chance they grew worse, he would quarter them on the most upright house-holders or highly esteemed matrons in the cities and the country-districts, paying back the expenses which they incurred, whether they recovered or died.

⁴⁸ 1 Once, when a certain Ovinus Camillus, a senator of ancient family but very pleasure-loving, made plans to rebel and seize the throne, and this was reported to Alexander and forthwith proved, he summoned him to the Palace and thanked him for voluntarily offering to assume the responsibility for the state, which had been imposed on many a good man against his will. 2 Then he proceeded to the senate and greeted as partner in the imperial power this trembling wretch now overcome with weakness at the realization of his guilt. Next, he conducted him to the Palace, invited him to a banquet, and presented him with the imperial insignia, of a better quality, even, than his own. 3 Later, when an expedition against the barbarians was announced, he urged him either to set forth on his own responsibility, did he so desire, or to proceed in company with himself. 4 And since he himself travelled on foot, he invited Camillus to share his labours, but when the man fell behind after five miles, he bade him ride a horse, and again, when after two days' journey he was tired out by riding, he had him put in a carriage. 5 And when Camillus refused even this, either through fear or in sincerity, and even resigned his power and made ready to die, Alexander sent him away, commending him to the soldiers, by whom he himself was singularly beloved, and bidding him go in safety to his country-estate. 6 Here he lived for a long time, but afterwards he was put to death by the Emperor's command, and, because he was a soldier, he was put to death by soldiers. The common crowd, I know, ascribes this incident, which I have just related, to Trajan, but Marius Maximus has not published it in his Life of Trajan, nor yet Fabius Marcellinus or Aurelius Verus or Statius Valens, all of whom have written accounts of Trajan's entire life. 7 On the other hand, Septimius and Acholius and Encolpius and his other biographers have related just such stories as this about Alexander, 8 and I have included this one here in order that no one may accept common rumour

rather than real history, which at least will be found more authentic than the talk of the crowd.

⁴⁹ 1 The right of wearing the sword he would never allow to be sold, for he said: “It must inevitably happen that he who buys will also sell, and I will not tolerate traffickers in offices or men on whom, if they should plunder, I could not impose sentence. For I blush at the thought that a man who buys and sells should be able to inflict punishment.” 2 The office of pontifex and also membership in the College of Fifteen and the augurship he bestowed by imperial mandate, but always on condition that the appointment be ratified by the senate.

³ Dexippus has related that Alexander married the daughter of a certain Macrinus and that he gave this man the name of Caesar; 4 moreover, that when Macrinus tried to kill him by treachery, Alexander, on detecting the plot, not only put Macrinus to death but also divorced his wife. 5 The same writer says also that Antoninus Elagabalus was the uncle of Alexander, and not the son of his mother’s sister. 6 And when the Christians took possession of a certain place, which had previously been public property, and the keepers of an eating-house maintained that it belonged to them, Alexander rendered the decision that it was better for some sort of a god to be worshipped there than for the place to be handed to the keepers of an eating-house.

⁵⁰ 1 And so, after showing himself such a great and good emperor at home and abroad, he embarked upon a campaign against the Parthians; and this he conducted with such discipline and amid such respect, that you would have said that senators, not soldiers, were passing that way. 2 Wherever the legions directed their march, the tribunes were orderly, the centurions modest, and the soldiers courteous, and as for Alexander himself, because of these many great acts of consideration, the inhabitants of the provinces looked up to him as to a god. 3 And the soldiers too loved their youthful emperor like a brother, or a son, or a father; for they were respectably clad, well shod, even to the point of elegance, excellently armed, and even provided with horses and suitable saddles and bridles, so that all who saw the army of Alexander immediately realized the power of Rome. 4 In short, he made every effort to appear worthy of his name and even to surpass the Macedonian king, and he used to say that there should be a great difference between a Roman and a Macedonian Alexander. 5 Finally, he provided himself with soldiers armed with silver shields and with golden, and also a phalanx of thirty thousand men, whom he ordered to be called phalangarii, and with these he won many victories in Persia. This phalanx, as a matter of fact, was formed from six legions, and was armed like the other troops, but after the Persian wars received higher pay.

⁵¹ 1 Gifts presented to him by kings he would always dedicate in a temple, but

the jewels that were given to him he sold, maintaining that jewels were for women and that they should not be given to a soldier or be worn by a man. 2 And when one of his legates presented to the Emperor's wife through Alexander himself two pearls of great weight and uncommon size, he ordered them to be sold. 3 But when no offer could be found, fearing that a bad example might be set by the queen, were she to wear jewels too costly to find a buyer, he dedicated them to Venus for earrings.

⁴ He always treated Ulpian as his guardian — a fact which called forth, first the opposition of his mother, but, later, her gratitude — and he frequently protected him from the soldiers' ill will by sheltering him under his own purple robe. In fact, it was because he ruled chiefly in accordance with Ulpian's advice that he was so excellent an emperor.

⁵ When in the field or on a campaign he lunched and dined in an open tent and ate the soldiers' ordinary food in the sight of all and greatly to their pleasure; and he used to go about to all the tents and never permitted anyone to be absent from the colours. 6 Moreover, if any man turned aside from the road into someone's private property, he was punished in the Emperor's presence according to the character of his rank, either by the club or by the rod or by condemnation to death, or, if his rank placed him above all these penalties, by the sternest sort of a rebuke, the Emperor saying, "Do you desire this to be done to your land which you are doing to another's?" 7 He used often to exclaim what he had heard from someone, either a Jew or a Christian, and always remembered, and he also had it announced by a herald whenever he was disciplining anyone, 8 "What you do not wish that a man should do to you, do not do to him." And so highly did he value this sentiment that he had it written up in the Palace and in public buildings.

^{52 1} Once, on learning that a soldier had maltreated an old woman, he dismissed the man from the service and gave him to the woman as a slave, in order that he might support her, for he was a waggon-maker. And when the soldiers grumbled at this action, he persuaded them all to submit quietly and actually frightened them. 2 His rule, though harsh and stern, was called bloodless for the reason that he never put a senator to death — or so Herodian, a Greek writer, declares in his history of his own times. 3 Moreover, so stern was he toward the soldiers that frequently he discharged entire legions, addressing the men as "Citizens" instead of "Soldiers"; and he never felt any fear of his troops, for it could not be said as a criticism of his character that his tribunes or generals ever took tithes out of the soldiers' pay, his motto being: "A soldier is not to be feared if he is clothed and armed and shod, and has a full stomach and something in his money-belt." And this was because poverty in a soldier drove him, when in arms, to every

desperate deed. 4 Last of all, he did not permit the tribunes and generals to use soldiers as their servants, and he gave orders that four soldiers should walk in front of a tribune, six in front of a general, and ten in front of a legate, and that they should take their men into their quarters.

⁵³ 1 Now in order to show his strictness I have thought it right to insert one military harangue, which reveals his methods of dealing with the troops. 2 After his arrival in Antioch the soldiers began to use their leisure in the women's baths and the other pleasures, but when Alexander learned of it he ordered all who did so to be arrested and thrown into chains. 3 When this was made known, a mutiny was attempted by that legion whose members were put in chains. 4 Thereupon, after bringing all those who had been thrown into chains to the tribunal, he mounted the platform, and, with the soldiers standing about him, and that too in arms, he began as follows: 5 "Fellow-soldiers, if, in spite of all, such acts as have been committed by your comrades are to you displeasing, the discipline of our ancestors still governs the state, and if this is weakened, we shall lose both the name and empire of the Romans. 6 For never shall such things be done in my reign which were but recently done under that filthy monster. 7 Soldiers of Rome, your companions, my comrades and fellow-soldiers, are whoring and drinking and bathing and, indeed, conducting themselves in the manner of the Greeks. Shall I tolerate this longer? Shall I not deliver them over to capital punishment?" 8 Thereupon an uproar arose. And again he spoke: "Will you not silence that shouting, needed indeed against the foe in battle but not against your emperor? 9 Of a certainty, your drill-masters have taught you to use this against Sarmatians, and Germans, and Persians, but not against him who gives you rations presented by the men of the provinces, and who gives you clothing and pay. 10 Therefore cease from this fierce shouting, needed only on the battle-field and in war, lest I discharge you all today with one speech and with a single word, calling you "Citizens." But I know not whether I should even call you Citizens; 11 for you are not worthy to be members of the populace of Rome, if you do not observe Rome's laws." 54 And when they clamoured still more loudly and even threatened him with their swords, he continued: "Put down your hands, which, if you are brave men, you should raise against the foe, for such things do not frighten me. 2 For if you slay me, who am but one man, the state and the senate and the Roman people will not lack someone to take vengeance for me upon you." 3 And when they clamoured none the less at this, he shouted, "Citizens, withdraw, and lay down your arms." 4 Then in a most marvellous fashion they laid down their arms and also their military coats, and all withdrew, not to the camp, but to various lodgings. 5 And on that occasion, particularly, it was seen how much could be accomplished by his strictness and discipline. 6 Finally, his

attendants and those who stood about his person carried the standards back to the camp, and the populace gathering up the arms bore them to the Palace. 7 However, thirty days afterwards, before he set out on the campaign against the Persians, he was prevailed upon to restore the discharged legion to its former status; and it was chiefly through its prowess in the field that he won the victory. Nevertheless, he inflicted capital punishment on its tribunes because it was through their negligence that the soldiers had revelled at Daphne or else with their connivance that the troops had mutinied.

⁵⁵ 1 And so, having set out from there against the Persians with a great array, he defeated Artaxerxes, a most powerful king. In this battle he himself commanded the flanks, urged on the soldiers, exposed himself constantly to missiles, performed many brave deeds with his own hand, and by his words encouraged individual soldiers to praiseworthy actions. 2 At last he routed and put to flight this great king, who had come to the war with seven hundred elephants, eighteen hundred scythed chariots, and many thousand horsemen. Thereupon he immediately returned to Antioch and presented to his troops the booty taken from the Persians, commanding the tribunes and generals and even the soldiers to keep for themselves the plunder they had seized in the country. 3 Then for the first time Romans had Persian slaves, but because the kings of the Persians deem it a disgrace that any of their subjects should serve anyone as slaves, ransoms were offered, and these Alexander accepted and then returned the men, either giving the ransom-money to those who had taken the slaves captive, or depositing it in the public treasury.

⁵⁶ 1 After this, returning to Rome, he conducted a most splendid triumph and then first of all addressed the senate in the following speech: 2 From the transactions of the senate for the seventh day before the Kalends of October: "Conscript Fathers, we have conquered the Persians. There is no need of lengthy rhetoric; you should know, however, this much, namely, what their arms were, and what their array. 3 First of all, there were seven hundred elephants provided with turrets and archers and great loads of arrows. Of these we captured thirty, we have left two hundred slain upon the field, and we have led eighteen in triumph. 4 Moreover, there were scythed chariots, one thousand eight hundred in number. Of these we could have presented to your eyes two hundred, of which the horses have been slain, but since they could easily be counterfeited we have refrained from so doing. 5 One hundred and twenty thousand of their cavalry we have routed, ten thousand of their horsemen clad in full mail, whom they call cuirassiers, we have slain in battle, and with their armour we have armed our own men. We have captured many of the Persians and have sold them into slavery, 6 and we have re conquered the lands which lie between the rivers, those

of Mesopotamia I mean, abandoned by that filthy monster. 7 Artaxerxes, the most powerful of kings, in fact as well as in name, we have routed and driven from the field, so that the land of the Persians saw him in full flight, and where once our ensigns were led away in triumph, there the king himself fled apace leaving his own standards. 8 These are our achievements, Conscript Fathers, and there is no need of rhetoric. Our soldiers have come back enriched, and in victory no one remembers his hardships. 9 It is now your part to decree a general thanksgiving, that we may not seem to the gods to be ungrateful.” Then followed the acclamations of the senate: “Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Parthicus in truth, Persicus in truth. We behold your trophies, we behold your victories too. 10 Hail to the youthful Emperor, the Father of his Country, the Pontifex Maximus! Through you we foresee victory on every hand. He conquers who can rule his soldiers. Rich is the senate, rich the soldiers and rich the Roman people! 57 Thereupon he dismissed the senate and went up to the Capitolium, and then, after offering sacrifices and dedicating the tunics of the Persians in the temple, he delivered the following address: “Fellow-citizens, we have conquered the Persians. We have brought back the soldiers laden with riches. To you we promise a largess, and to morrow we will give games in the Circus in celebration of our victory over the Persians.”

² All this we have found both in the annals and in many writers. Some assert, however, that he was betrayed by one of his slaves and did not conquer the king at all, but, on the contrary, was forced to flee in order to escape being conquered. 3 But those who have read most of the writers are sure that this assertion is contrary to the general belief. It is also stated that he lost his army through hunger, cold, and disease, and this is the version given by Herodian, but contrary to the belief of the majority.

⁴ After this, with the greatest glory and accompanied by the senate, the equestrian order, and the whole populace, with the women and children, particularly the wives of the soldiers, crowding about him on every side, he went up on foot to the Palace, while behind him four elephants drew his triumphal chariot. 5 And the populace kept lifting him up in their arms, and for four hours they scarcely permitted him to put his foot to the ground, while on all sides they kept shouting out, “Secure is Rome, secure is the commonwealth, for secure is Alexander.” 6 On the following day he gave games in the Circus and spectacles on the stage, and immediately thereafter he presented a largess to the Roman people. 7 And he founded an order of girls and boys, to be called Mamaeanae and Mamaeani, as Antoninus had founded the Faustinianae.

^{58 1} Other victories also were won — in Mauretania Tingitana by Furius Celsus, in Illyricum by Varius Macrinus, Alexander’s kinsman, and in Armenia by

Junius Palmatus, and from all these places laurelled letters were sent to Alexander. When these had been read, on different occasions, before the senate and the people and wished-for tidings had arrived from Isauria also, honorary cognomina taken from the names of all these lands were conferred on the Emperor. 2 Moreover, those who had won success in the administration of the state received the consular insignia, with the addition of priestly offices and grants of land for any who were poor and now burdened with age. 3 The captives taken from the various nations, if their childhood or youth permitted it, were given to the Emperor's friends, but those who were of royal blood or noble rank were enrolled for warfare, though not for any of great importance. 4 The lands taken from the enemy were presented to the leaders and soldiers of the frontier-armies, with the provision that they should continue to be theirs only if their heirs entered military service, for, he said, men serve with greater zeal if they are defending their own lands too. 5 He added to these lands, of course, both draught-animals and slaves, in order that they might be able to till what they had received, and that it might not come to pass that, through a lack of inhabitants or the old age of the owners, the lands bordering on the country of the barbarians should be left uninhabited, for this, he thought, would be most discreditable.

⁵⁹ 1 After this he was regarded with the greatest affection by both the populace and the senate, and when he set out for the war against the Germans, though all hoped for victory, they were unwilling to let him depart and escorted him on his way for a distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. 2 It was, indeed, a very grave matter both for the state and for himself that Gaul should be plundered by German inroads, 3 and his sense of humiliation was increased by the thought that now that the Parthians had been defeated a nation should still be hanging over the neck of the commonwealth, which, even under insignificant emperors, had seemed to be in a state of subjection. 4 Therefore he hastened against the enemy by long marches, and the soldiers, too, were eager. But on his arrival he found that there also the legions were ready to mutiny, and accordingly he ordered them to be disbanded. 5 The Gallic temper, however, which is rough and surly and frequently a source of danger to emperors, would not brook his excessive strictness, which seemed all the greater after Elagabalus. 6 And finally, while he was in quarters with a few men in Britain, or, according to some, in Gaul, in a village named Sicilia, some soldiers murdered him. This was not done in response to any general sentiment but rather as the act of an assassin, the ringleaders being men who had thriven on the gifts of Elagabalus and would not tolerate a stricter prince. 7 Many, indeed, relate that he was slain by some recruits despatched by Maximinus (to whom they had been assigned for their training), and many others give different accounts. 8 Nevertheless, it is generally

agreed that those who killed him were soldiers, for they hurled many insults at him, speaking of him as a child and of his mother as greedy and covetous.

⁶⁰ 1 He ruled for thirteen years and nine days, and he lived for twenty-nine years, three months, and seven days. 2 He did everything in accordance with his mother's advice, and she was killed with him.

³ The omens portending his death were as follows: When he was praying for a blessing for his birthday the victim escaped, all covered with blood, and, as he was standing in the crowd dressed in the clothes of a consideration, it stained the white robe which he wore. 4 In the Palace in a certain city from which he was setting out to the war, an ancient laurel-tree of huge size suddenly fell at full length. 5 Also three fig-trees, which bear the kind of figs known as Alexandrian, fell suddenly before his tent-door, for they were close to the Emperor's quarters. 6 Furthermore, as he went to war a Druid prophetess cried out in the Gallic tongue, "Go, but do not hope for victory, and put no trust in your soldiers." 7 And when he mounted a tribunal in order to make a speech and say something of good omen, he began in this wise: "On the murder of the Emperor Elagabalus". 8 But it was regarded as a portent that when about to go to war he began an address to the troops with words of ill-omen.

⁶¹ 1 All these portents, however, he looked upon with the profoundest contempt. And having set out for the war, he was slain in the aforementioned village in the following manner. 2 He had lunched, as it happened, in his usual way at a general meal, that is to say, in an open tent and on the same food that was used by the troops — for no other kind of food was found in the tent by the soldiers when they tore it to pieces. 3 And as he was resting after the meal, at about the seventh hour, one of the Germans, who was performing the duties of guard, came in while all were asleep; 4 the Emperor, however, who alone was awake at the moment, saw him and said, "What is it, comrade? Do you bring news of the enemy?" 5 But the fellow, terrified by his fears and having no hope that he could escape, seeing that he had burst into the Emperor's tent, went out to his comrades and urged them to kill their rigorous prince. 6 Whereupon a great number in arms quickly entered the tent, and after slaying all who, though unarmed, resisted, they stabbed the Emperor himself with many thrusts. 7 Some relate that nothing at all was said and that the soldiers merely cried out, "Go forth, depart," and thus slaughtered this excellent man. 8 But all the military array, which Maximinus afterwards led to Germany, was Alexander's, and it was a very powerful one, too, by reason of the soldiers from Armenia, Osroene, and Parthia, composed, as it was, of men of every race.

⁶² 1 Alexander's contempt for death is clearly shown both by the intrepid spirit with which he always put down the soldiery, and also by the following incident.

When 2 Thrasybulus the astrologer, with whom he was on the most friendly terms, told him that it was his destiny to fall by the sword of a barbarian, he first expressed his joy, thinking that he was fated to die in battle in a manner worthy of an emperor; 3 then, speaking at length he pointed out that all the noblest men had died a violent death, mentioning Alexander himself, whose name he bore, then Pompey, Caesar, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other men of note, none of whom had met with a peaceful end. 4 And such was his courage that he thought that he ought to be likened to the gods, were he to perish in battle. 5 But the result deceived his hopes; for he did, indeed, fall by the sword of a barbarian and by the hand of a barbarian guard, but it was not in battle, though during the course of a war.

⁶³ 1 His death was greatly lamented by the soldiers, even by those whom he had discharged, and they slew the men who had committed the murder. 2 But the Roman people and all the senate and all the inhabitants of the provinces never mourned anything with greater sorrow and bitterness of spirit; and at the same time the cruel necessity of fate seemed to be shown in the harshness and roughness of his successor Maximinus (natural enough in a soldier), on whom, together with his son, the imperial power was conferred after Alexander. 3 The senate raised him to the rank of the gods, and he was granted the honour of a cenotaph in Gaul and a magnificent tomb in Rome. 4 Moreover, a college of priests was appointed in his honour, called Alexandrian, and a feast-day, too, was decreed, called by his mother's name as well as by his, which even today is scrupulously observed at Rome on the anniversary of his birth.

⁵ The cause of his murder, so others maintain, was this, namely, that his mother wished to abandon the war against the Germans and return to the East in order to display her power there, and at this the soldiers grew angry. 6 But this is only a fiction of the friends of Maximinus, who did not wish to let it appear that the best of emperors had been slain by a friend in defiance of all law, both human and divine.

⁶⁴ 1 Up to this time the Roman Empire had been governed by princes who had reigns of considerable length, but after Alexander various men seized the power in rivalry with one another, of whom some reigned only six months, others for a year, and a number, again, for two or, at the most, three years, down to the time of those emperors, who extended the Empire to wider bounds — Aurelian, I mean, and his successors, 2 concerning whom, if life be granted me, I shall publish all I have learned.

³ The following charges were brought against Alexander: That he did not like to be regarded as a Syrian, that he was too fond of gold, that he was full of suspicions, that he invented many new taxes, that he wished to seem a second

Alexander the Great, that he was too harsh toward the soldiers, and that he conducted all public business on his private responsibility.

⁴ There are many indeed, I know, who assert that he was given the name of Caesar, not by the senate, but by the soldiers. These writers, however, are wholly ignorant of the truth; and they say, besides, that he was not the cousin of Elagabalus. ⁵ But in order to follow my version they need only to read the historians of that time, particularly Acholius, who also wrote about Alexander's journeys.

⁶⁵ ¹ You are wont to inquire, most mighty Constantine, why it was that a man who was a Syrian and an alien-born became so great an emperor, whereas so many of Roman stock and so many from other provinces proved to be evil, filthy, cruel, base, unjust, and lustful. ² I might say in reply, following the opinion of many good men, that, in the first place, it is possible for a good prince to be produced by Nature, who is the one universal mother, and that, in the second, it was fear that made this man the best of emperors, because the worst had been slain; ³ but since I must lay the truth before you, I shall disclose the fruits of my reading to Your Clemency and Piety. ⁴ It is well known to Your Piety, since you have read it in the work of Marius Maximus, that the state in which the ruler is evil is happier and almost safer than the one in which he has evil friends; for, indeed, one evil man can be made better by many righteous, but in no way can many evil men be held in check by one man, however righteous he may be. ⁵ And this very thing was told even to Trajan by Homullus, who said that Domitian was, indeed, a most evil man but had righteous friends, whereas Trajan was held in greater hatred because he entrusted the state to men of evil ways, for it is better to endure one evil man than many.

⁶⁶ ¹ But as for Alexander, to return to my theme, he was himself a most righteous man and followed the counsels of a righteous mother; ² and, moreover, he had friends who were upright and revered, not spiteful, or thieving, or seditious, or crafty, or leagued together for evil, or haters of the righteous, or lustful, or cruel, or deceivers of their prince, or mockers, or desirous of hoodwinking him like a fool, but, on the other hand, upright, revered, temperate, pious, fond of their prince, men who neither mocked him themselves nor wished him to become an object of mockery to others, who sold nothing, who lied in nothing, who falsified nothing, and who never fell short of the expectations of their prince but were always devoted to him. ³ It must be added, furthermore, that he never had eunuchs in his councils or in official positions — these creatures alone cause the downfall of emperors, for they wish them to live in the manner of foreign nations or as the kings of the Persians, and keep them well removed from the people and from their friends, and they are go-betweens, often

delivering messages other than the emperor's reply, hedging him about, and aiming, above all things, to keep knowledge from him. And since they are nothing but purchased chattels and slaves, how, pray, can they have knowledge of the right? 4 And indeed, this was Alexander's own opinion too; for he used to say, "I will not permit slaves purchased with money to sit in judgment on the lives of prefects and consuls and senators."

⁶⁷ 1 I know, O Prince, that it is perilous to say these words to an emperor who has been in subjection to such creatures, but now that, greatly to the welfare of the state, you have learned how much evil resides in these pests, and how they mislead rulers, you too keep them in their proper place, and never bid them wear a soldier's cloak but assign them only to the necessary duties of your household.

² Now this too is a noteworthy thing, that never did Alexander grant an audience in the Palace to anyone except the prefect of the guard, that is Ulpian, and he never gave anyone an opportunity of selling false promises in his name or of telling him evil things about others, especially after the death of Turinus, who had often sold the promises of the Emperor as though he were a fool and a weakling. 3 And to this we must add that if Alexander discovered that his friends or his kinsmen were dishonest he always punished them, but if the length of their friendship or degree of kinship did not permit of their punishment, he dismissed them from his presence, saying, "Dearer to me than all of these is the commonwealth."

⁶⁸ 1 And that you may know what men were in his council, he had Fabius Sabinus, the son of the famous Sabinus and the Cato of his time; Domitius Ulpianus, the learned jurist; Aelius Gordianus, a relative of Gordian the Emperor and a famous man; Julius Paulus, the learned jurist; Claudius Venacus, a most distinguished orator; Catilius Severus, his own kinsman, the most learned of them all; Aelius Serenianus, the most highly revered of them all; Quintilius Marcellus, a more righteous man than whom is not found in history. 2 What wicked thing could be planned or executed by all these men and others like them, when they were leagued together for good? 3 In his early days, indeed, a band of evil men, which surrounded Alexander, had thrust these men aside, but when this company were slain or driven away by the young man's good sense, these upright friends held sway. 4 These are the men who made the Syrian a good emperor, as likewise evil friends caused native Romans to seem evil, even to posterity, for they burdened them with the weight of their own iniquities.

The Two Maximini

¹¹ Lest it should be distasteful to Your Clemency, great Constantine, to read the several lives of the emperors and the emperors' sons, each in a separate volume, I have practised a certain economy, in that have compressed the two Maximini, father and son, into one single book. ² And from this point onward I have kept this arrangement, which Your Holiness wished also Tatius Cyrillus, of the rank of the Illustrious, to keep in his translation from Greek into Latin. ³ And I shall keep it, indeed, not in one book alone, but in most that I shall write hereafter, excepting only the great emperors; for their doings, being greater in number and fame, call for a longer recounting.

⁴ Maximinus the elder became famous in the reign of Alexander; but his service in the army began under Severus. ⁵ He was born in a village in Thrace bordering on the barbarians, indeed of a barbarian father and mother, the one, men say, being of the Goths, the other of the Alani. ⁶ At any rate, they say that his father's name was Micca, his mother's Ababa. ⁷ And in his early days Maximinus himself freely disclosed these names; later, however, when he came to the throne, he had them concealed, lest it should seem that the emperor was sprung on both sides from barbarian stock.

²¹ In his early youth he was a herdsman and the leader of a band of young men, a man who would waylay marauders and protect his own folk from forays. ² His first military service was in the cavalry. For certainly he was strikingly big of body, and notable among all the soldiers for courage, handsome in a manly way, fierce in his manners, rough, haughty, and scornful, yet often a just man.

³ It was in the following way that he first came into prominence in the reign of Severus. ⁴ Severus, on the birthday of Geta, his younger son, was giving military games, offering various silver prizes, arm-rings, that is, and collars, and girdles. ⁵ This youth, half barbarian and scarcely yet master of the Latin tongue, speaking almost pure Thracian, publicly besought the Emperor to give him leave to compete, and that with men of no mean rank in the service. ⁶ Severus, struck with his bodily size, pitted him first against sutlers — all very valorous men, none the less — in order to avoid a rupture of military discipline. ⁷ Whereupon Maximinus overcame sixteen sutlers at one sweat, and received his sixteen prizes, all rather small and not military ones, and was commanded to serve in the army. ³ The second day thereafter, when Severus had proceeded to the parade-ground, he happened to espy Maximinus rioting in his barbarian way among the crowd, and immediately ordered the tribune to take him in hand and school him

in Roman discipline. 2 And he, when he perceived that the Emperor was talking about him — for the barbarian suspected that he was known to the Emperor and conspicuous even among many — , came up to the Emperor's feet where he sat his horse. 3 And then Severus, wishing to try how good he was at running, gave his horse free rein and circled about many times, and when at last the aged Emperor had become weary and Maximinus after many turns had not stopped running, he said to him, "What say you, my little Thracian? Would you like to wrestle now after your running?" And Maximinus answered, "As you please, Emperor." 4 On this Severus dismounted and ordered the most vigorous and the bravest soldiers to match themselves with him; 5 whereupon he, in his usual fashion, vanquished seven at one sweat, and alone of all, after he had gotten his silver prizes, was presented by Severus with a collar of gold; he was ordered, moreover, to take a permanent post in the palace with the body-guard. 6 In this fashion, then, he was made prominent and became famous among the soldiers, well liked by the tribunes, and admired by his comrades. He could obtain from the Emperor whatever he wanted, and indeed Severus helped him to advancement in the service when he was still very young. In height and size and proportions, in his great eyes, and in whiteness of skin he was pre-eminent among all.

^{4 1} It is agreed, moreover, that often in a single day he drank a Capitoline amphora of wine, and ate forty pounds of meat, or, according to Cordus, no less than sixty. 2 It seems sufficiently agreed, too, that he abstained wholly from vegetables, and almost always from anything cold, save when he had to drink. 3 Often, he would catch his sweat and put it in cups or a small jar, and he could exhibit by this means two or three pints of it.

⁴ For a long time under Antoninus Caracalla he commanded in the ranks of the centuries and often held other military honours as well. But under Macrinus, whom he hated bitterly because he had slain his Emperor's son, he left the service and acquired an estate in Thrace, in the village where he was born, and here he trafficked continually with the Goths. He was singularly beloved by the Getae, moreover, as if he were one of themselves. 5 And the Alani, or at least those of them who came to the river-bank, continually exchanged gifts with him and hailed him as friend.

⁶ When Macrinus and his son were slain, however, and he learned that Elagabalus was reigning as Antoninus' son, he went to him, being now of mature age, and besought him to hold the same opinion of him that his grandfather Severus had done. But he could have no influence with that filthy man. 7 For Elagabalus is said to have made sport of him most foully, saying, "You are reported, Maximinus, to have outworn at times sixteen and twenty and thirty

soldiers; can you avail thirty times with a woman?” 8 And when Maximinus saw the disgraceful prince beginning thus, he left the service. 9 In the end, however, the friends of Elagabalus retained him, lest this also be added to Elagabalus’s ill-fame, that the bravest man of his time — whom some called Hercules, others Achilles, and others Ajax — had been driven from his army. 5 Under this filthy creature, therefore, he held only the honour of a tribuneship; but never did he come to take the Emperor’s hand and never did he greet him, but during the whole of three years he was always hastening from one place to another; 2 now he was occupied with his fields, now with resting, now with feigned illnesses.

3 On the death of Elagabalus, as soon as he learned that Alexander was proclaimed emperor, he hastened to Rome. 4 And Alexander received him with marvellous joy and marvellous thanksgiving; indeed, in the senate he used expressions like these: “Maximinus, Conscript Fathers, the tribune to whom I have given the broad stripe, has taken refuge with me — he who could not serve under that foul monster, and who, under my deified kinsman Severus, was what you know him to have been by report.” 5 He at once made him tribune of the Fourth Legion, which he himself had formed out of recruits,^o giving him his promotion with the following words: 6 “I have not entrusted veterans to you, my most dear and loving Maximinus, because I feared that you cannot root out the faults that have grown in them under other commanders. 7 You have fresh recruits; after the pattern of your habits, your courage, your industry, make them learn their service, so that from yourself, who are one, you can make me many Maximini, men most desirable for the state.”

⁶¹ Having therefore accepted the legion, he immediately began to train it. 2 On every fifth day he had his men parade in armour and fight a sham battle against one another. Their swords, corselets, helmets, shields, tunics, in fact all their arms, he inspected daily; 3 indeed, he himself provided for their boots, so that he was exactly like a father to the troops. 4 And when certain tribunes remonstrated with him, saying, “Why do you work so hard, now that you have attained a rank where you can become a general?” he replied, it is said, “As for me, the greater I become, the harder I shall work.” 5 He was wont also to join the soldiers at their wrestling, and he stretched them on the ground by fives, sixes, and sevens, though now an old man. 6 Now every one became jealous, and one insolent tribune, a man of great size and proved courage, and therefore the bolder, said to him, “You do nothing very great, if you vanquish your own soldiers, being a tribune yourself.” Maximinus replied, “Would you like to fight?” 7 And when his opponent nodded assent and advanced against him, he smote him on the breast with the palm of his hand and knocked him flat on his back, then said, “Give me another, and this time a real tribune”.

⁸ He was of such size, so Cordus reports, that men said he was six inches over eight feet in height; and his thumb was so huge that he used his wife's bracelet for a ring. ⁹ Other stories are reported almost as common talk — that he could drag waggons with his hands and move a laden cart by himself, that if he struck a horse with his fist, he loosened its teeth, or with his heel, broke its legs, that he could crumble tufaceous stone and split saplings, and that he was called, finally, by some Milo of Croton, by others Hercules, and by others Antaeus.

^{7 1} When these things had now made him a distinguished man, Alexander, a good judge of great worth, to his own destruction put him in command of the entire army. Everyone, everywhere, was pleased — tribunes, generals, and men. ² So now Alexander's whole army, which had fallen into a lethargy to a great extent under Elagabalus, Maximinus brought back to his own standard of discipline. ³ And this, as we have said, proved a very serious thing for Alexander — a very good emperor, to be sure, but one whose youth from the very beginning could readily make him an object of contempt. ⁴ For when he was in Gaul, and had pitched camp not far from a certain city, of a sudden the soldiers were incited against him — some say by Maximinus, others say by the barbarian tribunes — , and as he fled to his mother he was slain, while Maximinus had already been hailed emperor. ⁵ And, indeed, some say the cause of Alexander's death was one thing, others say another. For some maintain that Mamaea was the prime cause, as she wished her son to leave the Germanic war and go to the East, and on that account the soldiers broke out in mutiny. ⁶ Others say that Alexander was too strict and had wished to discharge the legions in Gaul as he had done in the East.

^{8 1} However that may be, after Alexander was killed, Maximinus was the first man from the body of the soldiers and not yet a senator to be acclaimed Augustus by the army without a decree of the senate, and his son was made his colleague. And about the latter we shall tell later on the few things that we know. ² Now Maximinus was always clever enough not to rule the soldiers by force alone; on the contrary, he made them devoted to him by rewards and riches. ³ He never took away any man's rations; ⁴ he never let any man in his army work as a smith or artisan, which most of them are, but kept the legions busy only with frequent hunting. ⁵ Along with these virtues, however, went such cruelty that some called him Cyclops, some Busiris, and others Sciron, not a few Phalaris, and many Typhon or Gyges. ⁶ The senate was so afraid of him that prayers were made in the temples both publicly and privately, and even by women together with their children, that he should never see the city of Rome. ⁷ For they kept hearing that he hung men on the cross, shut them in the bodies of animals newly slain, cast them to wild beasts, dashed out their brains with clubs, and all this for

no desire for personal authority but because he seemed to wish military discipline to be supreme, and wished to amend civil affairs on that pattern. 8 All of which does not become a prince who wishes to be loved. As a matter of fact, he was convinced that the throne could not be held except by cruelty. 9 He likewise feared that the nobility, because of his low barbarian birth, would scorn him, 10 remembering in this connection how he had been scorned at Rome by the very slaves of the nobles, so that not even their stewards would admit him to their presence; 11 and as is always the way with fatuous beliefs, he expected them to be the same toward him now that he was emperor. So powerful is the mere consciousness of a low-born spirit. 9 For to hide the lowness of his birth he put to death all who had knowledge of it, some of whom, indeed, were friends who had often pitied him for his poverty and made him many presents. 2 And never was there a more savage animal on earth than this man who staked everything on his own strength, as though he could not be killed. 3 Eventually, indeed, when he almost believed himself immortal because of his great size and courage, a certain actor, they say, recited Greek verses in a theatre while he was present, the sense of which in Latin was this:

4 And he who cannot be slain by one, is slain by many.

The elephant is huge, and he is slain!

The lion is brave, and he is slain!

The tiger is brave, and he is slain!

Beware of many together, if you fear not one alone.

5 And this was recited while the Emperor himself was present. But when he asked his friends what the clown on the stage had said, they told him that he was simply singing some old verses written against violent men, and he, being a Thracian and a barbarian, believed them. 6 He suffered no nobleman at all to be near his person, ruling in this respect precisely like Spartacus or Athenio. 7 He put all of Alexander's ministers to death in one way or another and disregarded his directions. 8 And while he held Alexander's friends and ministers under suspicion, he became more cruel.

10 1 And now when he had already taken on the life and character of a wild beast, he was made still harsher and more savage by a revolt which Magnus, a certain man of consular rank, plotted against him. 2 This man had entered into a conspiracy with a number of soldiers and centurions to stab Maximinus, wishing thereby to get the imperial power for himself. It was a conspiracy of this sort: Maximinus wished to make a bridge and cross over against the Germans, and it was resolved that the conspirators should cross over with him and then, breaking the bridge behind them, surround Maximinus on the barbarians' side and kill him, while Magnus seized the throne. 3 For Maximinus had begun waging all

manner of wars — and very valiantly, too — as soon as he had been made emperor, inasmuch as he was skilled in the art of war and wished, on the one hand, to guard the reputation he had already won, and, on the other, to surpass in everyone's eyes the glory of Alexander, whom he had slain. 4 For this reason, even as emperor he engaged his soldiers in exercise every day, and, indeed, himself appeared in armour and demonstrated many points to his army with his own hand and body. 5 But about that revolt it is asserted that Maximinus himself invented it in order to make an occasion for barbarity. 6 At any rate, without judge, prosecutor, or defence he put all of them to death and confiscated their property, and even after slaying over four thousand men he was not yet content.

¹¹ There was also in his reign a revolt of Osroënian bowmen, who rebelled against him through love of Alexander and regret for his loss, having agreed among themselves that Maximinus had certainly slain him; nor could they be persuaded otherwise. 2 They accordingly made one of their number, a certain Titus, whom Maximinus had already discharged from the army, their general and emperor. 3 Indeed, they girt him with the purple, furnished him with royal pomp, and barred access to him like the soldiers of a king, all, it must be said, against his will. 4 But while this Titus was sleeping at his home, he was slain by one of his friends, Macedonius by name, who resented his preferment above himself, and so betrayed him to Maximinus and brought the Emperor his head. 5 And at first Maximinus gave him thanks, but later on, hating him as a traitor, he killed him. 6 Through these events, then, he became fiercer day by day, as wild animals grow more savage with their wounds.

⁷ After these events he crossed over into Germany with the whole army and with the Moors, Osroënians, Parthians, and all the other forces that Alexander took when he went to war. 8 He took these eastern auxiliaries with him chiefly for the reason that no forces are more useful against Germans than light bowmen. 9 And truly Alexander had constructed a splendid war-machine, and Maximinus, they say, greatly added to it. 12 He marched, then, into Germany across the Rhine, and throughout thirty or forty miles of the barbarians' country he burned villages, drove away flocks, slew numbers of the barbarians themselves, enriched his own soldiers, and took a host of captives, and, had not all the Germans fled to the swamps and forests, he would have brought all Germany under Roman sway. 2 He himself did much with his own hand, especially when he rode into a swamp and would have been cut off by the Germans had not his men extricated him as he was mired with his horse. 3 For he had that barbaric rashness which made him think that even the emperor always owed the help of his own hand. 4 In the end, a sort of naval battle was fought in the swamp, and very many were slain.

⁵ And when he had thus conquered Germany, he despatched a letter, written to dictation, to the senate and people at Rome, the purport of which was this: ⁶ “We cannot, Conscript Fathers, tell you all that we have done. Throughout an area of forty or fifty miles we have burned the villages of the Germans, driven off their flocks, carried away captives, killed men in arms, and fought a battle in a swamp. And we should have pushed on to the forests, had not the depth of the swamps prevented our crossing.” ⁷ Aelius Cordus says that this oration was entirely his own; ⁸ and it is easily believed. For what is there in it of which a barbarian soldier were not capable? ⁹ He wrote likewise to the people, to the same effect but with greater respect, this because of his hatred of the senate, by which, he believed, he was mightily despised. ¹⁰ He gave orders, furthermore, for pictures to be painted and hung up before the Senate-house, illustrating the conduct of the war, in order that the art of painting, too, might tell of his exploits. ¹¹ But after his death the senate caused this pictures to be taken down and burned.

^{13 1} There were many other wars and battles in his reign, and from them all he always returned triumphant with immense plunder and numerous captives. ² We have an oration of his, sent to the senate, whereof this is a sample: “In a short time, Conscript Fathers, I have waged more wars than any of the ancients ever did. I have carried away more plunder than a man could hope for, and I have brought back so many captives that the lands of Rome scarce suffice to hold them.” The rest of the oration is unnecessary for this narrative.

³ Germany now being set at peace, he went to Sirmium with the intention of waging war against the Sarmatians; indeed in his heart he desired to bring all the northern regions up to the Ocean under Roman sway. ⁴ And he would have done it had he lived, so Herodian says; though Herodian was always well disposed to Maximinus, through hatred, as far as we can see, of Alexander.

⁵ But by this time the Romans could bear his barbarities no longer — the way in which he called up informers and incited accusers, invented false offences, killed innocent men, condemned all whoever came to trial, reduced the richest men to utter poverty and never sought money anywhere save in some other’s ruin, put many generals and many men of consular rank to death for no offence, carried others about in waggons without food and drink, and kept others in confinement, in short neglected nothing which he thought might prove effectual for cruelty — and, unable to suffer these things longer, they rose against him in revolt. ⁶ And not only the Romans, but, because he had been savage to the soldiers also, the armies which were in Africa rose in sudden and powerful rebellion and hailed the aged and venerable Gordian who was proconsul there, as emperor. This rebellion came into being in the following manner.

¹⁴ ¹ There was a certain imperial steward in Libya, who in his zeal for Maximinus had despoiled every one ruthlessly, until finally the peasantry, abetted by a number of soldiers, slew him, after overcoming those who out of respect for Maximinus defended the agent of the privy-purse. ² But soon the promoters of this murder saw that they must seek relief through sharper remedies, and so, coming to the proconsul Gordian, a man, as we have said, worthy of respect, well-born, eminent in every virtue, whom Alexander had sent to Africa by senatorial decree, and threatening him with swords and every other kind of weapon, they forced him, though he cried out against it and cast himself on the ground, to assume the purple and rule. ³ In the beginning, it is true, Gordian took the purple much against his will; but later, when he saw that this course was unsafe for his son and family, he willingly undertook to rule, and at the town of Thysdrus he, together with his son, was proclaimed Augustus by all the Africans. ⁴ From here he went speedily to Carthage with royal pomp and guards and laurelled fasces, and sent letters to the senate at Rome. And the senate, after the murder of Vitalianus, the prefect of the guard, received these with rejoicing because of their hatred for Maximinus, ⁵ and proclaimed both the elder and the younger Gordian Augusti. ¹⁵ Then all the informers and accusers and Maximinus' friends were put to death, and Sabinus, the prefect of the city, was beaten by the populace and slain.

² And when this had been done, the senate, now fearing Maximinus all the more, openly and freely proclaimed him and his son enemies of the state. ³ It next despatched letters to all the provinces, asking their aid for their common safety and liberty; and all of them gave heed. ⁴ Lastly Maximinus' friends and administrators, generals, tribunes, and soldiers were everywhere put to death. ⁵ A few communities, however, remained loyal to the public enemy; these betrayed the messengers who had been sent to them and promptly handed them over to Maximinus by means of informers.

⁶ The following is a specimen of the letters that the senate sent out: "The senate and Roman people, now beginning to be delivered from a most savage monster by the two princes Gordian, to the proconsuls, governors, legates, generals, tribunes, magistrates, and several states, municipalities, towns, villages, and fortified places, with prosperity, which they are just now beginning to regain for themselves. ⁷ With the help of the gods we have obtained the proconsul Gordian, a most righteous man and eminent senator, as emperor. We have given to him the title of Augustus, and not only to him, but also, for the further safeguarding of the state, to that excellent man Gordian his son. ⁸ It is now your part to unite, that the state may be made secure, that evil doings may be repelled, and that the monster and his friends, wherever they be, may be

hunted down. 9 We have pronounced Maximinus and his son enemies of the state.”

¹⁶ 1 This was the senate’s decree: After they had assembled in the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the sixth day before the Kalends of July, Julius Silanus, the consul, read the letter which had been received from Africa from Gordian the proconsul, emperor and father of his country: 2 “Conscript Fathers, the young men, to whom was entrusted Africa to guard, against my will have called on me to rule. But having regard to you, I am glad to endure this necessity. It is yours to decide what you wish. For myself, I shall waver to and fro in uncertainty until the senate has decided.” 3 As soon as the letter was read the senate forthwith cried out: “Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you! May you rule happily; you have delivered us. May you rule safely; you have delivered us. Through you the state is made safe. All of us, we thank you.” 4 So then the consul put the question: “Concerning the Maximini, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure?” They replied, “Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward.” 5 Again the consul spoke: “Concerning the friends of Maximinus, what seems good?” And they cried out, “Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward.” 6 And then they cried out: “Let the foe of the senate be hanged on a cross. Let the senate’s enemy everywhere be smitten. Let the senate’s foes be burned alive. Gordiani Augusti, may the gods keep you! 7 Luckily may you live! Luckily may you rule! We decree the grandson of Gordian the praetorship, we promise the grandson of Gordian the consulship. Let the grandson of Gordian be called Caesar. Let the third Gordian take the praetorship.”

¹⁷ 1 When this decree of the senate reached Maximinus, being by nature passionate, he so flamed with fury that you would have thought him not a man but a wild beast. 2 He dashed himself against the walls, sometimes he threw himself upon the ground, he screamed incoherently aloud, he snatched at his sword as though he could slaughter the senate then and there, he rent his royal robes, he beat the palace-attendants, and, had not the youth retreated, certain authorities affirm, he would have torn out his young son’s eyes. 3 He was enraged with his son, as it happened, because he had ordered him to go to Rome when he was first declared emperor, and this the youth, because of his excessive fondness for his father, had not done. And now Maximinus imagined that if he had been at Rome the senate would have dared none of this. 4 Blazing with rage, then, his friends got him to his room. 5 But still he could not control his fury, and finally, to get oblivion from his thoughts, he so soaked himself with wine on that first day, they say, that he did not know what had been done. 6 On the next day, admitting his friends — and they indeed could not bear to see him, but stood silent and silently commended what the senate had done, — he held a council as

to what he should do. 7 From the council he proceeded to an assembly, and there said much against the Africans, much against Gordian, and more against the senate, urging his soldiers to avenge their common wrongs.

¹⁸ 1 His speech was altogether that of a soldier, this being the general purport of it: “Fellow soldiers, we are revealing something you already know. The Africans have broken faith. When did they ever keep it? Gordian, a feeble old man on the brink of death, has assumed the imperial office. 2 Those most sacred Conscript Fathers, who murdered Romulus and Caesar, have pronounced me a public enemy, me, who fought for them and conquered for them too; and not only me but you also, and all who stand with me. The Gordians, both father and son, they have called Augusti. 3 If you are men, then, if there is any might in you, let us march now against the senate and the Africans, and you shall have the goods of them all.” 4 He then gave them a bounty — and a huge one, too — and turning towards Rome began to march thither with his army.

¹⁹ 1 But now Gordian began to be harassed in Africa by a certain Capelianus, whom he had deposed from the governorship of the Moors. 2 And when finally he sent his son against him, and his son after a desperate battle was killed, the old man hanged himself, well knowing that there was much strength in Maximinus and in the Africans none, nay rather only a great faculty for betraying. 3 And forthwith Capelianus, the victor, in the name of Maximinus slew and outlawed all of the dead Gordian’s party in Africa, sparing none. Indeed, he seemed to perform these duties quite in Maximinus’ own temper. 4 He overthrew cities, ravaged shrines, divided gifts among his soldiers, and slaughtered common folk and nobles in the cities. 5 At the same time he strove to win over the affections of his soldiers, playing for the imperial power himself in the event that Maximinus perished.

²⁰ 1 When news of these events was brought to Rome, the senate, fearing Maximinus’s barbarity — natural at all times and inevitable now that the two Gordians were dead, — elected two other emperors, Maximus, who had been prefect of the city and had held many other offices with distinction before that, humble by birth but eminent by his virtues, and Balbinus, who was somewhat fonder of pleasure. 2 These were acclaimed Augusti by the people; and by the soldiers and the same people the little grandson of Gordian was hailed as Caesar. 3 With three emperors, therefore, was the state propped against Maximinus. 4 Maximus, however, was the most rigorous of life, the most sagacious, and the most uniformly courageous of the three, 5 so finally both the senate and Balbinus entrusted the war against Maximinus to him. 6 But after Maximus had set out to war against Maximinus, Balbinus was beset with civil war and domestic disturbances at Rome, especially after two soldiers of the praetorian

guard were slain by the populace at the instigation of Gallicanus and Maecenas. The populace, indeed, were cruelly butchered by the guard when Balbinus proved unable to quell the uprising. And in the end a great part of the city was burned.

⁷ Meanwhile the Emperor Maximinus had been greatly cheered by hearing of the death of Gordian and Capelianus' victory over his son. ⁸ But when he received the second decree of the senate, in which Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian were declared emperors, he then realized that the senate's hatred for him was never to end and that everyone really considered him an enemy. ²¹ Hotter than ever, then, he pushed on into Italy. He then learned that Maximus had been sent against him, and in a violent rage came up to Emona in line of battle. ² But the plan agreed on for all the provincials was this: that they should gather up everything that could be useful for the commissariat and retire within the cities in order that Maximinus and his army might be pinched by famine. ³ And, indeed, when he pitched camp on the plain for the first time and found no provisions, his army was incensed at him because they suffered from hunger even in Italy, where they expected to be refreshed after the Alps, and they began at first to murmur and then indeed to speak out openly. ⁴ And when Maximinus attempted to punish this, the army was much inflamed, but silently stored up its hate for the moment and produced it again at the proper time. ⁵ Many authorities say that Maximinus found Emona empty and abandoned, and foolishly rejoiced because the entire city, as it seemed, had retreated before him.

⁶ After this he came to Aquileia, which shut its gates against him and posted armed men about the walls. Nor did the defence lack vigour, being conducted by Menophilus and Crispinus, both men of consular rank. ²² So when Maximinus found he was besieging Aquileia in vain, he sent envoys to the city. And the people had almost yielded to them, had not Menophilus and his colleague opposed it, saying that the god Belenus had declared through the soothsayers that Maximinus would be conquered. ² Whence afterwards the soldiers of Maximinus boasted, it is said, that Apollo must have fought against them, and that really victory belonged not to the senate and Maximus but to the gods. ³ But, on the other hand, it is said that they advanced this theory because they blushed, armed men as they were, to have been defeated by men practically unarmed. ⁴ At any rate, after making a bridge of wine-casks, Maximinus crossed the river and began to invest Aquileia closely. ⁵ And terrible then was both the assault and the danger, for the townsmen defended themselves from the soldiers with sulphur, fire, and other defensive devices of this same kind; and of the soldiers some were stripped of their arms, others had their clothing burned, and some were blinded, while the investing engines were completely destroyed. ⁶

Amid all this Maximinus, with his young son whom he had entitled Caesar, strode about the walls, just far enough off to be safe from the throw of javelins, and besought now his own men, now the men of the town. 7 But it profited him nothing. For against him, because of his cruelty, and against his son, who was a most beautiful creature, the townsmen merely hurled abuses.

²³ 1 And so now Maximinus, flattering himself that the war was being prolonged by the cowardice of his men, put his generals to death, just at the time when he could least afford to do so; by which act he made his soldiers still further enraged against him. 2 In addition to that, he now ran short of provisions, because the senate had sent letters to all the provinces and to the overseers of ports to prevent any provisions coming into Maximinus' power. 3 It had sent praetors and quaestors throughout all the cities, moreover, to keep guard everywhere and defend everything against Maximinus. 4 Finally, it came to pass that he himself, while besieging, suffered the distress of one besieged. 5 At this juncture it was announced that the whole world was agreed in hatred of Maximinus. 6 And so some of the soldiers, whose wives and children were on the Alban Mountain, becoming fearful, in the middle of the day, when they rested from the fighting, slew Maximinus and his son as they lay in their tent, and putting their heads on poles, showed them to the citizens of Aquileia. 7 And thereupon in the neighbouring town the statues and portraits of Maximinus were immediately thrown down and his prefect of the guard, together with his more notable friends, were slain. Their heads were sent to Rome.

²⁴ 1 This was the end of the Maximini, worthy the cruelty of the father, unworthy the goodness of the son. Among the provincials there was tremendous rejoicing at their death, but among the barbarians the most grievous sorrow.

² And now that the public enemies were slain, the soldiers were taken in by the townsfolk at their own request — but on condition that they would worship before the portraits of Maximus and Balbinus and also of Gordian, for all told them that the elder Gordians had been placed among the gods. 3 This done, a mighty store of provisions was speedily carried from Aquileia to the camp, which was suffering from hunger, and after the soldiers were refreshed, on a later day they came to an assembly. And there they all swore allegiance to Maximus and Balbinus, and hailed the elder Gordians as divine.

⁴ One can scarcely describe how great the joy was when the head of Maximinus was carried through Italy to Rome. From all sides folk came running as to a public holiday. 5 Maximus, whom many call Pupienus, was at Ravenna, preparing with the aid of German auxiliaries for war; but when he learned that the army had come over to himself and his colleagues, and that the Maximini were slain, 6 he at once dismissed the German auxiliaries, whom he was getting

ready against the enemy, and sent a laurelled letter to Rome. And this caused unbounded rejoicing in the city; indeed at altars, temples, shrines, and holy places everywhere, everyone offered up thanks. 7 As for Balbinus, a somewhat timid soul by nature, who trembled when he heard Maximinus' very name, he sacrificed a hecatomb and gave orders that the gods should be worshipped with an equal sacrifice in every town. 8 Soon thereafter Maximus came to Rome, and after going into the senate, where thanks were offered him, he held an assembly, whence he and Balbinus and Gordian victoriously betook themselves to the Palace.

²⁵ 1 It is of interest to know what sort of decree the senate passed and what the day was in the city, when it was announced that Maximinus was slain. 2 For, in the first place, the messenger who had been sent to Rome from Aquileia, by changing his horses managed to gallop with such speed that he reached Rome on the third day after leaving Maximus at Ravenna. 3 As it happened, games were being held that day, when suddenly, while Balbinus and Gordian were seated, the messenger entered the theatre; and at once, before he uttered a word, the people cried out with one voice, "Maximinus is dead!" 4 Thus the messenger was anticipated and the Emperors, who were present, by nodding in assent expressed the public rejoicing. 5 The performance, then, being brought to a close, everyone immediately rushed to his religious duties, and thereafter the nobles sped to the Senate-house, the people to the assembly.

²⁶ 1 The decree of the senate was as follows: After the Emperor Balbinus Augustus had read the letter, the senate cried: 2 "The gods take vengeance on the foes of the Roman people. Most great Jupiter, we give you thanks. Revered Apollo, we give you thanks. Maximus Augustus, we give you thanks. Balbinus Augustus, we give you thanks. We decree temples for the Deified Gordians. 3 The name of Maximinus, previously expunged, is now to be stricken from our hearts. Let the head of the public foe be cast into running water. Let no man bury his body. He who threatened death to the senate is slain as he deserved. He who threatened chains for the senate is killed as he deserved. 4 Most reverend Emperors, we offer you thanks. Maximus, Balbinus, Gordian, may the gods keep you! victorious over your foes, we all desire your presence. We all desire the presence of Maximus. Balbinus Augustus, may the gods keep you! Honour the present year by being this year's consuls. In the place of Maximinus let Gordian be chosen." 5 After this, Cuspidius Celerinus, being asked for his opinion, spoke thus: "Conscript Fathers, having expunged the name of the Maximini and deified the Gordians, in honour of the victory we decree to our princes Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian statues with elephants, triumphal cars, equestrian statues, and trophies of victory." 6 After this, the senate being dissolved, supplications

were ordered throughout the whole city. 7 The princes betook them victoriously to the Palace, but of their lives we shall write later in another book.

Maximinus the Younger

²⁷ 1 The descent of the younger Maximinus has been related above. He himself was so beautiful that the more wanton of women loved him indiscriminately, and not a few desired to be gotten with child by him. 2 He gave such promise of height, moreover, that he might have reached his father's stature had he not perished in his twenty-first year, in the very flower of his youth, or, as some say, in his eighteenth. 3 Even so, he was well versed in Greek and Latin letters, for he got his first schooling under the Greek man of letters Fabillus, many of whose Greek epigrams are extant today, chiefly on statues of the boy himself. 4 This Fabillus also made Greek verses from those Latin lines of Vergil, meaning to describe this same boy:

“Like to the star of the morning when he, new-bathèd in Ocean,
Raises his holy face and scatters the darkness from heaven,
So did the young man seem, fair-famed in the name of his father.”

⁵ Latin grammar he studied under Philemon, jurisprudence under Modestinus, and oratory under Titianus, the son of that elder Titianus who wrote a very beautiful work on the provinces and was called the ape of his age because he imitated everything. He employed also the Greek rhetorician Eugamius, who was famous in his day.

⁶ Junia Fadilla, the great-granddaughter of Antoninus, was betrothed to him; but afterwards she was espoused by Toxotius, a senator of the same family, who died after serving his praetorship, certain poems of his being extant today. 7 The regal betrothal-gifts that he had presented her with, however, she kept. Junius Cordus, who was an investigator of these things, says that they were such as these: a necklace of nine pearls; a net-work cap with eleven emeralds; a bracelet with a row of four sapphires; and besides these, gowns worked with gold, all of them royal, and other betrothal pledges.

²⁸ 1 The young man Maximinus was most excessively insolent; indeed, when even his father, a very hard man, rose to greet many distinguished men, he remained seated. 2 He was fond of gay living, very sparing in the use of wine, but voracious in respect to food, especially game, eating only boar's flesh, ducks, cranes, and everything that is hunted. 3 The friends of Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian, and particularly the senators, spoke ill of him because his excessive beauty; for they were not willing that his beauty, fallen, as it were, from heaven, should be pure. 4 Indeed, that time when he walked about the walls of Aquileia with his father, asking its surrender, nothing but filthy insinuations

were hurled at him, — though far removed from his real life. 5 He was very careful of his dress, and no woman was more elegantly groomed. 6 It was monstrous how his father's friends fawned on him, in hopes chiefly of gifts or largess. 7 For he was exceedingly haughty at his levees — he stretched out his hand, and suffered his knees to be kissed, and sometimes even his feet. This the elder Maximinus never permitted; for he said "God forbid that any free man should ever print a kiss on my feet". 8 And while we are speaking of the elder Maximinus we should not forbear to mention this amusing thing: as we have said, Maximinus was almost eight and a half feet tall; and certain men deposited a shoe of his, that is, one of his royal boots, in a grove which lies between Aquileia and Arcia, because, sooth, they agreed that it was a foot longer than the measure of any foot of man. 9 Whence also is derived the vulgar expression, used for lanky and awkward fellows, of "Maximinus' boot". 10 I have put this down lest any one who reads Cordus should believe that I have overlooked anything which pertained to my subject. But now let me return to the son.

²⁹ 1 Aurelius Alexander wished to give him his sister Theoclia in marriage and wrote to his mother Mamaea these words concerning the youth: 2 "Mother, were there not an element of the barbarian in the character of the elder Maximinus — he who is out general, and a very good one, too — I had already married your Theoclia to Maximinus the younger. 3 But I am afraid that such a product of Greek culture as my sister could not endure a barbarian father-in law, however much the young man himself seems handsome and learned and polished in Greek elegance. This is what I think; 4 but nevertheless I ask your advice. Tell me, do you wish Maximinus, the son of Maximinus, for a son-in law, or Messalla, who is a scion of a noble house, a very powerful speaker, very learned, and, if I mistake not, a man who would prove himself gallant on the field if occasion should arise?" 5 Thus Alexander on Maximinus. As for us, we have nothing further to say of him.

⁶ And yet — lest we seem to have omitted anything at all — I have set down a letter written by his father Maximinus, when he had now become emperor, in which he says that he had proclaimed his son emperor in order to see, either in painting or actuality, what the younger Maximinus would look like in the purple. 7 The letter itself was of this nature: "I have let my Maximinus be called emperor, not only because of the fondness which a father owes a son, but also that the Roman people and that venerable senate may be able to take an oath that they have never had a more handsome emperor". 8 After the fashion of the Ptolemies this youth wore a golden cuirass; he had also a silver one. He had a shield, moreover, inlaid with gold and jewels, and also a gold-inlaid spear. 9 He had silver swords made for him, too, and gold ones as well, everything, in fact,

which could enhance his beauty — helmets inset with precious stones and cheek-pieces done in the same fashion.

¹⁰ These are the facts which can be known and related of the boy with propriety. But whoever desires to know the rest, about sexual and amorous affairs with which Cordus bespatters him, let him read Cordus; as for us, we make an end of our book here, and hasten on, as though bidden by a public duty, to other things.

^{30 1} The omens that he would be emperor were these: A snake coiled about his head as he was sleeping. A grape-vine which he planted produced within a year huge clusters of purple grapes, and grew to an astounding size. 2 His shield blazed in the sun. A small lance of his was split by lightning and in such a manner that the whole of it, even through the iron, was cleft and fell into two halves. And from this the soothsayers declared that from the one house there would spring two emperors of the same name, whose reign would be of no long duration. His father's cuirass — many saw it — was stained not with rust, as is usual, but all over with a purple colour. 4 These omens, moreover, occurred for the son: When he was sent to a grammarian, a certain kinswoman of his gave him the works of Homer all written in letters of gold on purple. 5 And while he was yet a little boy, he was asked to dinner by Alexander as a compliment to his father, and, being without a dinner-robe, he wore one of Alexander's. 6 When still an infant, moreover, he mounted up into a carriage of Antoninus Caracalla's that unexpectedly came down the public way, seeing it empty, and sat down; and only with great ado was he routed out by the coachmen. 7 Nor were there lacking then those who told Caracalla to beware of the child. But he said, "It is a far chance that this fellow will succeed me." For at that time he was of the undistinguished crowd and was very young.

^{31 1} The omens of his death were these: When Maximinus and his son were marching against Maximus and Balbinus they were met by a woman with dishevelled hair and woeful attire, who cried out, "Maximini, Maximini, Maximini," and said no more, and died. She wished to add, it seemed, "Help me!" 2 And at their next halting-place hounds, more than twelve of them, howled about his tent, drawing their breath with a sort of sobbing, and at dawn were found dead. 3 Five hundred wolves, likewise, came in a pack into that town whither Maximinus had betaken himself — Emona, many say, others Archimea; at any rate, it was one which was left abandoned by its inhabitants when Maximinus approached. 4 It is a lengthy business to enumerate all these things; and if anyone desires to know them, let him, as I have often said, read Cordus, who has related them all, to the point of telling idle tales.

⁵ They have no tombs. For their corpses were cast into running water and their

heads, while the mob capered, were burned in the Campus Martius.

³² ¹ Aelius Sabinus has written, and we must not omit it, that such was the beauty of the son's face that even in death his head, now black, and dirty, shrunken, and running with putrid gore, seemed still the shadow, as it were, of a beautiful face. ² And indeed, though there was great joy at seeing the head of Maximinus, there was almost equal grief when the son's head was carried with it. ³ Dexippus says that Maximinus was hated so thoroughly that when the Gordians perished the senate elected twenty men to oppose him. Among these were Maximus and Balbinus, and these two they made emperors against him. ⁴ This same Dexippus says also that Maximinus' prefect of the guard and his son were slain before their eyes, after his soldiers had deserted him. ⁵ And there are not lacking historians who say that Maximinus also, after he had been deserted and had seen his son slain before his eyes, killed himself with his own hand, that nothing womanish might attach to him.

³³ ¹ Nor can we fail to mention the extraordinary loyalty displayed by the Aquileians in defending the senate against Maximinus. For, lacking bow-strings with which to shoot their arrows, they made cords of the women's hair. ² It is said that this once happened at Rome as well, whence it was that the senate, in honour of the matrons, dedicated the temple of Venus Calva.

We can by no means be silent about the following point. For although Dexippus, Arrianus, and many other Greek writers have said that Maximus and Balbinus were set up as emperors against Maximinus, and that Maximus, being sent out with the army, prepared for war at Ravenna, and did not see Aquileia until after he was victorious, Latin writers have said that it was not Maximus but Pupienus who fought Maximinus at Aquileia and beat him. ³ Whence this error arose I cannot say, unless it be that Maximus and Pupienus were one and the same. ⁴ At any rate, I have set this statement down with its authorities, in order that no one may believe that I did not know it — which indeed would cause great wonder and amazement!

The Three Gordians

¹ ¹ It had been my plan, revered Augustus, following the example of many writers, to present each separate emperor to Your Clemency, each in a separate book. ² For I have either seen for myself that many writers have done this, or I have so understood from my reading. ³ It did not seem proper, however, either to perplex Your Piety with a multitude of books or to expend my labour on many volumes. ⁴ For this reason in this book I have bound the three Gordians together, having a care both for my own labour and for your reading, lest you be compelled to unroll many volumes and yet read scarcely one story. ⁵ But let not me, who have always fled long books and many words, seem to run into the very thing I pretend cleverly to avoid; and so to my subject!

² ¹ There were not, as certain uninformed writers maintain, two Gordians, but three. These writers might have learned this from Arrianus, the writer of Greek history, and likewise from Dexippus, the Greek writer, both of whom have investigated the whole question, briefly perhaps, but still conscientiously. ² Of the three, Gordian the elder, that is the first, was the son of Maecius Marullus and Ulpia Gordiana. On his father's side he traced his descent from the house of the Gracchi, on his mother's from the Emperor Trajan. His own father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, his wife's father and grandfather, and likewise another of his wife's grandfathers and two of her great-grandfathers, were consuls. ³ He himself as consul was most rich and powerful; at Rome he owned the House of Pompey, and in the provinces more land than any other subject. ⁴ After his consulship, which he served with Alexander, he was sent out as proconsul to Africa by decree of the senate.

³ ¹ But before I tell of his rule, I shall speak a little of his character. ² When the Gordian of whom we are speaking was a young man, he wrote poetry, all of which has been preserved. As a matter of fact, all the subjects were those which Cicero also treated, that is, *Marius*, *Aratus*, *Alcyonae*, *Uxorius* and *Nilus*. And he wrote these in order that Cicero's poems might seem out of date. ³ Besides these, just as Vergil wrote an *Aeneid*, Statius an *Achilleid*, and many others *Alexandriads*, he wrote an *Antoniniad* — the lives, that is, of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, most learnedly versified in thirty books, wherein he recounted their wars and other doings both public and private. ⁴ And all this he did as a young boy. Later on, when he grew to manhood, he declaimed and disputed at the Athenaeum, at times in the presence of his emperors.

⁵ He served his quaestorship most splendidly. When he was aedile he gave the

Roman people twelve exhibitions, that is one for each month, at his own expense; at times, indeed, he provided five hundred pairs of gladiators, and never less than a hundred and fifty. 6 He produced a hundred wild beasts of Libya at once, and likewise at one time a thousand bears. There exists also today a remarkable wild-beast hunt of his, pictured in Gnaeus Pompey's "House of the Beaks"; this palace belonged to him and to his father and grandfather before him until your privy-purse took it over in the time of Philip. 7 In this picture at the present day are contained two hundred stags with antlers shaped like the palm of a hand, together with stags of Britain, thirty wild horses, a hundred wild sheep, ten elks, a hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred red Moorish ostriches, thirty wild asses, a hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred chamois, and two hundred fallow deer. 8 And all these he handed over to the people to be killed on the day of the sixth exhibition that he gave.

⁴ 1 He served a famous praetorship. Then, after administering the law, he entered upon his first consulship with Antoninus Caracalla, his second with Alexander. 2 °He had two children, one the son who attained consular rank and was named Augustus with himself and perished in the war in Africa near Carthage, the other a daughter, Maecia Faustina by name who was married to Junius Balbus, a man of consular rank. 3 His consulships were more brilliant than that of any other man of his time; even Antoninus envied him, admiring now his togas, now his broad stripe, and now his games, which surpassed the imperial games themselves. 4 He was the first Roman subject to possess for his own a tunic embroidered with palms and a gold-embroidered toga; for previously even the emperors had gotten theirs either from the Capitol or the Palace. 5 With the emperors' permission he distributed a hundred Sicilian and a hundred Cappadocian horses among the factions. And he endeared himself greatly to the people, who are always touched by acts of this nature. 6 Cordus says that he gave stage-plays and Juvenalia in all the cities of Campania, Etruria, Umbria, Flaminia, and Picenum, for four days at his own expense. 7 He wrote prose eulogies also of all the Antonines who had preceded him. He admired the Antonines marvellously; many say that he himself assumed the name Antoninus or, as more declare, Antonius. 8 And certainly there is no doubt that he embellished his son with the name Antoninus, when, after the Roman custom, he acknowledged him before the prefect of the Treasury and entered his name in the public records.

⁵ 1 After his consulship he was appointed proconsul of Africa through the efforts of all those who desired Alexander's reign to seem and to be brilliant in Africa through the splendour of its proconsul. 2 Indeed there still exists a letter of Alexander's in which he thanks the senate for electing Gordian proconsul for

Africa. 3 It runs in this style: “You could have done nothing more pleasing or agreeable to me, Conscript Fathers, than to send Antoninus Gordian as proconsul to Africa, for he is well-born, high-minded, eloquent, just, moderate, virtuous,” and so on. 4 It is clear from this how great a man Gordian was even at that time. 5 He was beloved by the Africans as no other proconsul had ever been before; some called him Scipio, others, Cato, and many, Mucius, Rutilius, and Laelius. 6 An acclamation of theirs which Junius noted down has been preserved. 7 For when on one occasion he was reading an imperial act and began with the mention of the proconsuls Scipio, the people shouted, “The new Scipio, the true Scipio, the proconsul Gordian”. He was often greeted with these and similar acclamations.

⁶¹ In height he was characteristically Roman. He was becomingly gray, with an impressive face, more ruddy than fair. His face was fairly broad, his eyes, his countenance, and his brow such as to command respect. His body was somewhat stocky. 2 In character he was temperate and restrained; there is nothing you can say that he ever did passionately, immoderately, or excessively. 3 His affection for his kin was remarkable, for his daughter and granddaughter most devoted. 4 He was as deferential to his father-in law Annius Severus as though he considered that he had passed over into his family as a son; he never washed himself in his company, he never sat in his presence until he became praetor. 5 And when he was consul either he always remained at the old man’s house, or, if he stayed at the House of Pompey, he went either at morning or evening to see him. 6 He was sparing in the use of wine, very sparing in the use of food. His dress was elegant. He was fond of bathing; indeed, during the summer, he would bathe four or five times a day, in the winter twice. 7 His love of sleep was enormous; he would doze off even at table, if he were dining with friends, and without any embarrassment. This he seemed to do at nature’s bidding and not because of intoxication or wantonness.

⁷¹ But all his virtuous behaviour profited him nothing. For this old man, worthy of respect as such a life had made him, who passed his days with Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Vergil, finally suffered an end other than that he deserved.

² For, in the time of Maximinus, a grim and savage man, he was ruling Africa as proconsul, and his son was with him as his legate, having been so appointed by the senate from among the consuls. Now there was a certain agent of the privy-purse, who ran riot against a great number of Africans even more violently than Maximinus himself allowed. He outlawed a great many, he put many to death, he assumed all powers in excess even of a tax-gatherer’s; and when he was finally restrained by the proconsul and legate he threatened those noble

consular men with death. The Africans at length were unable to suffer these unwonted injuries any longer, and so, with the aid of a number of soldiers, they first killed him. 3 Then, after he was killed and while the whole world was blazing with hatred of Maximinus, his slayers began to take counsel how this conflict which had arisen between the agents of Maximinus and the peasants, or rather the Africans, might go unpunished. 4 Then a certain fellow, Mauritius by name, a municipal councillor, who had great influence with the Africans, held a sort of assembly on his farm near Thysdrus and made a most notable oration to the people of the town and the country, saying: 8 “Let us give thanks to the immortal gods, citizens, that they have given us a chance, and truly a needed one, of protecting ourselves against that madman Maximinus. 2 We have slain a tax-gatherer of his, one patterned after himself in character and conduct, and unless we make an emperor of our own we are lost. 3 Wherefore, since not far off there is a man of noble blood, a proconsul, and with him his son, a consular legate, both of whom that pest has threatened with death, we shall hail them emperors, if it please you, taking the purple from the standards, and giving them their proper trappings make them secure by Roman law.” 4 Whereupon they shouted, “It is good, it is right. Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you safe! Rule happily, rule with your son.”

5 Upon this, they came hastily to the town of Thysdrus, and there they found the venerable old man returned from the law-courts and lying on a couch. They girt him straightway with the purple, but he would have none of it and cast himself on the ground; and they lifted him up still refusing. 6 But when he saw that he could do nothing else, for the sake of escaping from a danger which threatened him for certain at the hands of his supporters and only doubtfully from the Maximinians, the old man suffered himself to be acclaimed emperor. 9 He was then eighty years of age, and, as we have said, had ruled many provinces before; and he had so commended himself to the Roman people by his conduct in these that they thought him worthy of ruling the whole empire. 2 With regard to the killing of the agent, Gordian had had no previous knowledge. But when he learned of the fact, being now near to death and fearing greatly for his son, he preferred to die honourably rather than be handed over to the chains and prison-cell of Maximinus.

3 However, having now acclaimed Gordian emperor, the young men who were the authors of the deed proceeded to cast down the statues of Maximinus, break his busts, and publicly erase his name. They also gave Gordian the name Africanus. 4 Some add that he was granted this honorary name, not because he became emperor in Africa, but because he was descended from the family of the Scipios. 5 In most books, moreover, I find that Gordian and his son were

declared emperors with equal rank and both given the name Antoninus: certain other books, however, say that they were given the name Antonius.

⁶ After this, with kingly pomp and laurelled fasces, they came to Carthage, and there his son — who, after the example of the Scipios, as Dexippus the writer of Greek history says, was his father's legate — was invested with equal power. ⁷ Upon this an embassy was despatched to Rome, bearing letters from the Gordians to announce all that had taken place in Africa, which was received by Valerian, the chief of the senate (who was afterwards emperor), with rejoicing. Letters were sent also to their noble friends, in order that powerful men might support their action and from friends might become still greater friends.

^{10 1} But the senate received them so joyfully as emperors against Maximinus that not only did it ratify all that had been already done but further elected twenty men — including Maximus, known also as Pupienus, and Clodius Balbinus, both of whom were made emperors after the two Gordians were slain in Africa — ² among whom the districts of Italy were portioned out to be guarded for the Gordians against Maximinus. ³ Embassies then came to Rome from Maximinus promising to redress the past. ⁴ For they promised all good things; they promised a huge bounty to the soldiers and fields and a largess to the people, and they were trusted. ⁵ In fact, so much more trust was placed in the Gordians than in the Maximini, that Vitalianus, the prefect of the guard, was put to death at the senate's command, a quaestor and some soldiers performing the deed with great daring. This Vitalianus had conducted himself with great cruelty before; and now they feared some greater piece of savagery pleasing and agreeable to one of Maximinus' character. ⁶ The following story is related about his death. A forged letter, purporting to come from Maximinus and sealed as if with his ring, was brought to Vitalianus by soldiers in charge of a quaestor, who added that there was further information, not in the letter, to be imparted in secret. ⁷ They retired, therefore, to a distant portico, where he inquired what it was that was to be told him secretly. ⁸ But first they urged him to look at the seal on the letter, which he did. And while he was regarding it, they cut him down, and then persuaded the soldiers that he had been slain by command of Maximinus. And when this affair had been settled, the letters and images of the Gordians were displayed in the Camp.

¹¹ I think it my duty to set down in writing the decree of the senate in which the Gordians were declared emperors and Maximinus a public enemy. ² On an extraordinary, not a regular, day for the meeting of the senate, the consul, having foregathered at his own home with the praetors, the aediles, and the tribunes of the people, came to the Senate-house. ³ The prefect of the city, who had somehow got wind of something and had not received the official notice, kept

away from the meeting. But as it turned out, that was as well, for before the usual acclamations were made or anything was said favourable to Maximinus, the consul cried: 4 “Conscript Fathers, the two Gordians, father and son, both ex-consuls, the one your proconsul, the other now your legate, have been declared emperors by a great assembly in Africa. 5 Let us give thanks, then, to the young men of Thysdrus, and thanks also to the ever loyal people of Carthage; they have freed us from that savage monster, from that wild beast. 6 Why do you hear me with quaking? Why do you look around? Why do you delay? This is what you have always hoped for. 7 Maximinus is our enemy; the gods shall now bring it to pass that he may now cease to be, and that we with joyful hearts may enjoy the happy sagacity of the elder Gordian, the intrepid virtue of the younger.” 8 After this he read the letters which the Gordians had sent to the senate and to himself. And then the senate cried aloud: “We thank you, O gods. We are freed from our enemies; so may we be wholly freed! 9 °We adjudge Maximinus an enemy. We consign Maximinus and his son to the gods below. 10 We call the Gordians Augusti. We recognize the Gordians as princes. May the gods keep safe the senate’s emperors, may we see our noble emperors victorious, may Rome see our emperors! Whoever shall kill the public enemies shall get a reward.”

^{12 1} Junius Cordus says that this was a secret decree of the senate. Just what this is, and why it is so called, I shall briefly explain. 2 Today the equivalent of a secret decree of the senate is, in general, nothing more than the action of those inner councils of elders by which Your Clemency settles those affairs which are not to be published abroad. You are accustomed to take oath when discussing these matters, moreover, that no one shall hear or know anything of them until the business is completed. 3 But among the ancients the custom was introduced in the interests of the state, that, if by any chance violence threatened at the hands of their enemies, which forced them either to adopt ignoble counsels or resolve on things which should not be disclosed until they were ready to be put into effect, or if they were unwilling for certain measures to be divulged to friends, the senate passed a secret decree. At these sessions not even the clerks or public servants or officers of the Census were present; the senators took over and the senators performed the duties of all the clerks and officers of the Census, lest anything by any chance should be betrayed. 4 To prevent news of it reaching Maximinus, therefore, this decree of the senate was made secret.

^{13 1} But as is the way with the minds of men — of such of them, at least, as blush if any knowledge of theirs does not become known and consider it abject not to betray a trust — Maximinus straightway learned everything. Indeed, he got a copy of the senate’s secret decree — a thing that had never previously occurred. 2 There is a letter of his to the city-prefect which says: “I have read the

senate's secret decree about those emperors of ours; perhaps you, being city-prefect, did not know it had been passed, for you were not present on that occasion. I have sent you a copy, however, hoping that you may learn how to rule the commonwealth of Rome." 3 The fury that shook Maximinus when he learned that Africa had revolted from him is impossible to describe. 4 For when he finally comprehended the decree of the senate, he dashed himself against the walls, he rent his garments, he snatched his sword as though he could slay them in a body, he seemed, indeed, to go wholly mad.

5 The prefect of the city now got even more violent letters and made an address to the people and the soldiers, wherein he said that Maximinus had been slain. 6 Upon this great rejoicing arose and the statues and portraits of the public enemy were immediately cast down. 7 The senate, moreover, employed the powers which belonged to it for impending war. Informers, false accusers, personal agents, in fact all the filth of the Maximinian despotism, it ordered to be put to death. 8 But this, the senate's decision, was not enough; the people decided that after they were put to death they should be dragged about and cast into the sewer. 9 Then also Sabinus, the prefect of the city and a man of consular rank, was beaten with a club and slain; his corpse was left lying in the streets.

¹⁴¹ When Maximinus learned of these last measures he at once assembled his troops and harangued them in the following manner: "Consecrated fellow-soldiers, or rather partakers of my consecration, who have, most of you, fought with me wars that were wars indeed, when we defended the majesty of Rome from Germany, when we redeemed Illyricum from the barbarians, the Africans have kept Punic faith. 2 They have acclaimed the two Gordians emperors; one of whom is so broken with old age that he cannot rise, the other so wasted with debauchery that exhaustion serves him for old age. 3 And lest this be not enough, that glorious senate of ours has approved what the Africans have done. They for whose children we bear arms have set up twenty men against us, and passed all such decrees against us as are passed against a foe. 4 Up! then, as men should; we must hasten to the city. For against us twenty men, all of consular rank, have been chosen; they must be withstood, we bravely leading, you happily fighting." 5 But that this harangue left his soldiers with indifferent feelings, and not with quickened spirits, even Maximinus himself realized. 6 In fact, he at once wrote to his son, who was following at a distance behind, to hasten speedily, lest the soldiers devise some plot against him in his absence. 7 Junius Cordus gives the purport of the letter thus: "My attendant Tynchanus is coming to tell you my last advices on what has taken place in Africa and Rome, and also how the soldiers feel. 8 I beseech you, hasten as fast as you can, lest this mob of soldiers take further measures, as soldiers are wont to do. What I fear,

you will learn from him whom I have sent you.”

^{15 1} But while all this was taking place, the Gordians were attacked in Africa by a certain Capelianus. He had always been hostile to Gordian even in private life, and now the Emperor himself dismissed him when, as an old soldier, he was governing the Moors by Maximinus’ appointment. And so when Gordian dismissed him, he gathered the Moors together and with an irregular force of them came up to Carthage, the people of which, with typical Punic faith, came over to him. 2 None the less, Gordian desired to hazard the chances of war, and sent against them his son, now well advanced in years (he was then forty-six years old), and at that time his father’s legate; we shall give a resumé of his character in its proper place. 3 But in military affairs not only was Capelianus the bolder man, but the younger Gordian was less well trained, placed at a disadvantage, as he was, by the luxurious life of the nobility. When they joined battle, accordingly, he was beaten, and in the same campaign slain.

^{16 1} Such a host of Gordian’s party fell in this campaign, it is said, that the body of the younger Gordian, although it was long searched for, could not be found. 2 There was a great storm, moreover, — a rare thing in Africa — which scattered Gordian’s army before the battle and also made the soldiers less fit for the fight, and on this account Capelianus’ victory was the easier.

³ And when the elder Gordian learned of this, seeing there was no aid in Africa, and being distressed with a great fear of Maximinus and by knowledge of Punic faith, also because Capelianus was assailing him very sharply, and because in the end the struggle had wearied him in mind and soul, he took a rope and hanged himself.

⁴ This was the end of two of the Gordians. Both of them were named Augusti by the senate and afterwards placed among the gods.

Gordian the Second.

¹⁷ ¹ This was the son of the old Gordian, the proconsul of Africa. He too was named Augustus by the Africans and the senate at the same time as his father, and he was illustrious in culture and character as well as in battle rank; the last, according to many writers, he derived from the Antonines, although most say from the Antonii. ² Others adduce the following facts as evidence to show the high quality of his family — that the elder Gordian was called Africanus, the honorary surname of the Scipios; that he possessed the House of Pompey in the city; that he was always given the surname of the Antonines; and that he himself expressed a desire in the senate that his son should be known as Antonius. Each of these, they believe, represents a family connection. ³ I, however, follow Junius Cordus, who says that the nobility of the Gordians was derived from all these families. ⁴ At any rate, he was the first offspring of his father, Gordian, and Fabia Orestilla, the great-granddaughter of Antoninus, through whom he seemed also to be lined with the family of the Caesars. ⁵ A few days after his birth he was given the name Antoninus; later, in the senate, he was publicly named Antonius; and the people finally began to call him Gordian.

¹⁸ ¹ He took his studies very seriously. In person he was remarkably good looking; his memory was extraordinary. He was very kind of heart; indeed, when any of the boys was flogged at school, he could not restrain his tears. ² Serenus Sammonicus, a great friend of his father's, was his tutor, and a very beloved and agreeable one he was; in fact, when he died, he left the young Gordian all the books that had belonged to his father, Serenus Sammonicus, and these were estimated at sixty-two thousand. ³ And this raised him to the seventh heaven, for being now possessed of a library of such magnitude and excellence, thanks to the power of letters he became famous among men.

⁴ He won his quaestorship upon the recommendation of Elagabalus; for the wildness of the young man, which was nevertheless neither extravagant nor depraved, had found him favour with that extravagant emperor. ⁵ He held the city-praetorship on the recommendation of Alexander, and did so well in this office, chiefly in administering the law, that he was immediately given the consulship, which his father had won late in life. ⁶ And in the time either of Maximinus or of this same Alexander, being sent to his father's proconsular command, he served as his legate, and then happened what has been related above.

¹⁹ ¹ He was somewhat fond of wine, but always, however, of wine in some way

spiced, at one time with roses, again with mastic, again with wormwood and various other herbs — all of which are most pleasing to the palate. 2 He ate sparingly; indeed he finished his luncheon — if he lunched at all — or his dinner in an instant. 3 He was very fond of women; indeed, it is said that he had twenty-two concubines decreed him, from all of whom he left three or four children apiece. 4 He was nicknamed, in fact, the Priam of his age, but often the crowd jestingly called him not Priam but Priapus, as being nearer to his character. He lived in revelry — in gardens, in baths, and in most delightful groves. Nor did his father ever rebuke him, but on the contrary very often said that sometime soon he would die in the greatest eminence. 6 Yet in his manner of life he never was inferior to the good in bravery, and he was ever among the most distinguished of citizens and never failed the commonwealth with advice. 7 And the senate, finally, entitled him Augustus with the greatest joy and laid on him the hopes of the state. 8 He was very elegant in his dress, and beloved by his slaves and entire household. 9 Cordus says that he was never willing to have a wife, but Dexippus thinks that the third Gordian was his son — the boy, that is, who was afterwards made emperor with Balbinus and Pupienus (or Maximus).

²⁰ 1 At one time the elder Gordian consulted an astrologer about his son's nativity, and the astrologer, it is said, answered that the child would be both son and father of an emperor, and that he also would be emperor. 2 Gordian laughed; but then, they say, the astrologer pointed out the constellation and read from ancient books until he proved that he had spoken the truth. 3 °This same astrologer, moreover, predicted truthfully the day and the manner of the deaths of both father and son, and the places where they would die, all with stubborn firmness. 4 In after days, it is said, the elder Gordian recounted all of this in Africa, at a time when he was emperor and had nothing to fear — indeed, he spoke of his own death and his son's and of the manner in which they would die. 5 Often, too, the old man recited these verses when he saw his son:

“Him the fates only displayed to the circle of lands, and no longer
Suffered to be. Too great, too great did Rome's generations
Seem to you else, O Gods, had this figure really been granted.”

⁶ There are still in existence various things written by the younger Gordian in both prose and verse, which are often quoted by his kinsmen today. These are neither good nor yet very bad, but rather mediocre. They seem, in truth, the work of one who was really talented but gave himself over to pleasure and wasted his genius.

²¹ 1 He was extremely fond of fruit and greens; in fact, though very abstemious in his use of other kinds of food, he was continually eating fresh fruit. 2 He had a craving for cold drinks, and passed the summer with great difficulty unless he

drank cold drinks and a great many of them. He was of huge size, as a matter of fact, and this somewhat stimulated his longing for cold drinks.

³ This is what we have discovered about the younger Gordian that is worthy of mention. For we do not think we need recount absurd and silly tales such as Junius Cordus has written concerning his domestic pleasures and petty matters of that sort. ⁴ If any desire to know these things, let them read Cordus; Cordus tells what slaves each and every emperor had and what friends, how many mantles and how many cloaks. Knowledge of this sort of thing does no one any good. It is the duty of historians, rather, to set down in their histories such things as are to be avoided or sought after.

⁵ But truly I have decided that I must not omit this, which I read in Vulcatius Terentianus, who wrote a history of his time, because it seems a marvellous thing. So I write it down. The elder Gordian resembled the face of Augustus perfectly; he seemed, indeed, to have his very voice and mannerisms and stature; his son, in turn, seemed like to Pompey, although it is true that Pompey was not obese of person; his grandson, finally, whose portraits we can see today, bore the appearance of Scipio Asiaticus. This, because of its very strangeness, I have decided should not be passed over in silence.

Gordian the Third

^{22 1} On the death of the two Gordians, the senate, being now thoroughly agitated and in even more violent terror of Maximinus, chose Pupienus (or Maximus) and Clodius Balbinus, both ex-consuls, from the twenty men whom they had elected to protect the state, and declared them emperors. 2 But on this the populace and soldiers demanded that the child Gordian should be made Caesar, he being then, so most authorities declare, eleven years old; some, however, say thirteen, and Junius Cordus says sixteen (for Cordus says that he was in his twenty-second year when he died). 3 At any rate, he was hurried to the senate and thence taken to an assembly, and there they clothed him in the imperial garments and hailed him as Caesar.

⁴ According to most authorities, he was the son of Gordian's daughter, but one or two (I have unable to discover more) say that he was the child of that son of Gordian who was killed in Africa. 5 However this may be, after he was made Caesar he was reared at his mother's house. But when Maximus and Balbinus had ruled for two years after the death of the Maximini they were slain in a mutiny of the soldiers, and the young Gordian, who had been Caesar until then, was declared Augustus — the soldiers, populace, senate, and all the peoples of the Empire uniting with great love, great eagerness, and great gratitude to do so. 6 For they loved him exceedingly because of his grandfather and uncle (or father), who had both taken up arms in behalf of the senate and Roman people against Maximinus and had both perished, the one by a soldier's death, the other through a soldier's despair.

⁷ After this a body of veterans came to the Senate-house to learn what had taken place. 8 And two of them, having gone up to the Capitol — for the senate was meeting there, — were slain by Gallicanus, a former consul, and Maecenas, a former general, before the very altar, 9 and a civil war sprang up, in which even the senators were armed; for the veterans were unaware that the young Gordian was holding the imperial power alone. 23 (Dexippus says that Gordian the third was the child of Gordian's son). But shortly afterwards, when it was understood among the veterans that Gordian was ruling alone, a peace was confirmed between the populace and the soldiers and veterans, and an end of the civil strife was made when the boy was given the consulship. 2 There was an omen, however, that Gordian was not to rule for long, which was this: there occurred an eclipse of the sun, so black that men thought it was night and business could not be transacted without the aid of lanterns. 3 None the less,

after it the populace devoted itself to spectacles and revelry, to dull the memory of the hard things that had been done before.

⁴ In the consulship of Venustus and Sabinus a revolt broke out in Africa against Gordian the third under the leadership of Sabinianus. But the governor of Mauretania, who was first beset by the conspirators, crushed it for Gordian so severely that all of them came up to Carthage to surrender Sabinianus and confessed their wrong and sought pardon for it. ⁵ When, however, this trouble in Africa had been ended, a war broke out with the Persians — this being in the first consulship of Pompeianus and the second of Gordian. ⁶ But before setting out for this war the young Gordian took a wife, the daughter of Timestheus, a most erudite man, whom Gordian considered worthy of being his relation because of his powers of eloquence and immediately made his prefect. ⁷ After this his rule seemed not in the least that of a child or contemptible, since he was aided by the advice of this excellent father-in law, while he himself, on his own account, developed considerable sagacity and did not let his favours be sold by the eunuchs and attendants at court through his mother's ignorance or connivance.

²⁴¹ There is still in existence a letter from Gordian to his father-in law and also one from his father-in law to him, in which we can see how faultlessly and zealously he and his father-in law strove to perfect their age. This is a copy of the letters:

² “To my imperial son and Augustus, from Timestheus, his prefect and father-in law. One serious scandal of our age we have escaped; the scandal, I mean, that eunuchs and those who pretend to be your friends (though really they are your worst enemies) arrange all things for money. This is all the more agreeable, and it should make this improvement more pleasing to you too, because if there have been any failings, it seems assured, my revered son, that they have not been yours. ³ For no one could bear it when commissions in the army were given out on the nomination of eunuchs, when labours were denied their due reward, when men who should not have been slain or set free through caprice or bribery, when the treasury was drained, when conspiracies were fomented by those who moved cunningly about you every day, that you, too, might be finally ensnared, while all evil men settled beforehand among themselves what to advise you about the righteous, drove away the good, introduced the abominable, and, in the end, sold all your secrets for a price. ⁴ Let the gods be thanked, then, that this evil has been done away with, as you, too, desired! ⁵ Truly it delights me to be the father-in law of a worthy emperor; and of one, too, who inquires into everything and wishes to know everything, and has driven away the men who formerly sold him as though he were set up in open market.”

²⁵ Likewise Gordian's letter to Timesitheus:

"From the Emperor Gordian Augustus to Timesitheus, his father-in law and prefect. Were it not that the mighty gods watch over the Roman Empire, even now we should be sold by bought eunuchs as though under the hammer. 2 Now at last I know that a Felicio should not have been put in command of the praetorian guard and that I should not have entrusted the Fourth Legion to a Serapammon; in fact, to give no further examples, that I should not have done much that I did do; but now, the gods be thanked, I have learned from suggestions by you, who are incorruptible, what I could not know by myself. 3 For what could I do? — since even our mother was betraying us, she who used to take counsel with Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus and then praise men or traduce them accordingly, and by their testimony as though by the evidence of witnesses she would prove what she had said. 4 My father, I should like you to hear a true thing: wretched is an emperor before whom men do not speak out the truth, for since he himself cannot walk out among the people he can only hear things, and then believe either what he has heard or what the majority have corroborated."

⁵ From these letters one can see how the young man had been improved and bettered by his father-in law's counsel. 6 Some say that Timesitheus' letter was written in Greek but in any case to the above effect. 7 So great was the power, moreover, of his strength of character and righteousness, that he rose from great obscurity to make the Emperor Gordian illustrious not only for his noble birth but also for his deeds.

^{26 1} There was a severe earthquake in Gordian's reign — so severe that whole cities with all their inhabitants disappeared in the opening of the ground. Vast sacrifices were offered through the entire city and the entire world because of this. 2 And Cordus says that the Sibylline Books were consulted, and everything that seemed ordered therein done; whereupon this world-wide evil was stayed.

³ But after this earthquake was stayed, in the consulship of Praetextatus and Atticus, Gordian opened the twin gates of Janus, which was a sign that war had been declared, and set out against the Persians with so huge an army and so much gold as easily to conquer the Persians with either his regulars or his auxiliaries. 4 He marched into Moesia and there, even while making ready, he destroyed, put to flight, expelled, and drove away whatever forces of the enemy were in Thrace. 5 From there he marched through Syria to Antioch, which was then in the possession of the Persians. There he fought and won repeated battles, and drove out Sapor, the Persians' king. 6 After this he recovered Artaxanes, Antioch, Carrhae, and Nisibis, all of which had been included in the Persian empire. 27 Indeed the king of the Persians became so fearful of the Emperor

Gordian that, though he was provided with forces both from his own lands and from ours, he nevertheless evacuated the cities and restored them unharmed to their citizens; nor did he injure their possessions in any way. 2 All this, however, was accomplished by Timesitheus, Gordian's father-in law and prefect. 3 And in the end Gordian's campaign forced the Persians, who were then dreaded even in Italy, to return to their own kingdom, and the Roman power occupied the whole of the East.

⁴ There is still in existence an oration of Gordian's to the senate, wherein while writing of his deeds he gives boundless thanks to his prefect and father-in law Timesitheus. I have set down a part of it, that from this you may learn his actual words: 5 "After those deeds, Conscript Fathers, which were done while on our march and done everywhere in a manner worthy of as many separate triumphs, we (to compress much into little) removed from the necks of the people of Antioch, which were bent under the Persian yoke, the Persians, the kings of the Persians, and the Persians' law. 6 After this we restored Carrhae and other cities also to the Roman sway. We have penetrated as far as Nisibis, and if it be pleasing to the gods, we shall even get to Ctesiphon. 7 Only may our prefect and father-in law Timesitheus prosper, for it was by his leadership and his arrangements that we accomplished these things and shall in the future continue to accomplish them. 8 It is now for you to decree thanksgivings, to commend us to the gods, and to give thanks to Timesitheus."

⁹ After this was read to the senate, chariots drawn by four elephants were decreed for Gordian, in order that he might have a Persian triumph inasmuch as he had conquered the Persians, and for Timesitheus a six-horse chariot and a triumphal car and the following inscription: 10 "To His Excellency Timesitheus, Father of Emperors, Prefect of the Guard and of the entire City, Guardian of the State, the senate and the Roman people make grateful acknowledgment."

²⁸¹ But such felicity could not endure. For, as most say, through the plotting of Philip, who was made prefect of the guard after him, or, as others say, because of a disease, Timesitheus died, leaving the Roman state as his heir. Everything that had been his was added to the city's revenues. 2 So excellent was this man's management of public affairs that there was nowhere a border city of major size, such as could contain an army and emperor of the Roman people, that did not have supplies of cheap wine, grain, bacon, barley, and straw for a year; other smaller cities had supplies for thirty days, some for forty, and not a few for two months, while the very least had supplies for fifteen days. 3 When he was prefect, likewise, he constantly inspected his men's arms. He never let an old man serve and he never let a boy draw rations. He used to go over the camps and their entrenchments, and he even frequently visited the sentries during the night.

4 And because he so loved the emperor and the state, everyone loved him. The tribunes and generals both loved and feared him so much that they were unwilling to do wrong and, for that matter, in no way did wrong. 5 Philip, they say, was mightily in fear of him for many reasons and on this account plotted with the doctors against his life. He did it in this way: Timesitheus, as it happened, was suffering from diarrhoea and was told by the doctors to take a potion to check it. 6 And then, they say, they changed what had been prepared and gave him something which loosened him all the more; and thus he died.

²⁹ 1 When he died, in the consulship of Arrianus and Papus, Philippus Arabs was made prefect of the guard in his place. This Philip was low-born but arrogant, and now could not contain himself in his sudden rise to office and immoderate good fortune, but immediately, through the soldiers, began to plot against Gordian, who had begun to treat him as a father. He did it in the following manner. 2 As we have said, Timesitheus had stored up such a quantity of supplies everywhere, that the Roman administration could not break down. But now Philip intrigued first to have the grain-ships turned away, and then to have the troops moved to stations where they could not get provisions. 3 In this way he speedily got them exasperated against Gordian, for they did not know that the youth had been betrayed through Philip's intriguing. 4 In addition to this, Philip spread talk among the soldiers to the effect that Gordian was young and could not manage the Empire, and that it were better for someone to rule who could command the army and understood public affairs. 5 Besides this, he won over the leaders, and finally brought it about that they openly called him to the throne. 6 Gordian's friends at first opposed him vigorously, but when the soldiers were at last overcome with hunger Philip was entrusted with the sovereignty, and the soldiers commanded that he and Gordian should rule together with equal rank while Philip acted as a sort of guardian.

³⁰ 1 Now that he had gained the imperial power Philip began to bear himself very arrogantly towards Gordian; and he knowing himself to be an emperor, an emperor's son, and a scion of a most noble family, could not endure this low-born fellow's insolence. And so, mounting the platform, with his kinsman Maecius Gordianus standing by him as his prefect, he complained bitterly to the officers and soldiers in the hope that Philip's office could be taken from him. 2 But by this complaint — in which he accused Philip of being unmindful of past favours and too little grateful — he accomplished nothing. 3 Next he asked the soldiers to make their choice, after openly canvassing the officers, but as a result of Philip's intriguing he came off second in the general vote. 4 And finally, when he saw that everyone considered him worsted, he asked that their power might at least be equal, but he did not secure this either. 5 After this he asked to be given

the position of Caesar, but he did not gain this. 6 He asked also to be Philip's prefect, and this, too, was denied him. 7 His last prayer was that Philip should make him a general and let him live. And to this Philip almost consented — not speaking himself, but acting through his friends, as he had done throughout, with nods and advice. 8 But when he reflected that the Roman people and senate, the whole of Africa and Syria, and indeed the whole Roman world, felt for Gordian, because he was nobly born and the son and grandson of emperors and had delivered the whole state from grievous wars, it was position, if the soldiers ever changed their minds, that the throne might be given back to Gordian if he asked for it again, and when he reflected also that the violence of the soldiers' anger against Gordian was due to hunger, he had him carried, shouting protests, out of their sight and then despoiled and slain. 9 At first his orders were delayed, but afterwards it was done as he had bidden. And in this unholy and illegal manner Philip became emperor.

³¹ 1 Gordian reigned six years. And while the preceding events were taking place, Argunt, the king of the Scythians, was devastating the kingdoms of his neighbours, chiefly because he had learned that Timesitheus, by whose counsels the state had been guided, was now dead.

² And now, that he might not seem to have obtained the imperial office by bloody means, Philip sent a letter to Rome saying that Gordian had died of a disease and that he, Philip, had been chosen emperor by all the soldiers. The senate was naturally deceived in these matters of which it knew nothing, 3 and so it entitled Philip emperor and gave him the name Augustus and then placed the young Gordian among the gods.

⁴ He was a light-hearted lad, handsome, winning, agreeable to everyone, merry in his life, eminent in letters; in nothing, indeed, save in his age was he unqualified for empire. 5 Before Philip's conspiracy he was loved by the people, the senate, and the soldiers as no prince had ever been before. 6 Cordus says that all the soldiers spoke of him as their son, that he was called son by the entire senate, and that all the people said Gordian was their darling. 7 And indeed Philip, after he had killed him, did not remove his portraits or throw down his statues or erase his name, but always called him divine, even among the soldiers with whom he had made his conspiracy, and worshipped him with a mixture of a serious spirit and the shrewdness of an alien.

³² 1 The house of the Gordians is still in existence. This was embellished by this Gordian very beautifully. 2 There is also a villa of theirs on the Praenestine Way, with two hundred columns in the inner court, fifty of them of Carystian marble, fifty of Claudian, fifty of Phrygian, and fifty of Numidian — all of equal size. 3 In this same house there were three basilicas •one hundred feet long and other

things suitable to such a building, and there were baths that could be equalled nowhere in the world save in the city as it was at that time.

⁴ The senate passed a decree for the family of Gordian to the effect that his descendants need never serve as guardians or on embassies or in public duties unless they wished.

⁵ There are no public works of Gordian now in existence in Rome save a few fountains and baths. And these baths were built for commoners and were therefore correspondingly equipped. ⁶ He had projected, however, a portico on the Campus Martius, just under the hill, •a thousand feet long, intending to erect another of equal length opposite to it with a space of •five hundred feet stretching evenly between. In this space there were to be pleasure-parks on both sides, filled with laurel, myrtle, and box-trees, and down the middle a mosaic walk a thousand feet long with short columns and statuettes placed on either side. This was to be a promenade, and at the end there was to be a basilica five hundred feet long. ⁷ Besides this, he had planned with Timesitheus to erect summer-baths, named after himself, behind the basilica, and to put winter-baths at the entrance to the porticos, in order that the pleasure-parks and porticos might not be without some practical use. ⁸ But all this is now occupied by the estates and gardens and dwellings of private persons.

^{33 1} There were thirty-two elephants at Rome in the time of Gordian (of which he himself had sent twelve and Alexander ten), ten elk, ten tigers, sixty tame lions, thirty tame leopards, ten belbi or hyenas, a thousand pairs of imperial gladiators, six hippopotami, one rhinoceros, ten wild lions, ten giraffes, twenty wild asses, forty wild horses, and various other animals of this nature without number. All of these Philip presented or slew at the secular games. ² All these animals, wild, tame, and savage, Gordian intended for a Persian triumph; but his official vow proved of no avail, ³ for Philip presented all of them at the secular games, consisting of both gladiatorial spectacles and races in the Circus, that were celebrated on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the City, when he and his son were consuls.

⁴ Cordus writes that the same thing that is related of Gaius Caesar happened to Gordian. ⁵ For after the two Philips were slain, all who had fallen upon Gordian with the sword (there were nine of them, it is said) are said to have slain themselves with their own hands and swords, and those the same swords with which they had stricken him.

^{34 1} This, then, was the life of the three Gordians, all of whom were named Augustus, two of whom perished in Africa, one within the confines of Persia. ² The soldiers built Gordian a tomb near the camp at Circesium, which is in the territory of Persia, and added an inscription to the following effect in Greek,

Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian letters, so that all might read: 3 “To the deified Gordian, conqueror of the Persians, conqueror of the Goths, conqueror of the Sarmatians, queller of mutinies at Rome, conqueror of the Germans, but no conqueror of Philippi.” 4 This was added ostensibly because he had been beaten by the Alani in a disorderly battle on the plains of Philippi and forced to retreat; but at the same time it seemed to mean that he had been slain by the two Philips. 5 But Licinius, it is said, destroyed this inscription at the time when he seized the imperial power; for he desired to have it appear that he was descended from the two Philips. 6 All of this, great Constantine, I have investigated, in order that nothing might be lacking to your knowledge which seemed worth the knowing.

Maximus and Balbinus

1 1 When the elder Gordian and his son were now slain in Africa and Maximinus came raging toward the city to take vengeance because the Gordians had been named Augusti, the senate, in great terror, came together in the Temple of Concord on the seventh day before the Ides of July — the time, that is, of the Apollinarian Games — to seek some safeguard against the fury of that evil man. 2 When, then, two men of consular rank, and of distinction too, Maximus and Balbinus (Maximus is not mentioned in many histories, the name of Pupienus being inserted in his place, but both Dexippus and Arrianus say that Maximus and Balbinus were chosen against Maximinus after the Gordians), the one noted for his goodness the other for his courage and firmness — when these two came into the Senate-house, showing plainly on their brows their terror at Maximinus' coming, and the consul began to bring up other questions, he who gave the first opinion began thus: 3 "You are disturbed with petty things; while the world blazed we in the Senate-house are busied with an old woman's cares. 4 For what is the use of our discussing the restoration of temples, the embellishment of a basilica, and the Baths of Titus, or building the Amphitheatre, when Maximinus, whom you and I once declared a public enemy, is upon us, the two Gordians, in whom was our defence, are slain, and there is now no help whereby we can be relieved? 5 Come, then, Conscript Fathers, appoint emperors. Why do you delay? Do not be overcome while fearing each for himself and showing terror instead of courage." 2 Upon this all were silent; but finally, when Maximus, who was older and more famous by reason of his merits, his courage, and his firmness, began to give his opinion, maintaining that two emperors should be appointed, Vettius Sabinus, one of the family of the Ulpii, asked the consul that he might be permitted to interrupt and speak, and thus began: 2 "I am well aware, Conscript Fathers, that in revolution we should be so well agreed that plans should not be sought but seized; indeed, we should refrain from lengthy words and opinions when events press. 3 Let each look to his own neck, let him think of his wife and children, of his father's and his father's father's goods; all of these Maximinus threatens, by nature passionate, fierce, and bloody, and now with just cause, so it seems to him, still fiercer. 4 In battle-order, with camps pitched everywhere, he is coming towards the city; and you with sitting and consulting waste away the day. 5 There is no need for a long speech; we must make an emperor, nay we must make two princes, one to manage the affairs of state, one to manage the affairs of war; one to stay at home, and one to go out to

meet these bandits with an army. 6 I, then, nominate for emperors — and do you confirm them, if it please you, or if not, show me better ones — 7 Maximus and Balbinus, of whom one is so great in war that he has concealed the lowness of his birth by the splendour of his valour, the other, as he is illustrious of birth, so he is dear to the state by reason of both of his gentle character and of his blameless life, which from his earliest years he has passed in study and letters. 8 Conscript Fathers, you have my opinion — one more perilous perchance to me than to you, but by no means safe for you unless you make these men or others emperors.” 9 Upon this they cried out with one accord: 10 “It is right, it is just. We agree with the opinion of Sabinus, all of us. Maximus and Balbinus Augusti, may the gods keep you! The gods have made you emperors; may the gods keep you! Save the senate from the bandits; we entrust you with the war against the bandits. 11 May the public enemy Maximinus and his son perish! Hunt down the public enemy. You are happy in the judgment of the senate, the state is happy in your rule. 12 What the senate has given you, perform stoutly; what the senate has given you, take gladly.” 3 With these and other acclamations Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors.

² Coming out from the senate, then, they first mounted up to the Capitol and made sacrifice, 3 and then summoned the people to the Rostra. But there, after they had delivered speeches about the senate’s decision and their own election, the Roman people, together with some soldiers who had by chance assembled, cried out, “We all ask Gordian for Caesar”. 4 This was the grandson of Gordian by his daughter, being then, so most say, in his fourteenth year. 5 And so Gordian was hurried away, and by a new kind of senatorial decree, passed on that very same day, he was brought into the Senate-house and declared Caesar.

^{4 1} The first proposal, then, of the Emperors was that the two Gordians be entitled divine. 2 Some, indeed, think that only one, namely the elder, was so entitled; but I remember having read in the books which Junius Cordus wrote, of which there were plenty, that both were placed among the gods. 3 And truly the elder put an end to his life by hanging himself, whereas the younger was destroyed in war, and accordingly deserves greater respect because war took him. 4 At any rate, after these proposals were made, the city-prefecture was given to Sabinus, a serious man and suitable to one of Maximus’ character, the prefecture of the guard to Pinarius Valens.

⁵ But before I speak of their acts it seems best to tell of their characters and birth — not in the way in which Junius Cordus sought eagerly after everything, but rather as Suetonius Tranquillus and Valerius Marcellinus did. For although Curius Fortunatianus, who wrote the history of all this period, touched upon only a few things, Cordus wrote so much as to include a great mass of detail, some of

which was not even decent.

⁵ 1 The father of Maximus was also Maximus. He was one of the plebs, and according to some, a blacksmith, according to others, a carriage-maker. 2 He begot Maximus from a wife named Prima, together with four brothers and four sisters, all of whom died before the age of puberty. 3 At Maximus' birth an eagle, it is said, dropped a piece of beef — and a big one, too — into their dwelling where a narrow aperture lay open to the sky; and later, when it lay there, no one daring to touch it through superstitious fear, it picked it up again and carried it off to the nearest shrine, which was that of Jupiter Praestes. 4 At the time this did not seem anything of an omen; it was done, however, not without reason and showed his future rule.

⁵ All his childhood he passed in the house of his kinsman Pinarius, whom he promptly elevated, as soon as he was made emperor, to the prefecture of the guard. 6 He paid little attention to grammar and rhetoric, cultivating always a soldierly valour and sternness. 7 And at length he became military tribune and commander of many detachments; afterwards he served a praetorship, the expenses of which were borne by Pescennia Marcellina, who adopted and supported him as a son. 8 Thereafter he served as proconsul of Bithynia, then of Greece, and thirdly of Gallia Narbonensis. 9 Besides this, he was sent out as a special legate and crushed the Sarmatians in Illyricum; from there he was transferred to the Rhine and conducted a campaign against the Germans with very happy results. 10 After this he proved himself a very sagacious, very able, and very unbending city-prefect. 11 And so, although he was a man of new family, nevertheless, as though he were of noble birth, the senate, though it was contrary to law, bestowed on him the sovereignty — for all confessed that at that time there was no man in the senate fitter to receive the title of prince.

⁶ 1 And since many desire even less important details, he was fond of food, very sparing of wine, exceedingly continent in affairs of love, and both at home and abroad always so stern as even to get the name of gloomy. 2 He was extremely grave and even morose of countenance, tall of stature, very healthy of body, repellent in manner, but none the less just, and never, even to the end of his activities, either cruel or unmerciful. 3 When asked, he always granted pardon and never grew angry except when it was only proper to be angered. 4 He never lent himself to conspiracies; he clung to an opinion and did not trust others before himself. 5 For these reasons he was greatly beloved by the senate and held in awe by the people; indeed, the people were not unmindful of his rigid conduct as prefect and saw that this might even increase in vigour when he became emperor.

⁷ 1 Balbinus was of very noble birth, twice consul, and the ruler of innumerable

provinces. 2 Indeed, he had managed the civil administration of Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and the Gauls, and at times had commanded an army; he was less capable in military affairs, however, than in civil. Nevertheless, by his good, righteous, and modest life, he won himself great love. 3 He came of a very ancient family — or so he himself asserted, tracing his descent from Cornelius Balbus Theophanes, who became a citizen through the aid of Gnaeus Pompey; this Balbus was very noble in his own country and likewise a writer of history.

4 He was equally tall of stature, remarkable for the excellence of his body and excessive in his pleasures. In this he was encouraged by his abounding wealth; for he was rich by inheritance on the one hand, and had himself accumulated a great deal through legacies on the other. 5 He was renowned for eloquence and in poetry he ranked high among the poets of his time. 6 He was fond of wine, of eating, and of love, elegant in dress, nor was anything lacking to make him agreeable to the people. He was pleasing also to the senate.

7 This is what we have discovered about the lives of each. Some, indeed, have thought that these two should be compared in the fashion that Sallust compares Cato and Caesar — that the one was stern and the other genial, the one virtuous and the other steadfast, the one by no means munificent, the other rich in all possessions. 8 So much for their characters and birth.

All the imperial titles and trappings having been decreed them, they assumed the tribunician power, the proconsular command, the office of Pontifex Maximus, and the name Father of his Country, and entered upon their rule. 2 But while they any at the Capitol making sacrifice the Roman people objected to the rule of Maximus. For the men of the crowd feared his strictness, which, they believed, was very welcome to the senate and very hostile to themselves. 3 And for this reason it came about, as we have related, that they demanded the youthful Gordian as their prince; and thus he was straightway entitled. Indeed Maximus and Balbinus were not suffered to go to the Palace with armed attendants until they had invested the grandson of Gordian with the name of Caesar. 4 And now, this being done, sacred rites were performed, stage-plays and sports in the Circus given, a gladiatorial show was presented, and Maximus, after assuming vows in the Capitol, set out with a mighty army to war against Maximinus. The praetorian guard, however, remained at Rome.

5 Whence this custom arose, that emperors setting out to war gave an entertainment of gladiators and wild beasts, we must briefly discuss. 6 Many say that among the ancients this was a solemn ritual performed against the enemy in order that the blood of citizens being thus offered in sacrifice under the guise of battle, Nemesis (that is a certain avenging power of Fortune) might be appeased.

7 Others have related in books, and this I believe is nearer the truth, that when about to go to war the Romans felt it necessary to behold fighting and wounds and steel and naked men contending among themselves, so that in war they might not fear armed enemies or shudder at wounds and blood.

⁹ 1 Now when Maximus set out to the war the guard remained at Rome; 2 and between them and the populace such a rioting broke out that it led to a domestic war, to the burning of the greater part of Rome, the defiling of the temples, and the pollution of all the streets with blood — when Balbinus, a somewhat mild man, proved unable to quell the rioting. 3 For, going out in public, he stretched out his hands to this person and that and almost suffered a blow from a stone and, according to some, was actually hit with a club; 4 nor would he have finally quelled the disturbance had not the young Gordian, clothed in the purple, been perched on the neck of a very tall man and displayed to the people. When he was seen, however, the populace and soldiers were reconciled and through love of him returned to harmony. 5 No one in that age was ever so beloved; this was because of his grandfather and uncle, who had died for the Roman people in Africa opposing Maximinus. So powerful among the Romans is the memory of noble deeds.

¹⁰ 1 And now, after Maximus had set out to the war, the senate sent men of the rank of consul, praetor, quaestor, aedile, and tribune throughout the districts in order that each and every town should prepare provisions, arms, defences, and walls so that Maximinus should be harassed at each city. 2 It was further ordered that all supplies should be gathered into the cities from the fields, in order that the public enemy might find nothing. 3 Couriers were sent out to all the provinces, moreover, with written orders that whosoever aided Maximinus should be placed in the number of public enemies.

⁴ At Rome, meanwhile, rioting between the populace and soldiers broke out a second time. 5 And after Balbinus had issued a thousand edicts to which no one listened, the veterans, together with the guard itself, betook themselves to the Praetorian Camp, where the populace besieged them. 6 Nor would amity have ever been restored had not the populace cut the water-pipes. 7 In the city, however, before it was announced that the soldiers were coming peacefully, tiles were cast down from the roofs and all the pots in the houses were thrown out, 8 so that thereby the greater part of the city was ruined and the possessions of many lost. For robbers mingled with the soldiers and plundered things that they knew where to find.

¹¹ While this was taking place at Rome, Maximus (or Pupienus) was at Ravenna making ready, with an enormous equipment, for war. He feared Maximinus mightily; very often, indeed, in referring to him he said that he was

waging war against not a man but a Cyclops. 2 As it happened, however, Maximinus was beaten so badly at Aquileia that he was slain by his own men, and his head, with that of his son, was brought to Ravenna, whence it was despatched by Maximus to Rome. 3 We must not neglect to mention at this place the loyalty to the Romans displayed by the citizens of Aquileia, for it is said that they cut off their women's hair to make bow-strings to shoot their arrows.

⁴ Such was the joy of Balbinus, who was in even greater terror, that he sacrificed a hecatomb as soon as Maximinus' head was brought to him. 5 Now a hecatomb is sacrifice performed in the following manner: a hundred altars made of turf are erected at one place, and before them a hundred swine and a hundred sheep are slaughtered. 6 Furthermore, if it be an emperor's sacrifice, a hundred lions, a hundred eagles, and several hundreds of other animals of this kind are slain. 7 The Greeks, it is said, at one time used to do this when suffering from a pestilence, and it seems generally agreed that it was performed by many emperors.

^{12 1} When this sacrifice, then, had been performed, Balbinus began looking for Maximus with the greatest rejoicing as he returned from Ravenna with his untouched army and supplies. 2 For really Maximinus was conquered by the townsfolk of Aquileia, together with a few soldiers who were there and the consulars Crispinus and Menophilus, who had been sent thither by the senate, 3 and Maximus had only gone up to Aquileia, in order to leave everything safe and undisturbed up to the Alps, and also, if there were any of the barbarians who had favoured Maximinus left, to suppress these. 4 Twenty representatives of the senate (their names are in Cordus), among whom were four of the rank of consul, eight of the rank of praetor, and eight of the rank of quaestor, were sent out to meet him with crowns and a decree of the senate in which equestrian statues of gold were decreed him. 5 At this, indeed, Balbinus was a little nettled, saying that Maximus had had less toil than he, since he had suppressed mighty wars at home, while Maximus had sat tranquilly at Ravenna. 6 But such was the power of wishing, that to Maximus, merely because he had set out against Maximinus, a victory was decreed which he did not know had been gained. 7 At any rate, having taken up Maximinus' army, Maximus came to the city with a tremendous train and multitude, while the soldiers grieved that they had lost the emperor whom they themselves had chosen and now had emperors selected by the senate. 8 Nor could they hide their grief, but showed it severally on their faces; and now they no longer refrained from speech, although, in fact, Maximus had previously often addressed the soldiers, saying that there ought to be a general forgetting of the past, and had given them high pay and discharged the auxiliaries at whatever place they had chosen. But the minds of the soldiers,

once they are infected with hate, cannot be restrained. And when they heard the acclamations of the senate which referred to them, they became even more bitter against Maximus and Balbinus and daily debated among themselves whom they ought to make emperor.

¹³ ¹ The decree of the senate by which they were aroused was of this nature: When Balbinus, Gordian, the senate, and the Roman people went out to meet Maximus as he entered the city, acclamations which referred to the soldiers were made publicly first. ² Thereafter they went to the Senate-house, and there, after the ordinary acclamations which are usually made, they said: "So fare emperors wisely chosen, so perish emperors chosen by fools." For it was understood that Maximinus had been made emperor by the soldiers, Maximus and Balbinus by the senators. ³ And when they heard this, the soldiers began to rage even more furiously — especially at the senate, which believed it was triumphing over the soldiers.

⁴ And now, to the great joy of the senate and Roman people, Balbinus and Maximus began governing the city, doing so with great moderation. They showed great respect for the senate; they instituted excellent laws, they heard lawsuits with justice, they planned the military policy of the state with great wisdom. ⁵ But when it was now arranged that Maximus should set out against the Parthians and Balbinus against the Germans, while the young Gordian remained at Rome, the soldiers, who were seeking an opportunity of killing the Emperors, and at first could not find because Maximus and Balbinus were ever attended by a German guard, grew more menacing every day. ¹⁴ There was dissension, too, between Maximus and Balbinus — unspoken, however, and such as could be surmised rather than seen — for Balbinus scorned Maximus, as being humbly born, and Maximus despised Balbinus for a weakling. ² And this fact gave the soldiers their opportunity, for they knew that emperors at variance could be slain easily. So finally, on the occasion of some scenic plays, when many of the soldiers and palace-attendants were busy, and the Emperors remained at the Palace alone with the German guard, they made a rush at them. ³ When the soldiers thus began to riot it was announced to Maximus that he could not escape from this disturbance and commotion unless he summoned the Germans, and they, as it happened, were in another part of the Palace with Balbinus. He sent to Balbinus, accordingly, asking him to send aid. ⁴ But Balbinus, suspecting that Maximus was asking for the guard to use against himself, since he believed that Maximus desired to rule alone, at first refused and finally began to wrangle over it. ⁵ And while they were engaged in this dispute the soldiers came upon them, and stripping them both of their royal robes and loading them with insults, they dragged them from the Palace. Thence, after

handling them roughly, they started to hurry them through the centre of the city to the camp, 6 but when they learned that the Germans were following to defend them, they slew them both and left them in the middle of the street. 7 In the meantime Gordian Caesar was lifted up by the soldiers and hailed emperor (that is, Augustus), there being no one else at hand; and then, jeering at the senate and people, the soldiers betook themselves immediately to the Camp. 8 As for the German guard, not wishing to fight needlessly now that their Emperors were slain, they betook themselves to their quarters outside the city.

¹⁵ 1 This was the end of these good emperors, an end unworthy of their life and characters. For never was anyone braver than Maximus (or Pupienus) or more kindly than Balbinus, as one may see from the facts in the case. The senate did not choose unworthy men when it had the power. 2 And besides this, they were tested by many honours and offices, for the one was consul twice and prefect, the other consul and prefect, and they were advanced in years when they attained the sovereignty. They were beloved by the senate and even by the people, although the latter were slightly in awe of Maximus. 3 This is the information we have gathered concerning Maximus, chiefly from the Greek author Herodian.

⁴ Many, however, say that Maximinus was conquered at Aquileia, not by Maximus, but by the Emperor Pupienus, and that it was he, also, who was slain with Balbinus; they omit the name of Maximus altogether. 5 Such is the ignorance, moreover, or the usage of these disputing historians, that many desire to call Maximus the same as Pupienus, although Herodian, who wrote of his own lifetime, speaks of Maximus, not of Pupienus, and Dexippus, the Greek author, says that Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors against Maximinus after the two Gordians, and that Maximinus was conquered by Maximus, not by Pupienus. 6 In addition to this, they show their ignorance by saying that the child Gordian was prefect of the guard, not knowing that he was often carried on a man's neck to be displayed to the soldiers.

⁷ Maximus and Balbinus reigned for one year, after Maximinus and his son had reigned for two years, according to some, for three according to others.

¹⁶ 1 Balbinus' house is shown in Rome to this day in the Carinae, large and impressive and still in the possession of his family. 2 Maximus, who many think was Pupienus, was of slender substance, though of the most ample courage.

³ In their reign the Carpi waged war with the Moesians. The Scythian war began, and the destruction of Istria or, as Dexippus calls it, the Istrian city, took place at the same time.

⁴ Dexippus praises Balbinus highly, and declares that he rushed at the soldiers with a gallant spirit and so died. He did not fear death, he says, being trained in all the philosophical disciplines. Maximus, he declares, was not the sort of man

that most of the Greeks said he was. 5 He adds that such was the hatred of the citizens of Aquileia for Maximinus that they made strings for their bows from their women's hair, and thus shot their arrows. 6 Dexippus and Herodian, who investigated the history of these princes, say that Maximus and Balbinus were the princes selected by the senate to oppose Maximinus after the death of the two Gordians in Africa, and that the third Gordian, the child, was chosen with them. 7 In the majority of the Latin authors, however, I do not find the name of Maximus, and as emperor with Balbinus I discover Pupienus; indeed this same Pupienus is said to have fought against Maximinus at Aquileia, whereas, according to the testimony of the afore-mentioned writers, we are told that Maximus did not even fight against Maximinus but remained at Ravenna and there learned that the victory had been gained. And so it seems to me that Pupienus and he who is called Maximus are the same.

¹⁷ 1 For this reason I have appended a congratulatory letter that was written about Maximus and Balbinus by a consul of their time. In it he rejoices that they had restored the state after it had been in the hands of wicked bandits.

² "Claudius Julianus to the Emperors Pupienus and Balbinus. When first I learned that by choice of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of the immortal gods and of the senate, together with the agreement of all mankind, you had undertaken to preserve the state from the sins of that impious bandit and rule it in accordance with Roman law, my lords and most holy and unconquerable Augusti, when first I learned this, not yet from your own sacred proclamations but from the decree of the senate that my illustrious colleague Celsus Aelianus forwarded to me, I felicitated the city of Rome, that you had been chosen to preserve it; I felicitated the senate, that you, in return for its choosing you, had restored to it its early dignity; I felicitated Italy, that you are defending it particularly from spoliation by the enemy; I felicitated the provinces, torn in pieces by the insatiable greed of tyrants, that you are restoring them to some hope of safety; I felicitated the legions, lastly, and the auxiliaries, which now worship your images everywhere, that they have thrust away their former disgrace and have now, in your name, a worthy symbol of the Roman principate. 3 No voice will ever be so strong, no speech will ever be so happy, no talent will ever be so fortunate, as ever adequately to express the state's felicity. 4 How great this felicity is, and of what sort, we can see at the very beginning of your reign. You have restored Roman laws, you have restored justice that was abolished, mercy that was non-existent, life, morality, liberty, and the hope of heirs and successors. 5 It is difficult even to enumerate these things, 6 and much more to describe them with a fit dignity of speech. How shall I tell or describe how you have restored us our very lives, after that accursed bandit, sending the executioners everywhere throughout the

provinces, had sought them to the point of openly confessing that he was enraged at our whole order, 7 especially when my insignificance cannot express even the personal rejoicing of my own mind, to say nothing of the public felicity, and when I behold as Augusti and lords of the human race those by the unwavering elegance of whose lives I would like my own conduct and sobriety to be approved as by the ancient censors? And though I might trust to have them approved by the attestation of former princes, 8 still I would glory in your judgment as a weightier one. May the gods preserve — and they will preserve — this felicity for the Roman world! For when I observe you, I can hope for nothing else than what the conqueror of Carthage is said to have implored of the gods, namely, that they preserve the state in the condition in which it was then, since no better one could be found. 9 And, therefore, I pray that they may preserve this state, that has tottered up to now, in the condition in which you have established it.”

¹⁸¹ This letter shows that 2 Pupienus and he whom most call Maximus were the same. Among the Greeks, indeed, Pupienus is not easily discovered in this period and among the Latins, Maximus; but what was done against Maximinus is sometimes related as done by Pupienus, sometimes as by Maximinus.

The Two Valerians

.....

¹¹ . . . to Sapor, the King of Kings or, in fact, Sole King: “Did I but know for a certainty that the Romans could be wholly defeated, I should congratulate you on the victory of which you boast. 2 But inasmuch as that nation, either through Fate or its own prowess, is all-powerful, look to it lest the fact that you have taken prisoner an aged emperor, and that indeed by guile, may turn out ill for yourself and your descendants. 3 Consider what mighty nations the Romans have made their subjects instead of their enemies after they had often suffered defeat at their hands. 4 We have heard, in fact, how the Gauls conquered them and burned that great city of theirs; it is a fact that the Gauls are now servants to the Romans. What of the Africans? Did they not conquer the Romans? It is a fact that they serve them now. 5 Examples more remote and perhaps less important I will not cite. Mithradates of Pontus held all of Asia; it is a fact that he was vanquished and Asia now belongs to the Romans. 6 If you ask my advice, make use of the opportunity for peace and give back Valerian to his people. I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, but only if you know how to use it aright.”

^{2 1} Velenus, King of the Cadusii, wrote as follows: “I have received with gratitude my forces returned to me safe and sound. Yet I cannot wholly congratulate you that Valerian, prince of princes, is captured; I should congratulate you more, were he given back to his people. For the Romans are never more dangerous than when they are defeated. 2 Act, therefore, as becomes a prudent man, and do not let Fortune, which has tricked many, kindle your pride. Valerian has an emperor for a son and a Caesar for a grandson, and what of the whole Roman world, which, to a man, will rise up against you? 3 Give back Valerian, therefore, and make peace with the Romans, a peace which will benefit us as well because of the tribes of Pontus.”

^{3 1} Artavasdes, King of the Armenians, sent the following letter to Sapor: “I have, indeed, a share in your glory, but I fear that you have not so much conquered as sown the seeds of war. 2 For Valerian is being sought back by his son, his grandson, and the generals of Rome, by all Gaul, all Africa, all Spain, all Italy, and by all the nations of Illyricum, the East, and Pontus, which are leagued with the Romans or subject to them. 3 So, then, you have captured one old man but have made all the nations of the world your bitterest foes, and ours too, perhaps, for we have sent you aid, we are your neighbours, and we always suffer when you fight with each other.”

⁴₁ The Bactrians, the Hiberians, the Albanians, and the Tauroscythians refused to receive Sapor's letters and wrote to the Roman commanders, promising aid for the liberation of Valerian from his captivity.

² Meanwhile, however, while Valerian was growing old in Persia, Odaenathus the Palmyrene gathered together an army and restored the Roman power almost to its pristine condition. ³ He captured the king's treasures and he captured, too, what the Parthian monarchs hold dearer than treasures, namely his concubines. ⁴ For this reason Sapor was now in greater dread of the Roman generals, and out of fear of Ballista and Odaenathus he withdrew more speedily to his kingdom. And this, for the time being, was the end of the war with the Persians.

⁵ ¹ This is all that is worthy of being known about Valerian, whose life, praiseworthy for sixty years long, finally rose to such glory, that after holding all honours and offices with great distinction he was chosen emperor, not, as often happens, in a riotous assemblage of the people or by the shouting of soldiers, but solely by right of his services, and, as it were, by the single voice of the entire world. ² In short, if all had been given the power of expressing their choice as to whom they desired as emperor, none other would have been chosen.

³ Now in order that you may know what power lay in the public services of Valerian, I will cite the decrees of the senate, which will make it clear to all what judgement concerning him was always expressed by that most illustrious body.

⁴ In the consulship of the two Decii, on the sixth day before the Kalends of November, when, pursuant to an imperial mandate, the senate convened in the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and each senator was asked his opinion as to the man to whom the censorship should be offered (for this the Decii had left in the power of the most high senate), when the praetor had first announced the question, "What is your desire, Conscript Fathers, with regard to choosing a censor?" and then asked the opinion of him who was then the chief of the senate in the absence of Valerian (for at that time he was in military service with Decius), then all, breaking through the usual mode of giving the vote, cried out with one voice: "Valerian's life is a censorship. ⁵ Let him judge all, who is better than all. Let him judge the senate, who is free from guilt. Let him pronounce sentence on our lives, against whom no reproach can be brought. ⁶ From early childhood Valerian has been a censor. All his life long Valerian has been a censor. A wise senator, a modest senator, a respected senator. The friend of the good, the enemy of tyrants, the foe of crimes, the foe of vices. ⁷ He it is whom we all accept as censor, whom we all desire to imitate. Foremost in family, noble in blood, free from stain in his life, famed for his learning, matchless in character, a sample of the olden times." ⁸ When all this had been said repeatedly, they added, "All with one accord," and so they departed.

^{6 1} When this decree of the senate was brought to Decius, he called all his courtiers together and gave orders that Valerian, too, should be summoned. Then, having read the decree before this assemblage of the foremost men, he said: ² “Happy are you, Valerian, in this vote of the entire senate, or rather in the thoughts and the hearts of the whole world of men. Receive the censorship, which the Roman commonwealth has offered you and which you alone deserve, you who are now about to pass judgement on the character of all men, on the character of ourselves as well. ³ You shall decide who are worthy to remain in the Senate-house, you shall restore the equestrian order to its old-time condition, you shall determine the amount of our property, you shall safeguard, apportion and order our revenues, you shall conduct the census in our communities; ⁴ to you shall be given the power to write our laws, you shall judge concerning the rank of our soldiers, ⁵ and you shall have a care for their arms; ⁶ you shall pass judgement on our Palace, our judges and our most eminent prefects; in short, except for the prefect of the city of Rome, except for the regular consuls, the king of the sacrifices, and the senior Vestal Virgin (as long, that is, as she remains unpolluted), you shall pronounce sentence on all. Even those on whom you may not pass judgement will strive to win your approval.” ⁷ Thus Decius; but Valerian’s reply was as follows: “Do not, I pray you, most venerated Emperor, fasten upon me the necessity of passing judgement on the people, the soldiers, the senate, and all judges, tribunes and generals the whole world over. ⁸ It is for this that you have the name of Augustus. You it is on whom the office of censor devolves, for no commoner can duly fill it. ⁹ Therefore I ask to be excused from this office, to which my life is unequal, my courage unequal, and the times so unfavourable that human nature does not desire the office of censor.”

^{7 1} I could, indeed, cite many other senatorial decrees and imperial judgements concerning Valerian, were not most of them known to you, and did I not feel ashamed to extol too greatly a man who was vanquished by what seems a destined doom. Now let me turn to the younger Valerian.

^{8 1} Valerian the younger, the son of a different mother from Gallienus, conspicuous for his beauty, admired for his modesty, distinguished in learning for one of his years, amiable in his manners, and holding aloof from the vicious ways of his brother, received from his father, when absent, the title of Caesar and from his brother, so says Caelestinus, that of Augustus. ² His life contains nothing worthy of note, save that he was nobly born, excellently reared, and pitiably slain.

³ Now since I know that many are in error, who have read the inscription of Valerian the Emperor on a tomb, and believe that the body of that Valerian who

was captured by the Persians was given back again, I have thought it my duty, that no error might creep in, to set down in writing that it was this younger Valerian who was buried near Milan and that by Claudius' order the inscription was added: "Valerian the Emperor."

⁴ Nothing further, I think, should be demanded concerning either older or younger Valerian. ⁵ And since I fear to exceed the proper limit of a volume, if I add to this book Valerian's son Gallienus, concerning whom we have already said much, and perchance too much, in the life of his father, or even Gallienus' son Saloninus, who is called in the history of his time both Saloninus and Gallienus, let us now pass, as we are bidden, to another volume. For, indeed, we have ever submitted to you and to Fame, to whom we can make no refusal.

The Two Gallieni

¹ When Valerian was captured (for where should we begin the biography of Gallienus, if not with that calamity which, above all, brought disgrace on his life?), when the commonwealth was tottering, when Odaenathus had seized the rule of the East, and when Gallienus was rejoicing in the news of his father's captivity, the armies began to range about on all sides, the generals in all the provinces to murmur, and great was the grief of all men that Valerian, a Roman emperor, was held as a slave in Persia. But greater far was the grief of them all that now having received the imperial power, Gallienus, by his mode of life, as his father by his fate, brought ruin on the commonwealth.

² So then, when Gallienus and Volusianus were consuls, Macrianus and Ballista met together, called in the remains of the army, and, since the Roman power in the East was tottering, sought someone to appoint as emperor. For Gallienus was showing himself so careless of public affairs that his name was not even mentioned to the soldiers. ³ It was then finally decided to choose Macrianus and his sons as emperors and to undertake the defence of the state. And so the imperial power was offered to Macrianus. ⁴ Now the reasons why Macrianus and his sons should be chosen to rule were these: First of all, no one of the generals of that time was held to be wiser, and none more suited to govern the state; in the second place, he was the richest, and could by his private fortune make good the public losses. ⁵ In addition to this, his sons, most valiant young men, rushed with all spirit into the war, ready to serve as an example to the legions in all the duties of soldiers.

² Accordingly, Macrianus sought reinforcements on every side and, in order to strengthen his power, took control of the party which he himself had formed. So well did he make ready for war that he was a match for all measures which could be devised against him. ² He also chose Piso, one of the nobles and of the foremost men in the senate, as governor of Achaëa, in order that he might crush Valens, who was administering that province with the authority of a proconsul. ³ Valens, however, learning that Piso was marching against him, assumed the imperial power. Piso, therefore, withdrew into Thessaly, ⁴ and there he, together with many, was slain by the soldiers sent against him by Valens. Now Piso, too, was saluted as emperor with the surname Thessalicus.

⁵ Macrianus, moreover, now that the East was brought into subjection, left there one of his sons, and came first of all into Asia, and from there set out for Illyricum. ⁶ Here, having with him one of his sons and a force of thirty thousand

soldiers, he engaged in battle with Domitianus, a general of Aureolus the emperor, who had assumed the imperial power in opposition to Gallienus. 7 He was, however, defeated, together with his son, Macrianus by name, and his whole army surrendered to the Emperor Aureolus.

^{3 1} Meanwhile, when the commonwealth had been thrown into confusion throughout the entire world, Odaenathus, learning that Macrianus and his son had been slain, that Aureolus was ruling, and that Gallienus was administering the state with still greater slackness, hastened forward to seize the other son of Macrianus, together with his army, should Fortune so permit. 2 But those who were with Macrianus' son — whose name was Quietus — taking sides with Odaenathus, by the instigation of Ballista, Macrianus' prefect, killed the young man, and, casting his body over the wall, they all in large numbers surrendered to Odaenathus. 3 And so Odaenathus was made emperor over almost the whole East, while Aureolus held Illyricum and Gallienus Rome. 4 This same Ballista murdered, in addition to Quietus and the guardian of his treasures, many of the people of Emesa, to whom Macrianus' soldiers had fled, with the result that this city was nearly destroyed. 5 Odaenathus, meanwhile, as if taking the side of Gallienus, caused all that had happened to be announced to him truthfully.

⁶ Gallienus, on the other hand, when he learned that Macrianus and his sons were slain, as though he were secure in his power and his father were now set free, surrendered himself to lust and pleasure. 7 He gave spectacles in the circus, spectacles in the theatre, gymnastic spectacles, hunting spectacles, and gladiatorial spectacles also, and he invited all the populace to merriment and applause, as though it were a day of victory. 8 And whereas most men mourned at his father's captivity, he, under the pretext of doing him honour — on the ground that his father had been caught through his zeal for valour — made merry beyond measure. 9 It was generally supposed, moreover, that he could not endure his father's censure and that it was his desire to feel no longer his father's authority bearing heavily upon his neck.

^{4 1} During this same time Aemilianus in Egypt took the imperial power, and seizing the granaries he overcame many towns by the pressure of hunger. 2 However, Theodotus, Gallienus' general, after fighting a battle captured him, and stripping him of his emperor's trappings sent him alive to Gallienus. After this Egypt was assigned to Theodotus. As for Aemilianus, he was strangled in prison, while the soldiers of Thebes were cruelly punished and many were put to death.

³ Now while Gallienus, continuing in luxury and debauchery, gave himself up to amusements and revelling and administered the commonwealth like a boy who plays at holding power, the Gauls, by nature unable to endure princes who are frivolous and given over to luxury and have fallen below the standard of

Roman valour, called Postumus to the imperial power; and the armies, too, joined with them, for they complained of an emperor who was busied with his lusts. 4 Thereupon Gallienus himself led his army against him, and when he began to besiege the city in which Postumus was, the Gauls defended it bravely, and Gallienus, as he went around the walls, was struck by an arrow. 5 So for seven years Postumus held his power and with the greatest vigour protected the regions of Gaul from all the barbarians surging about. 6 Forced by this evil plight, Gallienus made peace with Aureolus in his desire to fight with Postumus, and, as the war dragged on to great length amid various sieges and battles, he conducted the campaign, now with good success and again with ill. 7 These evils had been further increased by the fact that the Scythians had invaded Bithynia and destroyed its cities. 8 Finally they set fire to Astacus, later called Nicomedia, and plundered it cruelly. 9 Last of all, when all parts of the Empire were thrown into commotion, as though by a conspiracy of the whole world, there arose in Sicily also a sort of slave-revolt, for bandits roved about and were put down only with great difficulty. 5 All these things were done out of contempt for Gallienus, for there is nothing so quick to inspire evil men to daring and good men to the hope of good things as an evil emperor who is feared or a depraved one who is despised.

² In the consulship of Gallienus and Fausianus, amid so many calamities of war, there was also a terrible earthquake and a darkness for many days. 3 There was heard, besides, the sound of thunder, not like Jupiter thundering, but as though the earth were roaring. And by the earthquake many structures were swallowed up together with their inhabitants, and many men died of fright. This disaster, indeed, was worst in the cities of Asia; 4 but Rome, too, was shaken and Libya also was shaken. In many places the earth yawned open, and salt water appeared in the fissures. 5 Many cities were even overwhelmed by the sea. Therefore the favour of the gods was sought by consulting the Sibylline Books, and, according to their command, sacrifices were made to Jupiter Salutaris. For so great a pestilence, too, had arisen in both Rome and the cities of Achaea that in one single day five thousand men died of the same disease.

⁶ While Fortune thus raged, and while here earthquakes, there clefts in the ground, and in divers places pestilence, devastated the Roman world, while Valerian was held in captivity and the provinces of Gaul were, for the most part, beset, while Odaenathus was threatening war, Aureolus pressing hard on Illyricum, and Aemilianus in possession of Egypt, a portion of the Goths . . . which name, as has previously been related, was given to the Goths, having seized Thrace and plundered Macedonia, laid siege to Thessalonica, and nowhere was hope of peace held out, even to a slight degree. 7 All these things,

as I have frequently said, were done out of contempt for Gallienus, a man given over to luxury and ever ready, did he feel free from danger, for any disgraceful deed.

⁶ ¹ Against these same Goths a battle was fought in Achaëa under the leadership of Marcianus, and being defeated they withdrew from there through the country of the Achaeans. ² The Scythians — they are a portion of the Goths — devastated Asia and even plundered and burned the Temple of the Moon at Ephesus, the fame of which building is known through all nations. ³ I am ashamed to relate what Gallienus used often to say at this time, when such things were happening, as though jesting amid the ills of mankind. ⁴ For when he was told of the revolt of Egypt, he is said to have exclaimed “What! We cannot do without Egyptian linen!” ⁵ and when informed that Asia had been devastated both by the violence of nature and by the inroads of the Scythians, he said, “What! We cannot do without saltpetre!” ⁶ and when Gaul was lost, he is reported to have laughed and remarked, “Can the commonwealth be safe without Atrebatian cloaks?” ⁷ Thus, in short, with regard to all parts of the world, as he lost them, he would jest, as though seeming to have suffered the loss of some article of trifling service. ⁸ And finally, that no disaster might be lacking to his times, the city of Byzantium, famed for its naval wars and the key to the Pontus, was destroyed by the soldiers of Gallienus himself so completely, that not a single soul survived. ⁹ In fact, no ancient family can now be found among the Byzantines, unless some member, engaged in travel or warfare, escaped to perpetuate the antiquity and noble descent of his stock.

⁷ ¹ Gallienus, then, entered into war against Postumus, having with him Aureolus and the general Claudius, afterwards emperor and the head of the family of Constantius our Caesar. And Postumus, too, with many auxiliary troops of Celts and Franks advanced to the fight, in company with Victorinus, with whom he had shared the imperial power. After several battles had been fought with varying outcome, the side of Gallienus was finally victorious. ² In fact, Gallienus had the boldness of suddenly aroused valour, for at times he was violently stirred by affronts. Then finally he went forth to avenge the wrongs of the Byzantines. And whereas he had no expectation of being received within the walls, he was admitted next day, and then, after placing a ring of armed men around the disarmed soldiers, contrary to the agreement he had made he caused them all to be slain. ³ During this time, too, the Scythians in Asia were routed by the courage and skill of the Roman generals and retired to their own abode.

⁴ Now Gallienus, after the slaughter of the soldiers at Byzantium, as though he had performed some mighty feat, hastened to Rome in a rapid march, convened the senators, and celebrated a decennial festival with new kinds of spectacles,

new varieties of parades, and the most elaborate sort of amusements. 8 First of all, he repaired to the Capitol with the senators and the equestrian order dressed in their togas and with the soldiers dressed all in white, and with all the populace going ahead, while the slaves of almost all and the women preceded them, bearing waxen flambeaux and torches. 2 There preceded them, too, on each side one hundred white oxen, having their horns bound with golden cords and resplendent in many-coloured silken covers; 3 also two hundred lambs of glistening white went ahead on each side, besides ten elephants, which were then in Rome, and twelve hundred gladiators decked with all pomp, and matrons in golden cloaks, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds, tricked out with the greatest splendour, and waggons bearing pantomimists and actors of every sort, and boxers who fought, not in genuine combat, but with the softer straps. All the buffoons also acted a Cyclops-performance, giving exhibitions that were marvellous and astonishing. 4 So all the streets resounded with merry-making and shouts and applause, 5 and in the midst the Emperor himself, wearing the triumphal toga and the tunic embroidered with palms, and accompanied, as I have said, by the senators and with all the priests dressed in bordered togas, proceeded to the Capitol. 6 On each side of him were borne five hundred gilded spears and one hundred banners, besides those which belonged to the corporations, and the flags of auxiliaries and the statues from the sanctuaries and the standards of all the legions. 7 There marched, furthermore, men dressed to represent foreign nations, as Goths and Sarmatians, Franks and Persians, and no fewer than two hundred paraded in a single group.

⁹¹ By this procession the foolish man thought to delude the people of Rome; nevertheless — for such is the Romans' love of a jest — one man kept supporting Postumus, another Regalianus, another Aureolus or Aemilianus, and another Saturninus — for he, too, was now said to be ruling. 2 Amid all this there was loud lamentation for the father whom the son had left unavenged and for whom foreigners had tried, in one way or another, to exact a vengeance. 3 Gallienus, however, was moved to no such deed, for his heart was dulled by pleasure, but he merely kept asking of those about him, "Have we anything planned for luncheon? Have any amusements been arranged? What manner of play will there be to morrow and what manner of circus-games?" 4 So, having finished the procession, he offered hecatombs and returned to the royal residence, and then, the banquets and feastings having come to an end, he appointed further days for the public amusements. 5 One well-known instance of jesting, however, must not be omitted. As a band of Persians, supposed to be captives, was being led along in the procession (such an absurdity!), certain wits mingled with them and most carefully scrutinized all, examining with open-

mouthed astonishment the features of every one; 6 and when asked what they meant by that sagacious investigation, they replied, “We are searching for the Emperor’s father.” 7 When this incident was reported to Gallienus, unmoved by shame or grief or filial affection, he ordered the wits to be burned alive — 8 a measure which angered the people more than anyone would suppose, but so grieved the soldiers that not much later they requited the deed.

¹⁰ 1 In the consulship of Gallienus and Saturninus Odaenathus, king of the Palmyrenes, held the rule over the entire East — chiefly for the reason that by his brave deeds he had shown himself worthy of the insignia of such great majesty, whereas Gallienus was doing nothing at all or else only what was extravagant, or foolish and deserving of ridicule. 2 Now at once he proclaimed a war on the Persians to exact for Valerian the vengeance neglected by Valerian’s son. He immediately occupied 3 Nisibis and Carrhae, the people of which surrendered, reviling Gallienus. 4 Nevertheless, Odaenathus showed no lack of respect toward Gallienus, for he sent him the satraps he captured — though, as it seemed, merely for the purpose of insulting him and displaying his own prowess. 5 After these had been brought to Rome, Gallienus held a triumph because of Odaenathus’ victory; but he still made no mention of his father and did not even place him among the gods, when he heard he was dead, until compelled to do so — although in fact Valerian was still alive, for the news of his death was untrue. 6 Odaenathus, besides, besieged an army of Parthians at Ctesiphon and devastated all the country round about, killing men without number. 7 But when all the satraps from all the outlying regions flocked together to Ctesiphon for the purpose of common defence, there were long-lasting battles with varying results, but more long-lasting still was the success of the Romans. 8 Moreover, since Odaenathus’ sole purpose was to set Valerian free, he daily pressed onward, but this best of commanders, now on a foreign soil, suffered greatly because of the difficult ground.

¹¹ While these events were happening among the Persians, the Scythians made their way into Cappadocia. After capturing many cities there and waging war for a long time with varying success, they betook themselves to Bithynia. 2 Wherefore the soldiers again considered the choosing of a new emperor; but since he could not placate them or win their support, Gallienus, after his usual fashion, put all of them to death.

³ Just, however, when the soldiers were looking for a worthy prince, Gallienus was holding the office of archon — chief magistrate, that is — at Athens, showing that same vanity which also made him desire to be enrolled among its citizens and even take part in all its sacred rites — 4 which not even Hadrian had done at the height of his prosperity or Antoninus during a long-established

peace, and these emperors, too, were schooled by so much study of Greek letters that in the judgement of great men they were scarcely inferior to the most learned scholars. 5 He desired, furthermore, to be included among the members of the Areopagus, almost as though he despised public affairs. 6 For indeed it cannot be denied that Gallienus won fame in oratory, poetry, and all the arts. 7 His, too, is the epithalamium which had the chief place among a hundred poets. For, when he was joining in marriage the children of his brothers, and all the poets, both Greek and Latin, had recited their epithalamia, and that for very many days, Gallienus, holding the hands of the bridal pair, so it is reported, is said to have recited repeatedly the following verses:

⁸ “Come now, my children, grow heated together in deep-seated passion,
Never, indeed, may the doves outdo your billings and cooings,
Never the ivy your arms, or the clinging of sea-shells your kisses.”

⁹ It would be too long a task to collect all his verses and speeches, which made him illustrious among both the poets and the rhetoricians of his own time. But it is one thing that is desired in an emperor, and another that is demanded of an orator or a poet.

^{12 1} One excellent deed of his, to be sure, is mentioned with praise. For in the consulship of his brother Valerian and his kinsman Lucillus, when he learned that Odaenathus had ravaged the Persians, brought Nisibis and Carrhae under the sway of Rome, made all of Mesopotamia ours, and finally arrived at Ctesiphon, put the king to flight, captured the satraps and killed large numbers of Persians, he gave him a share in the imperial power, conferred on him the name Augustus, and ordered coins to be struck in his honour, which showed him haling the Persians into captivity. This measure the senate, the city, and men of every age received with approval.

² Gallienus, furthermore, was exceedingly clever, and I wish to relate a few actions of his in order to show his wit. 3 Once, when a huge bull was led into the arena, and a huntsman came forth to fight him but was unable to slay the bull though it was brought out ten times, he sent the huntsman a garland, 4 and when all the crowd wondered what it might mean that so foolish a fellow should be crowned with a garland, he bade a herald announce: “It is a difficult thing to miss a bull so many times.” 5 On another occasion, when a certain man sold his wife glass jewels instead of real, and she, discovering the fraud, wished the man to be punished, he ordered the seller to be haled off, as though to a lion, and then had them let out from the cage a capon, and when all were amazed at so absurd a proceeding, he bade the herald proclaim: “He practised deceit and then had it practised on him.” Then he let the dealer go home.

⁶ But while Odaenathus was busied with the war against the Persians and

Gallienus was devoting himself to most foolish pursuits, as was his custom, the Scythians built ships and advanced upon Heraclea, and thence they returned with booty to their native land, although many were lost by shipwreck or defeated in a naval engagement.

¹³¹ About this same time Odaenathus was treacherously slain by his cousin, and with him his son Herodes, whom he had also hailed as emperor. 2 Then Zenobia, his wife, since the sons who remained, Herennianus and Timolaus, were still very young, assumed the power herself 3 and ruled for a long time, not in feminine fashion or with the ways of a woman, but surpassing in courage and skill not merely Gallienus, than whom any girl could have ruled more successfully, but also many an emperor. 4 As for Gallienus, indeed, when he learned that Odaenathus was murdered, he made ready for war with the Persians — an over-tardy vengeance for his father — and, gathering an army with the help of the general Heraclianus, he played the part of a skilful prince. 5 This Heraclianus, however, on setting out against the Persians, was defeated by the Palmyrenes and lost all the troops he had gathered, for Zenobia was ruling Palmyra and most of the East with the vigour of a man.

⁶ Meanwhile the Scythians sailed across the Black Sea and, entering the Danube, did much damage on Roman soil. Learning of this, Gallienus deputed Cleodamus and Athenaeus the Byzantines to repair and fortify the cities, and a battle was fought near the Black Sea, in which the barbarians were conquered by the Byzantine leaders. 7 The Goths were also defeated in a naval battle by the general Venerianus, though Venerianus himself died a soldier's death. 8 Then the Goths ravaged Cyzicus and Asia and then all of Achaea, but were vanquished by the Athenians under the command of Dexippus, an historian of these times. Driven thence, they roved through Epirus, Macedonia and Boeotia. 9 Gallienus, meanwhile, roused at last by the public ills, met the Goths as they roved about in Illyricum, and, as it chanced, killed a great number. Learning of this, the Scythians, after making a barricade of wagons, attempted to escape by way of Mount Gessaces. 10 Then Marcianus made war on all the Scythians with varying success, which measures roused all the Scythians to rebellion.

^{14 1} Such, in fact, was the devotion of the general Heraclianus to the commonwealth. But being unable to endure further all the iniquities of Gallienus, Marcianus and Heraclianus formed a plan that one of them should take the imperial power. 2 And Claudius, in fact, was chosen, the best man of all, as we shall narrate in the proper place. He had had no part in their plan, but was held by all in such respect that he seemed worthy of the imperial power, and justly so, as was proved by later events. 3 For he is that Claudius from whom Constantius, our most watchful Caesar, derives his descent. 4 These

men had also as their comrade in seeking the power a certain Ceronius, or rather Cecropius, commander of the Dalmatians, who aided them with the greatest shrewdness and wisdom. 5 But being unable to seize the power while Gallienus was still alive, they decided to proceed against him by a plot of the following nature, purposing, now that the state was exhausted by disasters, to remove this most evil blot from the governance of the human race and to save the commonwealth, now given over to the theatre and circus, from going to destruction through the allurements of pleasure. 6 Now the nature of their plot was as follows: Gallienus was at enmity with Aureolus, who had seized upon the position of prince, and was daily expecting the coming of this usurping ruler — a serious and, indeed, an unendurable thing. 7 Being aware of this, Marcianus and Cecropius suddenly caused word to be sent to Gallienus that Aureolus was now approaching. 8 He, therefore, mustered his soldiers and went forth as though to certain battle, and so was slain by the murderers sent for the purpose. 9 It is reported, indeed, that Gallienus was pierced by the spear of Cecropius, the Dalmatian commander, some say near Milan, where also his brother Valerian was at once put to death. This man, many say, had the title of Augustus, and many, that of Caesar, and many, again, neither one — 10 which, indeed, is not probable, for we have found written in the official lists, after Valerian had been taken prisoner, “During the consulship of Valerian the Emperor.” So who else, pray, could this Valerian have been but the brother of Gallienus? 11 There is general agreement concerning his family, but not concerning his rank or, as others have begun to say, concerning his imperial majesty.

^{15 1} Now after Gallienus was slain, there was a great mutiny among the soldiers, for, hoping for booty and public plunder, they maintained, in order to arouse hatred, that they had been robbed of an emperor who had been useful and indispensable to them, courageous and competent. 2 Wherefore the leaders took counsel how to placate Gallienus’ soldiers by the usual means of winning their favour. So, through the agency of Marcianus, twenty aurei were promised to each and accepted (for there was on hand a ready supply of treasure), and then by verdict of the soldiers they placed the name of Gallienus in the public records as a usurper. 3 The soldiers thus quieted, Claudius, a venerated man and justly respected, dear to all good men, a friend to his native land, a friend to the laws, acceptable to the senate, and favourably known to the people, received the imperial power.

^{16 1} Such was the life of Gallienus, which I have briefly described in writing, who, born for his belly and his pleasures, wasted his days and nights in wine and debauchery and caused the world to be laid waste by pretenders about twenty in number, so that even women ruled better than he. 2 He, forsooth, — in order that

his pitiable skill may not be left unmentioned — used in the spring-time to make sleeping-places of roses. He built castles of apples, preserved grapes for three years, and served melons in the depth of winter. He showed how new wine could be had all through the year. He always served out of season green figs and apples fresh from the trees. 3 He always spread his tables with golden covers. He made jewelled vessels, and golden ones too. 4 He sprinkled his hair with gold-dust. He went out in public adorned with the radiate crown, and at Rome — where the emperors always appeared in the toga — he appeared in a purple cloak with jewelled and golden clasps. He wore a man's tunic of purple and gold and provided with sleeves. He used a jewelled sword-belt and he fastened jewels to his boot-laces and then called his boots "reticulate." 5 He used, moreover, to banquet in public. He won the people's favour by largesses, 6 and he distributed, seated, portions of food to the senate. He invited matrons into his council, and to those who kissed his hand he presented four aurei bearing his own name. 17 When he learned that his father Valerian was captured, just as that best of philosophers, it is said, exclaimed on the loss of his son, "I knew that I had begotten a mortal, so he exclaimed, "I knew that my father was mortal."

² There has even been an Annius Cornicula to raise his voice in praise of Gallienus as a steadfast prince, but untruthfully. However, he who believes him is even more perverse. 3 Gallienus often went forth to the sound of the pipes and returned to the sound of the organ, ordering music to be played for his going forth and his returning. 4 In summer he would bathe six or seven times in the day, and in the winter twice or thrice. 5 He always drank out of golden cups, for he scorned glass, declaring that there was nothing more common. 6 His wines he continually changed, and at a banquet he never drank two cups of the same wine. 7 His concubines frequently reclined in his dining-halls, and he always had near at hand a second table for the jesters and actors. 8 Whenever he went to the gardens named after him, all the staff of the Palace followed him. And there went with him, too, the prefects and the chiefs of all the staffs, and they were invited to his banquets and bathed in the pools along with the prince. 9 Women, too, were often sent in, beautiful girls with the emperor, but with the others ugly old hags. And he used to say that he was making merry, whereas he had brought the world on all sides to ruin. 18 But the soldiers he treated with excessive cruelty, killing as many as three or four thousand of them in a single day.

² He gave orders to make a statue of himself arrayed as the Sun and greater than the Colossus, but it was destroyed while still unfinished. It was, in fact, begun on so large a scale that it seemed to be double the size of the Colossus. 3 His wish was that it should be placed on the summit of the Esquiline Hill, holding a spear, up the shaft of which a child could climb to the top. 4 The plan,

however, seemed foolish to Claudius and after him to Aurelian, especially as he had ordered a chariot and horses to be made in proportion to the size of the statue and set up on a very high base. ⁵ He planned to construct a Flaminian portico extending as far as the Mulvian Bridge, and having columns in rows of four or, as some say, in rows of five, so that the first row should contain pillars with columns bearing statues in front of them, while the second and third and the rest should have columns in lines of four.

⁶ It would be too long to set down in writing all that he did, and if anyone wishes to know these things, he may read Palfurius Sura, who composed a journal of his life. Let us now turn to Saloninus.

Saloninus Gallienus

¹⁹ ¹ He was the son of Gallienus and the grandson of Valerian, and concerning him there is scarcely anything worth setting down in writing, save that he was nobly born, royally reared, and then killed, not on his own account but his father's. ² With regard to his name there is great uncertainty, for many have recorded that it was Gallienus and many Saloninus. ³ Those who call him Saloninus declare that he was so named because he was born at Salona; and those who call him Gallienus say that he was named after his father and Gallienus' grandfather, who once was a very great man in the state. ⁴ As a matter of fact, a statue of him has remained to the present time at the foot of the Hill of Romulus, in front of the Sacred Way, that is, between the Temple of Faustina and the Temple of Vesta near the Fabian Arch, which bears the inscription "To Gallienus the Younger" with the addition of "Saloninus," and from this his name can be learned.

⁵ It is well enough known that the rule of Gallienus exceeded ten years. This statement I have added for the reason that many have said that he was killed in the ninth year of his rule. ⁶ There were, moreover, other rebels during his reign, as we shall relate in the proper place; for it is our purpose to include twenty pretenders in one single book, since there is not much to be told about them, and many things have already been said in the Life of Gallienus.

⁷ It will suffice, meanwhile, to have told in this book these facts concerning Gallienus; for much has already been said in the Life of Valerian, and other things shall be told in the book which is to be entitled "Concerning the Thirty Pretenders," and these it seems useless to repeat here and relate too often. ⁸ It must also be added that I have even omitted some facts on purpose, lest his descendants should be offended by the publication of many details. ²⁰ For you know yourself what a feud such men maintain with those who have written certain things concerning their ancestors, and I think that you are acquainted with what Marcus Tullius said in his *Hortensius*, written in imitation of the *Protrepticus*. ² One incident, however, I will include, which caused a certain amount of amusement, albeit of a commonplace kind, and yet brought about a new custom. ³ For since most military men, on coming to a banquet, laid aside their sword-belts when the banquet began, the boy Saloninus (or Gallienus), it is related, once stole these belts studded with gold and adorned with rows of jewels, and since it was difficult to search in the Palace for anything that had disappeared, these military men bore their losses in silence, but when afterwards

they were bidden to a banquet, they reclined at table with their sword-belts on. 4 And when asked why they did not lay aside their belts, they replied, it is said, “We are wearing them for Saloninus.” And this gave rise to the custom that always thereafter they should dine with the emperor belted. 5 I cannot, indeed, deny that many believe this custom had a different origin; for, they say, at the soldiers’ ration (prandium) — which they called a “preparation” (parandium) because it prepares them for fighting — men come in wearing belts, and the proof of this statement is that with the emperor men still dine unbelted. These details I have given because they seemed worthy of being related and known.

²¹ 1 Now let us pass on to the twenty pretenders, who arose in the time of Gallienus because of contempt for the evil prince. With regard to them I need tell but a few things and briefly; 2 for most of them are not worthy of having even their names put into a book, although some of them seem to have had no little merit and even to have been of much benefit to the state.

³ Various, indeed, are the opinions concerning the name of Saloninus, but the author who believes he speaks most truthfully declares that he was named from his mother Salonina, whom Gallienus loved to distraction. He loved also a barbarian maid, Pipara by name, the daughter of a king. 4 And for this reason Gallienus, moreover, and those about him always dyed their hair yellow.

⁵ With regard to the number of years through which the rule of Gallienus and Valerian extended, such varied statements are made that, whereas all agree that together they ruled for fifteen years, that is, that Gallienus himself attained to his fifteenth year, while Valerian was captured in his sixth, some have set down in writing that Gallienus ruled for nine years, and others, again, that it was almost ten — while, on the other hand, it is generally known that he celebrated a decennial festival at Rome, and that after this festival he defeated the Goths, made peace with Odaenathus, entered into friendly relations with Aureolus, warred against Postumus and against Lollianus, and did many things that mark a virtuous life, but more that tend to dishonour. 6 For he used to frequent public-houses at night, it is said, and spent his life with pimps and actors and jesters.

The Lives of the Thirty Pretenders

¹ After having written many books in the style of neither an historian nor a scholar but only that of a layman, we have now reached the series of years in which the thirty pretenders arose — the years when the Empire was ruled by Gallienus and Valerian, when Valerian was busied with the great demands of the Persian War and Gallienus, as will be shown in the proper place, was held in contempt not only by men but by women as well. ² But since so obscure were these men, who flocked in from divers parts of the world to seize the imperial power, that not much concerning them can be either related by scholars or demanded of them, and since all those historians who have written in Greek or in Latin have passed over some of them without dwelling even on their names, and, finally, since certain details related about them by many have varied so widely, I have therefore gathered them all into a single book, and that a short one, especially as it is evident that much concerning them has already been told in the Lives of Valerian and Gallienus and need not be repeated here.

Cyriades

² This man, rich and well born, fled from his father Cyriades when, by his excesses and profligate ways, he had become a burden to the righteous old man, and after robbing him of a great part of his gold and an enormous amount of silver he departed to the Persians. ² Thereupon he joined King Sapor and became his ally, and after urging him to make war on the Romans, he brought first Odomastes and then Sapor himself into the Roman dominions; and also by capturing Antioch and Caesarea he won for himself the name of Caesar. ³ Then, when he had been hailed Augustus, after he had caused all the Orient to tremble in terror at his strength or his daring, and when, moreover, he had slain his father (which some historians deny), he himself, at the time that Valerian was on his way to the Persian War, was put to death by the treachery of his followers. ⁴ Nor has anything more that seems worthy of mention been committed to history about this man, who has obtained a place in letters solely by reason of his famous flight, his act of parricide, his cruel tyranny, and his boundless excesses.

Postumus

³ This man, most valiant in war and most steadfast in peace, was so highly respected for his whole manner of life that he was even entrusted by Gallienus

with the care of his son Saloninus (whom he had placed in command of Gaul) as the guardian of his life and conduct and his instructor in the duties of a ruler. 2 Nevertheless, as some writers assert — though it does not accord with his character — he afterwards broke faith and after slaying Saloninus seized the imperial power. 3 As others, however, have related with greater truth, the Gauls themselves, hating Gallienus most bitterly and being unwilling to endure a boy as their emperor, hailed as their ruler the man who was holding the rule in trust for another, and despatching soldiers they slew the boy. 4 When he was slain, Postumus was gladly accepted by the entire army and by all the Gauls, and for seven years he performed such exploits that he completely restored the provinces of Gaul, while Gallienus spent his time in debauchery and taverns and grew weak in loving a barbarian woman. 5 Gallienus, however, was warring against him at that time when he himself was wounded by an arrow. 6 Great, indeed, was the love felt for Postumus in the hearts of all the people of Gaul because he had thrust back all the German tribes and had restored the Roman Empire to its former security. 7 But when he began to conduct himself with the greatest sternness, the Gauls, following their custom of always desiring a change of government, at the instigation of Lollianus put him to death.

⁸ If anyone, indeed, desires to know the merits of Postumus, he may learn Valerian's opinion concerning him from the following letter which he wrote to the Gauls: 9 "As general in charge of the Rhine frontier and governor of Gaul we have named Postumus, a man most worthy of the stern discipline of the Gauls. He by his presence will safeguard the soldiers in the camp, civil rights in the forum, law-suits at the bar of judgement, and the dignity of the council-chamber, and he will preserve for each one his own personal possessions; he is a man at whom I marvel above all others and well deserving of the office of prince, and for him, I hope, you will render me thanks. 10 If, however, I have erred in my judgement concerning him, you may rest assured that nowhere in the world will a man be found who can win complete approval. 11 Upon his son, Postumus by name, a young man who will show himself worthy of his father's character, I have bestowed the tribuneship of the Vocontii."

Postumus the Younger

⁴ Concerning this man there is naught to relate save that after receiving the name of Caesar from his father and later, as a mark of honour to him, that of Augustus, he was killed, it is said, together with his father at the time when Lollianus, who was put in Postumus' place, took the imperial power offered to him by the Gauls. 2 He was, moreover — and only this is worthy of mention —

so skilled in rhetorical exercises that his *Controversies* are said to have been inserted among those of Quintilian, who, as the reading of even a single chapter will show at the first glance, was the sharpest rhetorician of the Roman race.

Lollianus

⁵ In consequence of this man's rebellion in Gaul, Postumus, the bravest of all men, was put to death after he had brought back the power of Rome into its ancient condition at the time when Gaul was on the brink of ruin because of Gallienus' excesses. ² Lollianus was, indeed, a very brave man, but in the face of rebellion his strength was insufficient to give him authority over the Gauls. ³ He was killed, moreover, by Victorinus, son of Vitruvia, or rather Victoria, who was later entitled Mother of the Camp and honoured by the name of Augusta, though she herself, doing her utmost to escape the weight of so great a burden, had bestowed the imperial power first on Marius and then on Tetricus together with his son. ⁴ Lollianus, in fact, did to some extent benefit the commonwealth; for many of the communes of Gaul and also some of the camps, built on barbarian soil by Postumus during his seven years, but after his murder plundered and burned during an incursion of Germans, were restored by him to their ancient condition. Then he was slain by his soldiers because he exacted too much labour.

⁵ And so, while Gallienus was bringing ruin on the commonwealth, there arose in Gaul first Postumus, then Lollianus, next Victorinus, and finally Tetricus (for of Marius we will make no mention), all of them defenders of the renown of Rome. ⁶ All of these, I believe, were given by gift of the gods, in order that, while that pestiferous fellow was caught in the toils of unheard-of excesses, no opportunity might be afforded the Germans for seizing Roman soil. ⁷ For if they had broken forth then in the same manner as did the Goths and the Persians, these foreign nations, acting together in Roman territory, would have put an end to this venerable empire of the Roman nation. ⁸ As for Lollianus, his life is obscure in many details, as is also that of Postumus, too — but only their private lives; for while they lived they were famed for their valour, not for their importance in rank.

Victorinus

⁶ When the elder Postumus saw that Gallienus was marching against him with great forces, and that he needed the aid not only of soldiers but also of a second prince, he called Victorinus, a man of soldierly energy, to share in the imperial power, and in company with him he fought against Gallienus. ² Having

summoned to their aid huge forces of Germans, they protracted the war for a long time, but at last they were conquered. 3 Then, when Lollianus, too, had been slain, Victorinus alone remained in command. He also, because he devoted his time to seducing the wives of his soldiers and officers, was slain at Agrippina through a conspiracy formed by a certain clerk, whose wife he had debauched; his mother Vitruvia, or rather Victoria, who was later called Mother of the Camp, had given his son Victorinus the title of Caesar, but the boy, too, was immediately killed after his father was slain at Agrippina.

4 Concerning Victorinus, because he was most valiant and, save for his lustfulness, an excellent emperor, many details have been related by many writers. 5 We, however, deem it sufficient to insert a portion of the book of a certain Julius Atherianus, in which he writes of Victorinus as follows: 6 “With regard to Victorinus, who ruled the provinces of Gaul after Julius Postumus, I consider that no one should be given a higher place, not Trajan for his courage, or Antoninus for his kindness, or Nerva for his noble dignity, or Vespasian for his care of the treasury, or yet Pertinax or Severus for the strictness of their whole lives or the severity of their military discipline. 7 All these qualities, however, were offset to such an extent by his lustfulness and his desire for the pleasures gotten from women that no one would dare to set forth in writing the virtues of one who, all are agreed, deserved to be punished.” 8 And so, since this is the judgement that writers have given concerning Victorinus, I consider that I have said enough regarding his character.

Victorinus the Younger

7 Concerning him nothing has been put into writing save that he was the grandson of Victoria and the son of Victorinus and that he was entitled Caesar by his father or grandmother on the eve of his father’s murder and was at once slain in anger by the soldiers. 2 Their tombs, indeed, are still to be seen near Agrippina, humble monuments covered with common marble, and on them is carved the inscription, “Here lie the two Victorini, pretenders.”

Marius

8 After Victorinus, Lollianus and Postumus were slain, Marius, formerly a worker in iron, so it is said, held the imperial power, but only for three days. 2 What more can be asked concerning him I know not, save that he was made more famous by the shortness of his rule. For, just as that consul who held the

office as a substitute for six hours at midday was ridiculed by Cicero in the jest, “We have had a consul so stern and severe that during his term of office no one has breakfasted, no one has dined, and no one has slept,” so the same, it would seem, can be said of Marius, who on the first day was made emperor, on the second seemed to rule, and on the third was slain.

³ He was, indeed, an active man and rose through the various grades of military service to the imperial power itself — this one whom many called Mamurius and some Veturius, because, forsooth, he was a worker in iron. ⁴ But we have already said too much about this man, concerning whom it will be sufficient to add that there was no one whose hands were stronger, for either striking or thrusting, since he seemed to have not veins in his fingers, but sinews. ⁵ For he is said to have thrust back on-coming waggons by means of his forefinger and with a single finger to have struck the strongest men so hard that they felt as much pain as though hit by a blow from wood or blunted iron; and he crushed many objects by the mere pressure of two of his fingers. ⁶ He was slain by a soldier whom, because he had once been a worker in his smithy, he had treated with scorn either when he commanded troops or after he had taken the imperial power. ⁷ His slayer is said to have added the words, “This is a sword which you yourself have forged.”

⁸ His first public harangue, it is said, was as follows: “I know well, fellow-soldiers, that I can be taunted with my former trade, of which all of you are my witnesses. ⁹ However, let anyone say what he wishes. As for me, may I always labour with steel rather than ruin myself with wine and garlands and harlots and gluttony, as does Gallienus, unworthy of his father and the noble rank of his house. ¹⁰ Let men taunt me with working with steel as long as foreign nations shall know from their losses that I have handled the steel. ¹¹ In short, I will strive to the utmost that all Alamannia and Germany and the nations round about shall deem the Roman people a steel-clad folk and that it shall be most of all the steel that they fear in us. ¹² But as for you, I wish you to rest assured that you have chosen as emperor one who will never know how to deal with aught but the steel. ¹³ And this I say because I know that no charge can be brought against me by that pestiferous profligate save this, that I have been a forger of swords and armour.”

Ingenuus

⁹ In the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, while Gallienus was spending his time in wine and gluttony and giving himself up to pimps and actors and harlots, and by continued debauchery was destroying the gifts of nature, Ingenuus, then

ruler of the Pannonian provinces, was acclaimed emperor by the legions of Moesia, and those in Pannonia assented thereto. And, in fact, it appeared that in no other case had the soldiers taken better counsel for the commonwealth than when, in the face of an inroad of the Sarmatians, they chose as their emperor one who by his valour could bring a remedy to the exhausted state. 2 His reason, moreover, for seizing the power at that time was his fear of becoming an object of suspicion to the emperors, because he was both very brave and necessary to the commonwealth, and also — a cause which rouses rulers most of all — well beloved by the soldiers. 3 Gallienus, however, worthless and degraded though he was, could still, when necessity demanded, show himself quick in action, courageous, vigorous and cruel, and finally, meeting Ingenuus in battle, he defeated him and, after slaying him, vented his anger most fiercely on all the Moesians, soldiers and civilians alike. For he left none exempt from his cruelty, and so brutal and savage was he, that in many communities he left not a single male alive. 4 It is said of Ingenuus, indeed, that when the city was captured, he threw himself into the water, and so put an end to his life, that he might not fall into the power of the brutal tyrant.

⁵ There is, indeed, still in existence a letter of Gallienus, written to Celer Verianus, which shows his excessive brutality. This I have inserted, in order that all may learn that a profligate, if necessity demand, can be the most brutal of men:

⁶ “From Gallienus to Verianus. You will not satisfy me if you kill only armed combatants, for these even chance could have killed in the war. 7 You must slay every male, that is, if old men and immature boys can be put to death without bringing odium upon us. 8 You must slay all who have wished me ill, slay all who have spoken ill of me, the son of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes. 9 Ingenuus has been created emperor! Therefore mutilate, kill, slaughter, see that you understand my purpose and show your anger with that spirit which I am showing, I who have written these words with my own hand.”

Regalianus

¹⁰ It was the public destiny that in the time of Gallienus whosoever could, sprang up to seize the imperial power. And so Regalianus, who held the command in Illyricum, was declared emperor, the prime movers being the Moesians, who had previously been defeated with Ingenuus and on whose kinsmen Gallienus had vented his anger severely. 2 He, indeed, performed many brave deeds against the Sarmatians, but nevertheless, at the instigation of the Roxolani and with the consent of the soldiers and the provincials, who feared

that Gallienus might, on a second occasion, act even more cruelly, he was put to death.

³ It may perhaps seem a matter for wonder if I relate the origin of his rule, for it was all because of a notable jest that he gained the royal power. ⁴ For when some soldiers were dining with him and a certain acting-tribune arose and said, “Whence shall we suppose that Regalianus gets his name?” another replied at once, “I suppose from his regal power.” ⁵ Then a schoolmaster who was present among them began, as it seemed, to decline grammatically, saying, “Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus,” ⁶ whereupon among the soldiers — a class of men who are quick to express what they have in mind — one cried out, “So, then, can he be regal?” another, “So, then, can he hold regal sway over us?” and again another, “God has given you a regent’s name.” ⁷ Why should I then say more? The next day after these words were spoken, on going forth in the morning he was greeted as emperor by the front-line troops. Thus what was offered to others through daring or reasoned choice was offered to him through a clever jest.

⁸ It cannot, indeed, be denied that he had always won approbation in warfare and had long been suspected by Gallienus because he seemed worthy to rule; he was, moreover, a Dacian by birth and a kinsman, so it was said, of Decebalus himself. ⁹ There is still in existence a letter written by the Deified Claudius, then still a commoner, in which he expresses his thanks to Regalianus, as general in command of Illyricum, for recovering this district, at a time when Gallienus’ slothfulness was bringing all things to ruin. This letter, which I have found in the original form, I think should be inserted here, for it was written officially:

¹⁰ “From Claudius to Regalianus many greetings. Fortunate is the commonwealth, which has deserved to have such a man as yourself in its military camps, and fortunate is Gallienus, though no one tells him the truth about either good men or bad. ¹¹ Word has been brought to me by Bonitus and Celsus, the attendants of our emperor, how you conducted yourself in fighting at Scupi and how many battles you fought in a single day and with what great speed. You were worthy of a triumph, did but the olden times still remain. ¹² But why say more? I could wish that you might be mindful of a certain person and therefore be more cautious in gaining victories. I should like you to send me some Sarmatian bows and two military cloaks, but provided with clasps, for I am sending you some of my own.”

¹³ This letter shows what opinion of Regalianus was held by Claudius, whose judgement was without doubt most weighty in his own time.

¹⁴ It was not, indeed, from Gallienus that Regalianus received his promotion, but from his father, Valerian, as did also Claudius, Macrianus, Ingenuus, Postumus and Aureolus, who all were slain while they held the imperial power,

although they deserved to hold it. 15 It was, moreover, a matter for marvel in Valerian as emperor, that all who were appointed commanders by him, afterwards, by the voice of the soldiers, obtained the imperial rule, so that it is clear that the aged emperor, in choosing the generals of the commonwealth, was, in fact, such an one as the felicity of Rome — could it only have permitted by fate to continue under a worthy prince — ever required. 16 Oh that it might have been possible either for those who seized the imperial power to rule for a longer time, or for this man's son to rule less long, that somehow our commonwealth might have kept itself in its proper position! 17 But Fortune claimed for herself too much indulgence, when with Valerian she took away our righteous princes, and preserved Gallienus for the commonwealth longer than was meet.

Aureolus

¹¹ This man also, while commanding the Illyrian armies, was urged on by the soldiers in their contempt for Gallienus (as were all others at that time) and so seized the imperial power. 2 And when Macrianus and his son Macrianus marched against Gallienus with very large forces, he took their troops, and some he won over to his cause by bribery. 3 When Aureolus had thus become a mighty emperor, Gallienus, after trying in vain to conquer so brave a man and being now on the point of beginning a war against Postumus, made peace with him — of which events many have already been related and many are still to be told.

⁴ This same Aureolus, after Gallienus was slain, Claudius met in battle and killed at the bridge which now bears the name of Aureolus' Bridge, and there he bestowed upon him a tomb, but a lowly one as became a pretender. 5 There is even now in existence an epigram in Greek of the following purport:

“Sepulture's gift, after many a battle against the pretender,
Claudius, flushed with success, gives to Aureolus now,
Doing him honour in death, himself the rightful survivor.
Fain had he kept him alive, only his glorious troops
Suffered it not in their love; for they put out of life very rightly
All who deserved not to live — why not Aureolus more?
Merciful, though, was that prince, who preserved what was left of his body,
And in Aureolus' name built both a bridge and a tomb.”

⁶ These verses, translated by a certain teacher of grammar, I have given in such a way that their accuracy is retained, although they could be translated more elegantly; but I do it with the purpose of preserving historical truth, which I have thought should be guarded above all else, and caring nought for considerations of literary style. 7 For, indeed, it is fact that I have determined to put before you

and not mere words, especially when we have such an abundance of facts as in the lives of the thirty pretenders taken together.

Macrianus

¹² After the capture of Valerian, long a most noble prince in the state, then a most valiant emperor, but at the last the most unfortunate of all men (either because in his old age he pined away among the Persians or because he left behind him unworthy descendants), Ballista, Valerian's prefect, and Macrianus, the foremost of his generals, since they knew that Gallienus was worthy only of contempt and since the soldiers, too, were seeking an emperor, withdrew together to a certain place, to consider what should be done. 2 They then agreed that, since Gallienus was far away and Aureolus was usurping the imperial power, some emperor ought to be chosen, and, indeed, the best man, lest there should arise some pretender. 3 Therefore Ballista (or so Maeonius Astyanax, who took part in their council, relates) spoke as follows: 4 "As for myself, my age and my calling and my desires are all far removed from the imperial office, and so, as I cannot deny, I am searching for a worthy prince. 5 But who, pray, is there who can fill the place of Valerian except such a man as yourself, brave, steadfast, honourable, well proved in public affairs, and — what is of the highest importance for holding the imperial office — possessed of great wealth? Therefore, take this post which your merits deserve. My services as prefect shall be yours as long as you wish. Do you only serve the commonwealth well, so that the Roman world may rejoice that you have been made its prince." 7 To this Macrianus replied: "I admit, Ballista, that to the wise man the imperial office is no light thing. For I wish, indeed, to come to the aid of the commonwealth and to remove that pestiferous fellow from administering the laws, but I am not of an age for this; I am now an old man, I cannot ride as an example to others, I must bathe too often and eat too carefully, and my very riches have long since kept me away from practicing war. 8 We must seek out some young men, and not one alone, but two or three of the bravest, who in different parts of the world of mankind can restore the commonwealth, which Valerian and Gallienus have brought to ruin, the one by his fate, the other by his mode of life." 9 Whereupon Ballista, perceiving that Macrianus, in so speaking, seemed to have in mind his own two sons, answered him as follows: "To your wisdom, then, we entrust the commonwealth. 10 And so give us your sons Macrianus and Quietus, most valiant young men, long since made tribunes by Valerian, for, under the rule of Gallienus, for the very reason that they are good men, they cannot remain unharmed." 11 Then Macrianus, finding out that his thoughts had been

understood, replied: "I will yield, and from my own funds I will present to the soldiers a double bounty. Do you but give me your zealous service as prefect and furnish rations in the needful places. I will now do my best that Gallienus, more contemptible than any woman, may come to know his father's generals." 12 And so, with the consent of all the soldiers, Macrianus was made emperor, together with his two sons Macrianus and Quietus, and he immediately proceeded to march against Gallienus, leaving affairs in the East in whatever state he could. 13 But while he was on the march, having with him a force of forty-five thousand soldiers, he met Aureolus in Illyricum or on the borders of Thrace, and there he was defeated and together with his son was slain. 14 Then thirty thousand of his men yielded to Aureolus' power. It was Domitianus, indeed, who won this victory, the bravest and most active of Aureolus' leaders, who claimed to be the descendant of the Emperor Domitian and Domitilla.

¹⁵ In writing of Macrianus, moreover, it would seem to me wrong to leave out the opinion of Valerian, which he expressed in the message he sent to the senate from the frontier of Persia. A portion of the message of the Deified Valerian: 16 "Being now engaged in the war with the Persians, Conscript Fathers, I have entrusted all public affairs, and even those which concern the war, to Macrianus. He is faithful to you, loyal to me, and both beloved and feared by the soldiers. He with his army will act as the case shall demand. 17 And in this, Conscript Fathers, there is nothing new or unexpected by us. For while a boy in Italy, while a youth in Gaul, while a mature man in Africa, and, finally, while well advanced in years in Illyricum and Dalmatia, his valour has been well proved, for in divers battles he has done brave deeds which may serve as a pattern to others. 18 I will add, besides, that he has young sons, worthy of being our associates in Rome and worthy, too, of our friendship," and so forth.

Macrianus the Younger

¹³ I have already given a foretaste, in the account of his father's rule, of many details about this man, who would never have been chosen emperor, had it not seemed well to trust to his father's wisdom. 2 Many marvellous stories, it is true, are related concerning him, all of which have to do with the bravery of youthful years. But what, after all, does one single man's bravery avail against fate or how much does it profit in war? 3 For, though active himself and accompanied by the wisest of fathers (through whose merits he had begun to rule), he was defeated by Domitianus, and despoiled, as I have previously said, of an army of thirty thousand soldiers, being himself of noble birth through his mother, for his father was merely brave and ready for war, and had risen from the lowest rank in

the army with exalted distinction to the highest command.

Quietus

¹⁴ This man, as we have said, was the son of Macrianus and was made emperor, along with his father and brother, in accordance with the judgement of Ballista. But when Odaenathus, who had now for some time held the East, learned that the two Macriani, the father and brother of Quietus, had been defeated by Aureolus, and that their soldiers had yielded to his power in the belief that he was upholding the cause of Gallienus, he put the young man to death and with him Ballista, for a long time prefect. 2 This young man, too, was worthy to hold the power at Rome, so that he seemed to be truly the son of Macrianus and also the brother of Macrianus, who together were well able to govern the commonwealth in its stricken state.

³ It does not seem to me, in telling of the family of the Macriani (which is still flourishing to day), that I should fail to speak of a peculiar custom which they have always observed. 4 For an embossed head of Alexander the Great of Macedonia was always used by the men on their rings and their silver plate, and by the women on their head-dresses, their bracelets, their rings and ornaments of every kind, so that even to day there are still in that family tunics and fillets and women's cloaks which show the likeness of Alexander in threads of divers colours. 5 We, ourselves, recently saw Cornelius Macer, a man of that same family, while giving a dinner in the Temple of Hercules, drink the health of a pontiff from a bowl made of electrum, which had in the centre the face of Alexander and contained on the circumference his whole history in small and minute figures, and this he caused to be passed around to all the most ardent admirers of that great hero. 6 All this I have included because it is said that those who wear the likeness of Alexander carved in either gold or silver are aided in all that they do.

Odaenathus

¹⁵ Had not Odaenathus, prince of the Palmyrenes, seized the imperial power after the capture of Valerian, with the strength of the Roman state was exhausted, all would have been lost in the East. 2 He assumed, therefore, as the first of his line, the title of King, and after gathering together an army he set out against the Persians, having with him his wife Zenobia, his elder son, whose name was Herodes, and his younger sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. 3 First of all, he brought under his power Nisibis and most of the East together with the whole of

Mesopotamia, next, he defeated the king himself and compelled him to flee. 4 Finally, he pursued Sapor and his children even as far as Ctesiphon, and captured his concubines and also a great amount of booty; then he turned to the oriental provinces, hoping to be able to crush Macrianus, who had begun to rule in opposition to Gallienus, but he had already set out against Aureolus and Gallienus. After Macrianus was slain, Odaenathus killed his son Quietus also, while Ballista, many assert, usurped the imperial power in order that he, too, might not be slain. 5 Then, after he had for the most part put in order the affairs of the East, he was killed by his cousin Maeonius (who had also seized the imperial power), together with his son Herodes, who, also, after returning from Persia along with his father, had received the title of emperor. 6 Some god, I believe, was angry with the commonwealth, who, after Valerian's death, was unwilling to preserve Odaenathus alive. 7 For of a surety he, with his wife Zenobia, would have restored not only the East, which he had already brought back to its ancient condition, but also all parts of the whole world everywhere, since he was fierce in warfare and, as most writers relate, ever famous for his memorable hunts; for from his earliest years he expended his sweat, as is the duty of a man, in taking lions and panthers and bears and other beasts of the forest, and always lived in the woods and the mountains, enduring heat and rain and all other hardships which pleasures of hunting entail. 8 Hardened by these he was able to bear the sun and the dust in the wars with the Persians; and his wife, too, was inured to hardship and in the opinion of many was held to be more brave than her husband, being, indeed, the noblest of all the women of the East, and, as Cornelius Capitolinus declares, the most beautiful.

Herodes

¹⁶ Herodes, who was the son, not of Zenobia, but of a former wife of Odaenathus, received the imperial power along with his father, though he was the most effeminate of men, wholly oriental and given over to Grecian luxury, for he had embroidered tents and pavilions made out of cloth of gold and everything in the manner of the Persians. 2 In fact, Odaenathus, complying with his ways and moved by the promptings of a father's indulgence, gave him all the king's concubines and the riches and jewels that he captured. 3 Zenobia, indeed, treated him in a step-mother's way, and this made him all the more dear to his father. Nothing more remains to be said concerning Herodes.

Maeonius

¹⁷ This man, the cousin of Odaenathus, murdered that excellent emperor, being moved thereto by nothing else than contemptible envy, for he could bring no charge against him save that Herodes was his son. ² It is said, however, that previously he had entered into a conspiracy with Zenobia, who could not bear that her stepson Herodes should be called a prince in a higher rank than her own two sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. But Maeonius, too, was a filthy fellow, ³ and so, after being saluted as emperor through some blunder, he was shortly thereafter killed by the soldiers, as his excesses deserved.

Ballista

¹⁸ As to whether this man held the imperial power or not historians do not agree. For many assert that when Quietus was killed by Odaenathus, Ballista was pardoned, but nevertheless took the imperial power, putting no trust in either Gallienus or Aureolus or Odaenathus. ² Others, again, declare that while still a commoner he was killed on the lands which he had bought for himself near Daphne. ³ Many, indeed, have said that he assumed the purple in order to rule in the Roman fashion, and that he took command of the army and made many promises on his own account, but was killed by those despatched by Aureolus for the purpose of seizing Quietus, Macrianus' son, who, Aureolus averred, was his own due prey. ⁴ He was a notable man, skilled in administering the commonwealth, vehement in counsel, winning fame in campaigns, without an equal in providing for rations, and so highly esteemed by Valerian that in a certain letter he honoured him with the following testimony:

⁵ "From Valerian to Ragonius Clarus, prefect of Illyricum and the provinces of Gaul. If you are a man of good judgement, my kinsman Clarus, as I know that you are, you will carry out the arrangements of Ballista. Model your government on them. ⁶ Do you see how he refrains from burdening the provincials, how he keeps the horses in places where there is fodder and exacts the rations for his soldiers in places where there is grain, how he never compels the provincials or the land-holders to furnish grain where they have no supply, or horses where they have no pasture? ⁷ There is no arrangement better than to exact in each place what is there produced, so that the commonwealth may not be burdened by transport or other expenses. ⁸ Galatia is rich in grain, Thrace is well stocked, and Illyricum is filled with it; so let the foot-soldiers be quartered in these regions, although in Thrace cavalry, too, can winter without damage to the provincials, since plenty of hay can be had from the fields. ⁹ As for wine and bacon and other forms of food, let them be handed out in those places in which they abound in plenty. ¹⁰ All this is the policy of Ballista, who gave orders that any province

should furnish only one form of food, namely that in which it abounded, and that from it the soldiers should be kept away. This, in fact, has been officially decreed.”

¹¹ There is also another letter, in which he gives thanks to Ballista, showing that he himself had received from him instruction in governing the state, and expressing his pleasure that he had on his staff no supernumerary tribune (that is, one unassigned to some duty), no one in attendance who did not truly perform some office, and no soldier who was not truly a fighter.

¹² This man, then, while resting in his tent was slain, it is said, by a certain common soldier, in order to gain the favour of Odaenathus and Gallienus. ¹³ I, however, have not been able to find out sufficiently the truth concerning him, because the writers of his time have related much about his prefecture but little about his rule.

Valens

¹⁹ This man, a warrior and at the same time excelling in glory for his qualities as a citizen, was holding the proconsulship of Achaëa, an honour conferred on him by Gallienus. ² Macrianus feared him greatly, both because he had learned that he was distinguished for his whole manner of life and because he knew him to be his enemy out of hatred for his virtues. He therefore despatched Piso, a member of a family then most noble and, in fact, of consular rank, with orders to put him to death. ³ Valens, however, who kept a most careful watch, foreseeing the future and believing that there was no other means of protecting himself, seized the imperial power and soon was slain by the soldiers.

Valens the Elder

²⁰ It has fortunately occurred to us that, in speaking of this Valens, we should make some mention also of the Valens who was killed in the time of the earlier emperors. ² For he, it is said, was the great-uncle of the Valens who seized the power under Gallienus. Others, however, assert that he was only his uncle. ³ But the fate of them both was alike, for he, too, was killed after he had ruled for a few days in Illyricum.

Piso

²¹ This man was despatched by Macrianus to kill Valens, but on learning that he, foreseeing the future, had declared himself emperor, he withdrew into

Thessaly; there by consent of a few he assumed the imperial power, taking the surname Thessalicus, but was then slain by violence. He was a man of the utmost righteousness and during his life-time he was given the name Frugi, and he was said to derive his descent from that family of Pisos with which Cicero had formed an alliance for the purpose of entering the nobility. 2 He was highly esteemed by all the emperors; in fact, Valens himself, who is said to have sent the assassins against him, declared, it is told, that never could he render account to the gods of the lower world for having given an order to put Piso to death, albeit his enemy, for his like the Roman commonwealth did not contain.

³ I have gladly inserted the senate's decree which was passed concerning Piso, in order that his honours may be made known: On the seventh day before the Kalends of July, when word had been brought that Piso was slain by Valens and Valens himself by his own soldiers, Arellius Fuscus, the consular whose right it was to give his opinion first, said: "Consul, consult us." 4 And on being asked his opinion, he said, "I propose divine honours for Piso, Conscript Fathers, and I firmly believe that this will be approved by our emperors, Gallienus, Valerian, and Saloninus; for never was there a better man or a braver." 5 After him the others also on being consulted voted Piso a statue among the triumphant generals and also a four-horse chariot. 6 His statue is still to be seen, but the chariot which they decreed was erected only to be moved elsewhere, and it has not yet been brought back. 7 For it was set up in the place where the Bath of Diocletian was afterwards built, destined to have a name as undying as it is revered.

Aemilianus

²² It is the wont of the people of Egypt that like madmen and fools they are led by the most trivial matters to become highly dangerous to the commonwealth; 2 for merely because a greeting was omitted, or a place in the baths refused, or meat and vegetables withheld, or on account of the boots of slaves or some other such things, they have broken out into riots, even to the point of becoming highly dangerous to the state, so that troops have been armed to quell them. 3 With their wonted madness, accordingly, on a certain occasion, when the slave of the chief magistrate then governing Alexandria had been killed by a soldier for asserting that his sandals were better than the soldier's, a mob gathered together, and, coming to the house of the general Aemilianus, it assailed him with all the implements and the frenzy usual in riots; he was pelted with stones and attacked with swords, and no kind of weapon used in a riot was lacking. 4 And so Aemilianus was constrained to assume the imperial power, knowing well that he would have to die in any event. 5 To this step the army in Egypt agreed,

chiefly out of hatred for Gallienus. 6 He did not, indeed, lack energy for administering public affairs. For he marched through the district of Thebes and, in fact, the whole of Egypt, and to the best of his powers drove back the barbarians with courage and firmness. 7 Finally, he won by his merits the name of Alexander, or else Alexandrinus — for this is considered uncertain. 8 But when he was making ready for a campaign against the people of India, the general Theodotus was sent against him by order of Gallienus, and so he suffered punishment, for it is related that, like the captives of old, he was strangled in prison.

⁹ Now, since I am speaking of Egypt, I think I must not fail to relate what the history of former times has suggested and, in connection therewith, a deed of Gallienus. 10 For when he wished to confer proconsular power on Theodotus, the priests forbade it, saying that it was not lawful for the consular fasces to be brought into Alexandria. 11 This, we know well enough, was mentioned by Cicero in his speech against Gabinius, and, in fact, it is still remembered that this practice was maintained. 12 Therefore, your kinsman Herennius Celsus, in seeking the consulship, ought to know that what he desires is not lawful. 13 For at Memphis, they say, it was written on a golden column in Egyptian letters that Egypt would at last regain its freedom when the Roman fasces and the Roman bordered toga had been brought into the land. 14 This may be found in Proculus the grammarian, the most learned man of his time, in the place where he tells of foreign countries.

Saturninus

²³ The best of the generals of the time of Gallienus, though, in fact, he was chosen by Valerian, was Saturninus. 2 He also, being unable to endure the loose ways of Gallienus, who revelled all night in public places, and preferring to command the soldiers in his own way rather than in that of his emperor, accepted the imperial power from the army. He was a man unequalled in wisdom, outstanding in dignity, lovable in his ways, and because of his victories well known everywhere, even among the barbarians. 3 On the day on which the soldiers clothed him with the imperial robe he called together an assembly, it is related, and said: Fellow-soldiers, you have lost a good general and made a bad emperor.” 4 Finally, after doing many vigorous deeds during his rule, merely because he was too severe and too harsh to the soldiers he was killed by those very men who had made him emperor. 5 He is famous for having commanded the soldiers, when reclining at table, to wear military cloaks in order that their lower limbs might not be bared, heavy ones in winter and very light ones in

summer.

Tetricus the Elder

²⁴ After Victorinus and his son were slain, his mother Victoria (or Vitruvia) urged Tetricus, a Roman senator then holding the governorship of Gaul, to take the imperial power, for the reason, many relate, that he was her kinsman; she then caused him to be entitled Augustus and bestowed on his son the name of Caesar. ² But after Tetricus had done many deeds with success and had ruled for a long time he was defeated by Aurelian, and, being unable to bear the impudence and shamelessness of his soldiers, he surrendered of his own free will to this prince most harsh and severe. ³ In fact, a quotation of his is cited, which he secretly sent in writing to Aurelian: —

“Save me, O hero unconquered, from these my misfortunes.”

⁴ And so Aurelian, who did not readily plan aught that was guileless or merciful or peaceful, led this man, though he was a senator of the Roman people and a consular and had ruled the provinces of Gaul with a governor’s powers, in his triumphal procession at the same time as Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, and the younger sons of Odaenathus, Herennianus and Timolaus. ⁵ Aurelian, nevertheless, exceedingly stern though he was, overcome by a sense of shame, made Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph, supervisor over the whole of Italy, that is, over Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Etruria and Umbria, Picenum and the Flaminian district, and the entire grain-bearing region, and suffered him not only to retain his life but also to remain in the highest position, calling him frequently colleague, sometimes fellow-soldier, and sometimes even emperor.

Tetricus the Younger

²⁵ He, when a little lad, received the name of Caesar from Victoria when she herself had been entitled by the army Mother of the Camp. ² He was, furthermore, led in triumph along with his father, but later he enjoyed all the honours of a senator; nor was his inheritance diminished, and, indeed, he passed it on to his descendants, and was ever, as Arellius Fuscus reports, a man of distinction. ³ My grandfather used to declare that he was a friend of his own, and that never was any one given preference over him either by Aurelian or by any of the later emperors. ⁴ The house of the Tetrici is still standing to day, situated on the Caelian Hill between the two groves and facing the Temple of Isis built by Metellus; and a most beautiful one it is, and in it Aurelian is depicted bestowing

on both the Tetrices the bordered toga and the rank of senator and receiving from them a sceptre, a chaplet, and an embroidered robe. This picture is in mosaic, and it is said that the two Tetrices, when they dedicated it, invited Aurelian himself to a banquet.

Trebellianus

²⁶ I am by this time ashamed to tell how many tyrants there were in the reign of Gallienus, all on account of the vices of that pestiferous man, for such, indeed, were his excesses that he deserved to have many rebels rise up against him, and such his cruelty that he was rightly regarded with fear. 2 This cruelty he showed also toward Trebellianus, who was made ruler in Isauria — for the Isaurians desired a leader for themselves. He, though others dubbed him archpirate, gave himself the title of emperor. He even gave orders to strike coins and he set up an imperial palace in a certain Isaurian stronghold. 3 Then, when he had betaken himself into the inmost and safest parts of Isauria, where he was protected by the natural difficulty of the ground and by the mountains, he ruled for some time among the Cilicians. 4 Camsioleus, however, Gallienus' general and an Egyptian by race, the brother of that Theodotus who had captured Aemilianus, brought him down to the plains and then defeated and slew him. 5 Never afterwards, however, was it possible to persuade the Isaurians, fearing that Gallienus might vent his anger upon them, to come down to the level ground, not even by any offer of kindness on the part of the emperors. 6 In fact, since the time of Trebellianus they have been considered barbarians; for indeed their district, though in the midst of lands belonging to the Romans, is guarded by a novel kind of defence, comparable to a frontier-wall, for it is protected not by men but by the nature of the country. 7 For the Isaurians are not of noble stature or distinguished courage, not well provided with arms or wise in counsel, but they are kept safe by this alone that, dwelling, as they do, on the heights, no one can approach them. The Deified Claudius did, it is true, almost persuade them to leave their native lands and settle in Cilicia, planning to give the entire possessions of the Isaurians to one of his most loyal friends in order that never again might a rebellion arise therein.

Herennianus

²⁷ Odaenathus, when he died, left two little sons, Herennianus and his brother Timolaus, in whose name Zenobia seized the imperial power, holding the government longer than was meet for a woman. These boys she displayed clad in

the purple robe of a Roman emperor and she brought them to public gatherings which she attended in the fashion of a man, holding up, among other examples, Dido and Semiramis, and Cleopatra, the founder of her family. 2 The manner of their death, however, is uncertain; for many maintain that they were killed by Aurelian, and many that they died a natural death, since Zenobia's descendants still remain among the nobles of Rome.

Timolaus

²⁸ With regard to him we consider only those things to be worth knowing which have been told concerning his brother. 2 One thing there is, however, which distinguishes him from his brother, that is, that such was his eagerness for Roman studies that in a short time, it is said, he made good the statement of his teacher of letters, who had said that he was in truth able to make him the greatest of Latin rhetoricians.

Celsus

²⁹ When the various parts of the empire were seized, namely Gaul, the Orient, and even Pontus, Thrace and Illyricum, and while Gallienus was spending his time in public-houses and giving up his life to bathing and pimps, the Africans also, at the instance of Vibius Passienus, the proconsul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, the general in command of the Libyan frontier, created an emperor, namely Celsus, decking him with the robe of the goddess Caelestis. 2 This man, a commoner and formerly a tribune stationed in Africa, was then living on his own estates, but such was his reputation for justice and such the size of his body that he seemed worthy of the imperial power. 3 Therefore he was made emperor, but on the seventh day of his rule he was killed by a woman named Galliena, a cousin of Gallienus, and so he has scarcely found a place even among the least known of the emperors. 4 His body was devoured by dogs, for such was the command of the people of Sicca, who had remained faithful to Gallienus, and then with a new kind of insult his image was set up on a cross, while the mob pranced about, as though they were looking at Celsus himself affixed to a gibbet.

Zenobia

³⁰ Now all shame is exhausted, for in the weakened state of the commonwealth things came to such a pass that, while Gallienus conducted himself in the most

evil fashion, even women ruled most excellently. 2 For, in fact, even a foreigner, Zenobia by name, about whom much has already been said, boasting herself to be of the family of the Cleopatras and the Ptolemies, proceeded upon the death of her husband Odaenathus to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle; and arrayed in the robes of Dido and even assuming the diadem, she held the imperial power in the name of her sons Herennianus and Timolaus, ruling longer than could be endured from one of the female sex. 3 For this proud woman performed the functions of a monarch both while Gallienus was ruling and afterwards when Claudius was busied with the war against the Goths, and in the end could scarcely be conquered by Aurelian himself, under whom she was led in triumph and submitted to the sway of Rome.

4 There is still in existence a letter of Aurelian's which bears testimony concerning this woman, then in captivity. For when some found fault with him, because he, the bravest of men, had led a woman in triumph, as though she were a general, he sent a letter to the senate and the Roman people, defending himself by the following justification: 5 "I have heard, Conscript Fathers, that men are reproaching me for having performed an unmanly deed in leading Zenobia in triumph. But in truth those very persons who find fault with me now would accord me praise in abundance, did they but know what manner of woman she is, how wise in counsels, how steadfast in plans, how firm toward the soldiers, how generous when necessity calls, and how stern when discipline demands. 6 I might even say that it was her doing that Odaenathus defeated the Persians and, after putting Sapor to flight, advanced all the way to Ctesiphon. 7 I might add thereto that such was the fear that this woman inspired in the peoples of the East and also the Egyptians that neither Arabs nor Saracens nor Armenians ever moved against her. 8 Nor would I have spared her life, had I not known that she did a great service to the Roman state when she preserved the imperial power in the East for herself, or for her children. 9 Therefore let those whom nothing pleases keep the venom of their own tongues to themselves. 10 For if it is not meet to vanquish a woman and lead her in triumph, what are they saying of Gallienus, in contempt of whom she ruled the empire well? 11 What of the Deified Claudius, that revered and honoured leader? For he, because he was busied with his campaigns against the Goths, suffered her, or so it is said, to hold the imperial power, doing it of purpose and wisely, in order that he himself, while she kept guard over the eastern frontier of the empire, might the more safely complete what he had taken in hand." 12 This speech shows what opinion Aurelian held concerning Zenobia.

Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not know even her own husband save for the purpose of conception. For when once she had lain with

him, she would refrain until the time of menstruation to see if she were pregnant; if not, she would again grant him an opportunity of begetting children. 13 She lived in regal pomp. It was rather in the manner of the Persians that she received worship and in the manner of the Persian kings that she banqueted; 14 but it was in the manner of a Roman emperor that she came forth to public assemblies, wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems hanging from the lower edge, while its centre was fastened with the jewel called cochlis, used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare. 15 Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth. 16 Her voice was clear and like that of a man. Her sternness, when necessity demanded, was that of a tyrant, her clemency, when her sense of right called for it, that of a good emperor. Generous with prudence, she conserved her treasures beyond the wont of women. 17 She made use of a carriage, and rarely of a woman's coach, but more often she rode a horse; it is said, moreover, that frequently she walked with her foot-soldiers for three or four miles. 18 She hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard. She often drank with her generals, though at other times she refrained, and she drank, too, with the Persians and the Armenians, but only for the purpose of getting the better of them. 19 At her banquets she used vessels of gold and jewels, and she even used those that had been Cleopatra's. As servants she had eunuchs of advanced age and but very few maidens. 20 She ordered her sons to talk Latin, so that, in fact, they spoke Greek but rarely and with difficulty. 21 She herself was not wholly conversant with the Latin tongue, but nevertheless, mastering her timidity she would speak it; Egyptian, on the other hand, she spoke very well. 22 In the history of Alexandria and the Orient she was so well versed that she even composed an epitome, so it is said; Roman history, however, she read in Greek.

²³ When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: "Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?" To this she replied, it is said: "You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit." 24 And so she was led in triumph with such magnificence that the Roman people had never seen a more splendid parade. For, in the first place, she was adorned with gems so huge that she laboured under the weight of her ornaments; 25 for it is said that this woman, courageous though she was, halted very frequently, saying that she could not endure the load of her gems. 26

Furthermore, her feet were bound with shackles of gold and her hands with golden fetters, and even on her neck she wore a chain of gold, the weight of which was borne by a Persian buffoon. 27 Her life was granted her by Aurelian, and they say that thereafter she lived with her children in the manner of a Roman matron on an estate that had been presented to her at Tibur, which even to this day is still called Zenobia, not far from the palace of Hadrian or from that place which bears the name of Concha.

Victoria

³¹ It would, indeed, be an unworthy thing that Vitruvia also, or rather Victoria, should be given a place in letters, had not the ways of Gallienus brought it about that women, too, should be deemed worthy of mention. 2 For Victoria, after seeing her son and grandson slain by the soldiers, and also Postumus, then Lollianus, and Marius too (whom the soldiers had named emperor) all put to death, urged Tetricus, of whom I have spoken above, to seize the power, solely that she might always be daring the deeds of a man. She was distinguished, furthermore, by her title, for she called herself Mother of the Camp. 3 Coins, too, were struck in her name, of bronze and gold and silver, and even to day the type is still in existence among the Treviri. 4 She did not, indeed, live long; for during Tetricus' rule she was slain, some say, while others assert that she succumbed to the destiny of fate.

⁵ This is all that I have deemed worthy of being related concerning the thirty pretenders, all of whom I have gathered into one book, lest the telling of each single detail about each one singly might bring about an aversion that is undeserved and not to be borne by my readers. 6 Now I will return to the Emperor Claudius. Concerning him I think I should publish a special book, short though it be, for his manner of life deserves it, and I must say something, besides, about that peerless man, his brother, in order that at least a few facts may be told of so righteous and noble a family.

⁷ It was with deliberate purpose that I included the women, namely that I might make a mock of Gallienus, a greater monster than whom the Roman state has never endured; now I will add two pretenders besides, supernumeraries, so to speak, for they lived each at a different period, since one was of the time of Maximinus, the other of the time of Claudius, my purpose being to include in this book the lives of thirty pretenders. 8 I ask you, accordingly, you who have received this book now completed, to look on my plan with favour and to consent to add to your volume these two, whom I had purposed to include after Claudius and Aurelian among those who lived between Tacitus and Diocletian,

just as I included the elder Valens in this present book. 9 This error on my part, however, your accurate learning, mindful of history, prevented. 10 And so I am grateful that the kindness of your wisdom has filled out my title. Now no one in the Temple of Peace will say that among the pretenders I included women, female pretenders, forsooth, or, rather, pretendresses — for this they are wont to bandy about concerning me with merriment and jests. 11 They have now the number complete, gathered into my writings from the secret stores of history. For 12 I will add to my work Titus and Censorinus, the former of whom, as I have said, lived under Maximinus and the latter under Claudius, but both were slain by the very soldiers who clothed them with the purple.

Titus

³² It is related by Dexippus and not left unmentioned by Herodian or any of those who have recorded such things for posterity to read, that Titus, once a tribune of the Moors but reduced by Maximinus to the position of a civilian, fearing a violent death, as they narrate, but reluctantly, so most assert, and compelled by the soldiers, seized the imperial power. But within a few days, after the revolt was put down which Magnus, a man of consular rank, led against Maximinus, he was slain by his own troops. He reigned, however, for the space of six months. 2 He was one who especially deserved the praise of the commonwealth both at home and abroad, but in his ruling he had ill-fortune. 3 Some say, on the other hand, that he was made emperor by the Armenian bowmen, whom Maximinus hated as devoted to Alexander and to whom he had given offence. 4 You will not, indeed, wonder that there is such diversity of statement about this man, for even his name is scarcely known. 5 His wife was Calpurnia, a revered and venerated woman of the stock of the Caesonini (that is, of the Pisos), to whom our fathers did reverence as a priestess married but once and among the most holy of women, and whose statue we have seen still standing in the Temple of Venus, its head, hands and feet made of marble but the rest of it gilded. 6 She is said to have owned the pearls that once belonged to Cleopatra and a silver platter weighing •a hundred pounds, of which many poets have made mention and on which was shown wrought in relief the history of her forefathers.

⁷ I seem to have gone on further than the matter demanded. But what am I to do? For knowledge is ever wordy through a natural inclination. 8 Wherefore I shall now return to Censorinus, a man of noble birth, but said to have ruled for seven days not so much to the welfare as to the hurt of the state.

Censorinus

³³ He was a soldier, indeed, and a man of old-time dignity in the senate-house, having been twice consul, twice prefect of the guard, three times prefect of the city, four times proconsul, three times legate of consular rank, twice of praetorian, four times of aedilician, three times of quaestorian, and having held the post of envoy extraordinary to the Persians and also to the Sarmatians.

² Nevertheless, after all these offices, while living on his own estates, now an old man and lame in one foot from a wound received in the Persian War under Valerian, he was created emperor and by a jester's witticism given the name of Claudius. ³ But when he proceeded to act with the greatest severity and became intolerable to the soldiers because of his rigid discipline, he was put to death by the very men who had made him emperor. ⁴ His tomb is still in existence near Bologna, and on it are inscribed in large letters all the honours he had held, but in the last line there is added: "Happy in all things, as emperor most hapless." ⁵ His family is still in existence, well known by the name of Censorini, some of whom, in their hatred of all things Roman, have departed to Thrace, and some to Bithynia. ⁶ His house, too, is still in existence, and a most beautiful one it is, adjacent to the Flavian House, which is said to have once belonged to the Emperor Titus.

⁷ You have now the complete number of the thirty tyrants, you who used to dispute with those ill disposed to me, though always in a kindly spirit. ⁸ Now bestow on any one you wish this little book, written not with elegance but with fidelity to truth. Nor, in fact, do I seem to myself to have made any promise of literary style, but only of facts, for these little works which I have composed on the lives of the emperors I do not write down but only dictate, and I dictate them, indeed, with that speed, which, whether I promise aught of my own accord or you request it, you urge with such insistence that I have not even the opportunity of drawing breath.

The Life of Claudius

¹ I have now come to the Emperor Claudius, whose life I must set forth in writing with all due care, out of respect for Constantius Caesar. I could not, indeed, refuse to write of him, inasmuch as I had already written of others, emperors created in tumult, I mean, and princes of no importance, all in that book which I composed about the thirty pretenders and which now includes even a descendant of Cleopatra and a Victoria; ² for things had come to such a pass that, for the sake of comparison with Gallienus, I was forced to write even the lives of women. ³ And, in fact, it would not be right to leave unmentioned an emperor who left us such a scion of his race, who ended the war against the Goths by his own valour, who as victor laid a healing hand upon the public miseries, who, though not the contriver of the plan, nevertheless thrust Gallienus, that monstrous emperor, from the helm of the state, himself destined to rule for the good of the human race, who, finally, had he but tarried longer in this commonwealth, would by his strength, his counsel, and his foresight have restored to us the Scipios, the Camilli, and all those men of old.

² Short, indeed, was the time of his rule — I cannot deny it — but too short would it have been, could such a man as he have ruled even as long as human life may last. ² For what was there in him that was not admirable? that was not pre-eminent? that was not superior to the triumphant generals of remote antiquity? ³ The valour of Trajan, the righteousness of Antoninus, the self-restraint of Augustus, and the good qualities of all the great emperors, all these were his to such a degree that he did not merely take others as examples, but, even if these others had never existed, he himself would have left an example to all who came after. ⁴ Now the most learned of the astrologers hold that one hundred and twenty years have been allotted to man for living and assert that no one has ever been granted a longer span; they even tell us that Moses alone, the friend of God, as he is called in the books of the Jews, lived for one hundred and twenty-five years, and that when he complained that he was dying in his prime, he received from an unknown god, so they say, the reply that no one should ever live longer. ⁵ But even if Claudius had lived for one hundred and twenty-five years — as his life, so marvellous and admirable, shows us — we need not, as Tullius says of Scipio, have expected for him even a natural death. ⁶ For what great quality did not that man exhibit both at home and abroad? He loved his parents; what wonder in that? He loved also his brothers; that, indeed, may seem worthy of wonder. He envied none, but he punished evil-doers. ⁷ Judges guilty

of theft he condemned openly and in public; but to the stupid he extended a sort of careless indulgence. He enacted most excellent laws. 8 Indeed, so great a man did he show himself in public affairs, that the greatest princes chose a descendant of his to hold the imperial power, and a bettered senate desired him.

³¹ Some one perhaps may believe that I am speaking thus to win the favour of Constantius Caesar, but your sense of justice and my own past life will bear me witness that never have I thought or said or done anything to curry favour. 2 I am speaking of the Emperor Claudius, whose manner of life, whose uprightness, and whose whole career in the state have brought him such fame among later generations that after his death the senate and people of Rome bestowed on him unprecedented rewards: 3 in his honour there was set up in the Senate-house at Rome, by desire of the entire senate, a golden clipeus — or clipeum, as the grammarians say — and even at the present time his likeness may be seen in the bust that stands out in relief; 4 in his honour — and to none before him — the Roman people at their own expense erected a golden statue •ten feet high on the Capitol in front of the Temple of Jupiter, Best and Greatest; 5 in his honour by action of the entire world there was placed on the Rostra a column bearing a silver statue arrayed in the palm-embroidered tunic and weighing •fifteen hundred pounds. 6 It was he who, as though mindful of the future, enlarged the Flavian House, which had also belonged to Vespasian and Titus, and — I say it reluctantly — to^o Domitian as well. It was he who, in a brief space of time, put an end to the war against the Goths. 7 Therefore the senate and people of Rome, foreign nations and provinces, too, must all be his flatterers, for indeed all ranks, all ages, and all communities have honoured this noble emperor with statues, banners, and crowns, shrines and arches, altars and temples.

⁴¹ It will be of interest, both to those who imitate righteous princes and to the whole world of mankind as well, to learn the decrees of the senate that were passed about this man, in order that all may know the official opinion concerning him. 2 For when it was announced in the shrine of the Great Mother on the ninth day before the Kalends of April, the day of the shedding of blood, that Claudius had been created emperor, the senators could not be held together for performing the sacred rites, but donning their togas they set forth to the Temple of Apollo, and there, when the letter of the Emperor Claudius was read, the following acclamations were shouted in his honour: 3 “Claudius Augustus, may the gods preserve you!” said sixty times. “Claudius Augustus, you or such as you we have ever desired for our emperor,” said forty times. “Claudius Augustus, the state was in need of you,” said forty times. “Claudius Augustus, you are brother, father, friend, righteous senator, and truly prince,” said eighty times. 4 “Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus,” said five times. “Claudius Augustus,

deliver us from the men of Palmyra,” said five times. “Claudius Augustus, set us free from Zenobia and from Vitruvia,” said seven times. “Claudius Augustus, nothing has Tetricus accomplished,” said seven times.

⁵¹ As soon as he was made emperor, entering into battle against Aureolus, who was the more dangerous to the commonwealth because he had found great favour with Gallienus, he thrust him from the helm of the state; then he pronounced him a pretender, sending proclamations to the people and also despatching messages to the senate. 2 It must be told in addition that when Aureolus pleaded with him and sought to make terms, this stern and unbending emperor refused to hearken, but rejected him with a reply as follows: “This should have been sought from Gallienus; for his character was like your own, he, too, could feel fear.” 3 Finally, near Milan, by the judgement of his own soldiers Aureolus met with an end worthy of his life and character. And yet certain historians have tried to praise him, though indeed most absurdly. 4 For Gallus Antipater, the handmaiden of honours and the dishonour of historians, composed a preface about Aureolus, beginning as follows: “We have now come to an emperor who resembled his own name.” Great virtue, forsooth, to get one’s name from gold! 5 I, however, know well that among gladiators this name has often been given to courageous fighters. Indeed, only recently your own announcement of games contained in the list of the combatants this very name.

⁶¹ But let us return to Claudius. For, as we have said before, those Goths who had escaped when Marcianus chastised them and those whom Claudius, hoping to prevent what actually came to pass, had not allowed to break forth, fired all the tribes of their fellow-countrymen with the hope of Roman booty. 2 Finally, the various tribes of the Scythians, the Peucini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi, and Gepedes, and also the Celts and the Eruli, in their desire for plunder burst into Roman territory and there proceeded to ravage many districts; for meanwhile Claudius was busied with other things and was making preparation, like a true commander, for that war which he finally brought to an end; 3 and so it may seem that the destiny of Rome was retarded by the diligence of an excellent prince, but I, for my part, believe that it so came to pass in order that the glory of Claudius might be enhanced and his victory have a greater renown throughout the whole world. 4 There were then, in fact, three hundred and twenty thousand men of these tribes under arms. 5 Now let him who accuses us of flattery say that Claudius was not worthy of being beloved! Three hundred and twenty thousand armed men! What Xerxes, pray, had so many? What tale has ever imagined, what poet ever conceived such a number? There were three hundred and twenty thousand armed men! 6 Add to these their slaves, add also their families, their waggon-trains, too, consider the streams they drank dry and

the forests they burned, and, finally, the labour of the earth itself which carried such a swollen mass of barbarians!

^{7 1} There is still in existence a letter of his, sent to the senate to be read before the people, in which he tells the number of the barbarians. It is as follows: 2 “From the Emperor Claudius to the senate and people of Rome.” (This letter, it is said, he dictated himself, and I will not demand the version of the secretary of memoranda.) 3 “Conscript Fathers, you will hear with wonder what is only the truth. Three hundred and twenty thousand barbarians have come in arms into Roman territory. If I defeat them, do you requite my services; if I fail to defeat them, reflect that I am striving to fight after Gallienus’ reign. 4 The whole commonwealth is exhausted. We are fighting now after Valerian, after Ingenuus, after Regalianus, after Lollianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, and after a thousand others, who, in their contempt for an evil prince, revolted against the commonwealth. 5 No shields, no swords, no spears are left to us now. The provinces of Gaul and Spain, the sources of strength for the state, are held by Tetricus, and all the bowmen — I blush to say it — Zenobia now possesses. Anything we accomplish will be achievement enough.”

⁶ These barbarians, then, Claudius overcame by his own inborn valour and crushed in a brief space of time, suffering scarcely any to return to their native soil. What reward for such a victory, I ask you, is a shield in the Senate-house? What reward is one golden statue? 7 Of Scipio Ennius wrote: “What manner of statue, what manner of column shall the Roman people make, to tell of your deeds?” 8 We can say with truth that Flavius Claudius, an emperor without peer upon earth, is raised to eminence not by any columns or statues but by the power of fame.

^{8 1} They had, furthermore, two thousand ships, twice as many, that is, as the number with which all Greece and all Thessaly together once sought to conquer the cities of Asia. This number, however, was devised by the pen of a poet, while ours is found in truthful history. 2 And so do we writers flatter Claudius! the man by whom two thousand barbarian ships and three hundred and twenty thousand armed men were crushed, destroyed and blotted out, and by whom a waggon-train, as great as this host of armed men could fit out and make ready, was in part consigned to the flames and in part delivered over, along with the families of all, to Roman servitude. 3 This is shown by the following letter of his, written to Junius Brocchus, then in command of Illyricum:

⁴ “From Claudius to Brocchus. We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, we have sunk two thousand ships. 5 The rivers are covered over with their shields, all the banks are buried under their swords and their spears. The fields are hidden beneath their bones, no road is clear, their mighty waggon-

train has been abandoned. 6 We have captured so many women that the victorious soldiers can take for themselves two or three apiece. 9 And would that the commonwealth had not had to endure Gallienus! Would that it had not had to bear six hundred pretenders! Had but those soldiers been saved who fell in divers battles, those legions saved which Gallienus destroyed, disastrously victorious, how much strength would the state have gained! 2 Now, indeed, my diligence has but gathered together for the preservation of the Roman commonwealth the scattered remains of the shipwrecked state.”

³ For there was fighting in Moesia and there were many battles near Marcianopolis. 4 Many perished by shipwreck, many kings were captured, noble women of divers tribes taken prisoner, and the Roman provinces filled with barbarian slaves and Scythian husbandmen. The Goth was made the tiller of the barbarian frontier, 5 nor was there a single district which did not have Gothic slaves in triumphant servitude. 6 How many cattle taken^o from the barbarians did our forefathers see? How many ships? How many Celtic mares, which fame has rendered renowned? All these redound to the glory of Claudius. For Claudius gave the state both security and an abundance of riches. 7 There was fighting, besides, at Byzantium, for those Byzantines who survived acted with courage. 8 There was fighting at Thessalonica, to which the barbarians had laid siege while Claudius was far away. 9 There was fighting in divers places, and in all of them, under the auspices of Claudius, the Goths were defeated, so that even then he seemed to be making the commonwealth safe in days to come for his nephew Constantius Caesar.

¹⁰¹ It has fortunately come into my mind, and so I must relate the oracle given to Claudius in Comagena, so it is said, in order that all may know that the family of Claudius was divinely appointed to bring happiness to the state. 2 For when he inquired, after being made emperor, how long he was destined to rule, there came forth the following oracle:

³ “Thou, who dost now direct thy fathers’ empire,
Who dost govern the world, the gods’ viceregent,
Shalt surpass men of old in thy descendants;
For those children of thine shall rule as monarchs,
And make their children into monarchs also.”

⁴ Similarly, when once in the Apennines he asked about his future, he received the following reply:

“Three times only shall summer behold him a ruler in Latium.”

⁵ Likewise, when he asked about his descendants:

“Neither a goal nor a limit of time will I set for their power.”

⁶ Likewise, when he asked about his brother Quintillus, whom he was

planning to make his associate in the imperial power, the reply was:

“Him shall Fate but display to the earth.”

⁷ These oracles I have included, in order that it may be clear to all that Constantius, scion of a family divinely appointed, our most venerated Caesar, himself springs from a house of Augusti and will give us, likewise, many Augusti of his own — with all safety to the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian and his brother Galerius.

¹¹ While these things were being done by the Deified Claudius, the Palmyrenes, under the generals Saba and Timagenes, made war against the Egyptians, who defeated them with true Egyptian pertinacity and unwearied continuance in fighting. ² Probatas, nevertheless, the leader of the Egyptians, was killed by a trick of Timagenes'. All the Egyptians, however, submitted to the Roman emperor, swearing allegiance to Claudius although he was absent.

³ In the consulship of Antiochianus and Orfitus the favour of heaven furthered Claudius' success. For a great multitude, the survivors of the barbarian tribes, who had gathered in Haemimontum, were so stricken with famine and pestilence that Claudius now scorned to conquer them further. ⁴ And so at length that most cruel of wars was brought to an end, and the Roman nation was freed from its terrors.

⁵ Now good faith forces me to speak the truth, and also the desire of showing to those who wish me to appear as a flatterer that I am not concealing what history demands should be told: ⁶ namely, that at the time when the victory was won in full, a number of Claudius' soldiers, puffed up with success — which “weakens the mind of even the wise” — turned to plundering; for they did not reflect that, while busied in mind and in body, they gave themselves up to seizing their prey, a very few could put them to flight. ⁷ And so, at the very moment of victory, about two thousand soldiers were slain by a few barbarians, who had already been routed. ⁸ When Claudius learned this, however, he assembled his army and seized all those who had shown a rebellious spirit, and he even sent them to Rome in chains to be used in the public spectacles. So, whatever damage either fortune or the soldiers had caused was made good through the courage of the excellent prince, and not only was victory won from the enemy, but revenge was taken as well. ⁹ In this war, throughout its whole length, the valour of the Dalmatian horsemen stood out as especially great, because it was thought that Claudius claimed that province as his original home; others, however, declared that he was a Dardanian and derived his descent from Ilus, a king of the Trojans and, in fact, even from Dardanus himself.

^{12 1} During this same period the Scythians attempted to plunder in Crete and Cyprus as well, but everywhere their armies were likewise stricken with

pestilence and so were defeated.

² Now when the war with the Goths was finished, there spread abroad a most grievous pestilence, and then Claudius himself was stricken by the disease, and, leaving mankind, he departed to heaven, an abode befitting his virtues. ³ He, then, moved away to the gods and the stars, and his brother Quintillus, a righteous man and the brother indeed, as I might truly say, of his brother, assumed the imperial power, which was offered him by the judgement of all, not as an inherited possession, but because his virtues deserved it; for all would have made him emperor, even if he had not been the brother of the^o Claudius their prince. ⁴ In his time those barbarians who still survived endeavoured to lay waste Anchialus and even to seize Nicopolis, but they were crushed by the valour of the provincials. ⁵ Quintillus, however, could do naught that was worthy of the imperial power because his rule was so short, for on the seventeenth day of his reign he was killed, as Galba had been and Pertinax also, because he had stone himself stern and unbending toward the soldiers and promised to be a prince in very truth. ⁶ Dexippus, to be sure, does not say that Quintillus was killed, but merely that he died. He does not, however, relate that he died of an illness, and so he seems to feel doubt.

^{13 1} Since we have now described his achievements in war, we must tell a few things, at least, concerning the kindred and the family of Claudius, lest we seem to omit what all should know: ² now Claudius, Quintillus, and Crispus were brothers, and Crispus had a daughter Claudia; of her and Eutropius, the noblest man of the Dardanian folk, was born Constantius Caesar. ³ There were also some sisters, of whom one, Constantina by name, was married to a tribune of the Assyrians, but died at an early age. ⁴ Concerning his grandparents we know all too little, for varying statements have been handed down by most of the writers.

⁵ Now Claudius himself was noted for the gravity of his character, and noted, too, for his matchless life and a singular purity; he was sparing in his use of wine, but was not averse to food; he was tall of stature, with flashing eyes and a broad, full face, and so strong were his fingers that often by a blow of his fist he would dash out the teeth of a horse or a mule. ⁶ He even performed a feat of this kind as a youth in military service, while taking part in a wrestling-match between some of the strongest champions at a spectacle in the Campus Martius held in honour of Mars. ⁷ For, becoming angry at one fellow who grasped at his private parts instead of his belt, he dashed out all the man's teeth with one blow of his fist. This action won him favour for thus protecting decency; ⁸ for the Emperor Decius, who was present when this was done, publicly praised his courage and modesty and presented him with arm-rings and collars, but bade him withdraw from the soldiers' contests for fear he might do some more violent

deed than the wrestling required.

⁹ Claudius himself had no children, but Quintillus left two sons, and Crispus, as I have said, a daughter.

^{14 1} Let us now proceed to the opinions that many emperors expressed about him, and in such wise, indeed, that it became apparent that he would some day be emperor.

² A letter from Valerian to Zosimio, the procurator of Syria: "We have named Claudius, a man of Illyrian birth, as tribune of our most valiant and loyal Fifth Legion, the Martian, for he is superior to all the most loyal and most valiant men of old. ³ By way of supplies you will give him each year out of our private treasury three thousand pecks of wheat, six thousand pecks of barley, two thousand pounds of bacon, three thousand five hundred pints of well-aged wine, one hundred and fifty pints of the best oil, six hundred pints of oil of the second grade, twenty pecks of salt, one hundred and fifty pounds of wax, and as much hay and straw, cheap wine, greens and herbs as shall be sufficient, thirty half-score of hides for the tents; also six mules each year, three horses each year, fifty pounds of silverware each year, one hundred and fifty Philips, bearing our likeness, each year, and as a New-year's gift forty-seven Philips and one hundred and sixty third-Philips. ⁴ Likewise in cups and tankards and pots eleven pounds. ⁵ Also two red military tunics each year, two military cloaks each year, two silver clasps gilded, one golden clasp with a Cyprian pin, one sword-belt of silver gilded, one ring with two gems to weigh an ounce, one armlet to weigh seven ounces, one collar to weigh a pound, one gilded helmet, two shields inlaid with gold, one cuirasse, to be returned. ⁶ Also two Herculan lances, two javelins, two reaping-hooks, and four reaping-hooks for cutting hay. ⁷ Also one cook, to be returned, one muleteer, to be returned, two beautiful women taken from the captives. ⁸ One white part-silk garment ornamented with purple from Girba, and one under-tunic with Moorish purple. ⁹ One secretary, to be returned, and one server at table, to be returned. ¹⁰ Two pairs of Cyprian couch-covers, two white under-garments, a pair of men's leg-bands, one toga, to be returned, one broad-striped tunic, to be returned. ¹¹ Two huntsmen to serve as attendants, one waggon-maker, one headquarters-steward, one waterer, one fisherman, one confectioner. ¹² One thousand pounds of fire-wood each day, if there is an abundant supply, but if not, as much as there is and wherever it is, and four braziers of charcoal each day. ¹³ One bath-man and firewood for the bath, but if there is none, he shall bathe in the public bath. ¹⁴ All else, which cannot be enumerated here because of its insignificance you will supply in due amount, but in no case shall the equivalent in money be given, and if there should be a lack of anything in any place, it shall not be supplied, nor shall the equivalent be

exacted in money. 15 All these things I have allowed him as a special case, as though he were not a mere tribune but rather a general, because to such a man as he an even larger allowance should be made.”

^{15 1} Likewise in another letter of Valerian’s, addressed to Ablavius Murena, the prefect of the guard, among other statements the following: “Cease now your complaints that Claudius is still only a tribune and has not been appointed the leader of our armies, about which, you were wont to declare, the senate and people also complain. 2 He has been made a general, and, in fact, the general in command of all Illyricum. He has under his rule the armies of Thrace, Moesia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. 3 Indeed, this man, eminent in my estimation as well, may hope for the consulship, and, if it accords with his wishes, he may receive the prefecture of the guard whenever he desires. 4 I would have you know, moreover, that we have allotted to him the same amount of supplies that the prefect of Egypt receives, the same amount of clothing that we have allowed to the proconsulate of Africa, the same amount of silver that the procurator of the mines in Illyricum receives, and the same number of servants that we allot to ourselves in each and every community; for I wish all to know my opinion of such a man.”

¹⁶ Likewise a letter of Decius’ concerning this same Claudius:

“From Decius to Messalla, the governor of Achaëa, greetings.” Among other orders the following: “But to our tribune Claudius, an excellent young man, a most courageous soldier, a most loyal citizen, necessary alike to the camp, the senate, and the commonwealth, we are giving instructions to proceed to Thermopylae, entrusting to his care the Peloponnesians also, for we know that no one will carry out more carefully all our injunctions. 2 You will assign him from the district of Dardania two hundred foot-soldiers, one hundred cuirassiers, sixty horsemen, sixty Cretan archers, and one thousand new recruits, all well armed. 3 For it is well to entrust new troops to him, inasmuch as none can be found more loyal, more valiant, or more earnest than he.”

^{17 1} Likewise a letter of Gallienus’, written when he was informed by his private agents that Claudius was angered by his loose mode of life: 2 “Nothing has grieved me more than what you have stated in your report, namely, that Claudius, my kinsman and friend, has been made very angry by certain false statements that have reached his ears. 3 I request you, therefore, my dear Venustus, if you are faithful to me, to have him appeased by Gratus and Herennianus, while the Dacian troops, even now in a state of anger, are still in ignorance, for I fear there may be some serious outbreak. 4 I myself am sending him gifts, and you will see to it that he accepts them willingly. You will take

care, furthermore, that he shall not become aware that I know all this and so suppose that I am incensed against him, and, accordingly, out of necessity adopt some desperate plan. 5 I am sending to him, moreover, two sacrificial saucers studded with gems three pounds in weight, two golden tankards studded with gems three pounds in weight, a silver disk-shaped platter with an ivy-cluster pattern twenty pounds in weight, a silver dish with a vine-leaf pattern thirty pounds in weight, a silver bowl with an ivy-leaf pattern twenty-three pounds in weight, a silver vessel for fish twenty pounds in weight, two silver pitchers embossed with gold six pounds in weight and smaller vessels of silver amounting to twenty-five pounds in weight, ten cups of Egyptian and other workmanship, 6 two cloaks with purple borders of the true brilliance, sixteen garments of various kinds, a white one of part-silk, one tunic with bands of embroidery three ounces in weight, three pairs of Parthian shoes from our own supply, ten Dalmatian striped tunics, one Dardanian great-coat, one Illyrian mantle, 7 one hooded-cloak, two shaggy hoods, four handkerchiefs from Sarepta; also one hundred and fifty aurei with the likeness of Valerian and three hundred third-aurei with that of Saloninus.”

^{18 1} He had also the approval of the senate before he became emperor, and weighty, indeed, it was. For when the announcement was made that he, together with Marcianus, had fought valiantly against the barbarian tribes in Illyricum, the senate acclaimed him thus: 2 “Claudius, our most valiant leader, hail! Hail to your courage, hail to your loyalty! Let us all decree a statue to Claudius. We all desire Claudius as consul. 3 So acts he who loves the commonwealth, so acts he who loves the emperors, so acted the soldiers of old. Happy are you, Claudius, in the approval of princes, happy are you in your own valour, you our consul, you our prefect! Long may you live, Valerius, and enjoy the love of your prince!”

⁴ It would be too long to set forth all the many honours that this man earned; one thing, however, I must not omit, namely, that both the senate and people held him in such affection both before his rule and during his rule and after his rule that it is generally agreed among all that neither Trajan nor any of the Antonines nor any other emperor was so beloved.

The Life of Aurelian

¹¹ At the festival of the Hilaria — when, as we know, everything that is said and done should be of a joyous nature — when the ceremonies had been completed, Junius Tiberianus, the prefect of the city, an illustrious man and one to be named only with a prefix of deep respect, took me up into his carriage, that is to say, his official coach. 2 There his mind being now at leisure, relaxed and freed from law-pleas and public business, he engaged in much conversation all the way from the Palatine Hill to the Gardens of Varius, his theme being chiefly the lives of the emperors. 3 And when we had reached the Temple of the Sun, consecrated by the Emperor Aurelian, he asked me — for he derived his descent in some degree from him — who had written down the record of the life of that prince. 4 When I replied that I had read none in Latin, though several in Greek, that revered man poured forth in the following words the sorrow that his groan implied: 5 “And so Thersites and Sinon and other such monsters of antiquity are well known to us and will be spoken of by our descendants; but shall the Deified Aurelian, that most famous of princes, that most firm of rulers, who restored the whole world to the sway of Rome, be unknown to posterity? God prevent such madness! 6 And yet, if I am not mistaken, we possess the written journal of that great man and also his wars recorded in detail in the manner of a history, and these I should like you to procure and set forth in order, adding thereto all that pertains to his life. 7 All these things you may learn in your zeal for research from the linen books, for he gave instructions that in these all that he did each day should be written down. I will arrange, moreover, that the Ulpian Library shall provide you with the linen books themselves. 8 It would be my wish that you write a work on Aurelian, representing him, to the best of your ability, just as he really was.” 9 I have carried out these instructions, my dear Ulpianus, I have procured the Greek books and laid my hands on all that I needed, and from these sources I have gathered together into one little book all that was worthy of mention. 10 You I should wish to think kindly of my work, and, if you are not content therewith, to study the Greeks and even to demand the linen books themselves, which the Ulpian Library will furnish you whenever you desire.

²¹ Now, when in the same carriage our talk had fallen on Trebellius Pollio, who has handed down to memory all the emperors, both illustrious and obscure, from the two Philips to the Deified Claudius and his brother Quintillus, Tiberianus asserted that much of Pollio’s work was too careless and much was too brief; but when I said in reply that there was no writer, at least in the realm of history, who

had not made some false statement, and even pointed out the places in which Livy and Sallust, Cornelius Tacitus, and, finally, Trogus could be refuted by manifest proofs, he came over wholly to my opinion, and, throwing up his hands, he jestingly said besides: 2 “Well then, write as you will. You will be safe in saying whatever you wish, since you will have as comrades in falsehood those authors whom we admire for the style of their histories.”

^{3 1} So then — lest I become tiresome by weaving too many trifles into my preface — the Deified Aurelian was born of a humble family, at Sirmium according to most writers, but in Dacia Ripensis according to some. 2 I remember, moreover, having read one author who declared that he was born in Moesia; and, indeed, it often comes to pass that we are ignorant of the birthplaces of those who, born in a humble position, frequently invent a birthplace for themselves, that they may give their descendants a glamour derived from the lustre of the locality. 3 However, in writing of the deeds of a great emperor, the chief thing to be known is not in what place he was born, but how great he was in the State. 4 Do we value Plato more highly because he was born at Athens than because he stands out illumined as the peerless gift of philosophy? 5 Or do we hold Aristotle of Stagira or Zeno of Elea or Anacharsis of Scythia in less esteem because they were born in the tiniest villages, when the virtue of philosophy has exalted them all to the skies?

^{4 1} And so — to return to the course of events — Aurelian, born of humble parents and from his earliest years very quick of mind and famous for his strength, never let a day go by, even though a feast-day or a day of leisure, on which he did not practise with the spear, the bow and arrow, and other exercises in arms. 2 As to his mother, Callicrates of Tyre, by far the most learned writer of the Greeks, says that she was a priestess of the temple of his own Sun-god in the village in which his parents lived; 3 she even had the gift of prophecy to a certain extent, for once, when she was quarrelling with her husband and reviling him for his stupidity and low estate, she shouted at him, “Behold the father of an emperor!” From which it is clear that the woman knew something of fate. 4 The same writer says also that there were the following omens of the rule of Aurelian: First of all, when he was a child, a serpent wound itself many times around his wash-basin, and no one was able to kill it; finally, his mother, who had seen the occurrence, refused to have the serpent killed, saying that it was a member of the household. 5 Furthermore, it is said, the priestess made swaddling-clothes for her son from a purple cloak, which the emperor of the time had dedicated to the Sun-god. 6 This, too, is related, that Aurelian, while wrapped in his swaddling-clothes, was lifted out of his cradle by an eagle, but without suffering harm, and was laid on an altar in a neighbouring shrine which

happened to have no fire upon it. 7 The same writer asserts that on his mother's land a calf was born of marvellous size, white but with purple spots, which formed on one side the word "hail," on the other a crown. 5 I remember also reading in this same author much that has no importance; he even asserts that where Aurelian was born there sprang up in this same woman's courtyard roses of a purple colour, having the fragrance of the rose but a golden centre. 2 Later, when he was in military service, there were also many omens predicting, as events showed, his future rule. 3 For instance, when he entered Antioch in a carriage, for the reason that because of a wound he could not ride his horse, a purple cloak, which had been spread out in his honour, fell down on him in such a way as to cover his shoulders. 4 Then, when he desired to change to a horse, because at that time the use of a carriage in a city was attended with odium, a horse belonging to the emperor was led up to him, and in Thracia he mounted it. But when he discovered to whom it belonged, he changed to one of his own. 5 Furthermore, when he had gone as envoy to the Persians, he was presented with a sacrificial saucer, of the kind that the king of the Persians is wont to present to the emperor, on which was engraved the Sun-god in the same attire in which he was worshipped in the very temple where the mother of Aurelian had been a priestess. 6 He was also presented with an elephant of unusual size, which he then gave to the emperor, and Aurelian was the only commoner of them all who ever owned an elephant.

^{6.1} But, to omit these and similar details, he was a comely man, good to look upon because of his manly grace, rather tall in stature, and very strong in his muscles; he was a little too fond of wine and food, but he indulged his passions rarely; he exercised the greatest severity and a discipline that had no equal, being extremely ready to draw his sword. 2 And, in fact, since there were in the army two tribunes, both named Aurelian, this man and another, who later was captured with Valerian, the soldiers gave him the nickname of "Sword-in hand," so that, if anyone chanced to ask which Aurelian had done anything or performed any exploit, the reply would be made "Aurelian Sword-in hand," and so he would be identified.

³ Many of the remarkable deeds which he did as a commoner are still well known: For instance, he and three hundred men of his garrison alone destroyed the Sarmatians when they burst into Illyricum. 4 Theoclius, who wrote of the reigns of the Caesars, relate that in the war against the Sarmatians Aurelian with his own hand slew forty-eight men in a single day and that in the course of several days he slew over nine hundred and fifty, so that the boys even composed in his honour the following jingles and dance-ditties, to which they would dance on holidays in soldier fashion:

⁵ “Thousand, thousand, thousand we’ve beheaded now.

One alone, a thousand we’ve beheaded now.

He shall drink a thousand who a thousand slew.

So much wine is owned by no one as the blood which he has shed.”

⁶ I perceive, indeed, that these verses are very trivial, but since the author mentioned before has included them in his writings, in Latin just as they are here, I have thought they ought not to be omitted. ⁷ Likewise, when at Mainz as tribune of the Sixth Legion, the Gallican, he completely crushed the Franks, who had burst into Gaul and were roving about through the whole country, killing seven hundred of them and capturing three hundred, whom he then sold as slaves. ² And so a song was again composed about him:

“Franks, Sarmatians by the thousand, once and once again we’ve slain.

Now we seek a thousand Persians.”

³ He was, moreover, so feared by the soldiers, as I have said before, that, after he had once punished offences in the camp with the utmost severity, no one offended again. ⁴ In fact, he alone among all commanders inflicted the following punishment on a soldier who had committed adultery with the wife of the man at whose house he was lodged: bending down the tops of two trees, he fastened them to the soldier’s feet and then let them fly upward so suddenly that the man hung there torn in two — a penalty which inspired great terror in all.

⁵ There is a letter of his, truly that of a soldier, written to his deputy, as follows: “If you wish to be tribune, or rather, if you wish to remain alive, restrain the hands of your soldiers. None shall steal another’s fowl or touch his sheep. None shall carry off grapes, or thresh out grain, or exact oil, salt, or firewood, and each shall be content with his own allowance. Let them get their living from the booty taken for the enemy and not from the tears of the provincials. ⁶ Their arms shall be kept burnished, their implements bright, and their boots stout. Let old uniforms be replaced by new. Let them keep their pay in their belts and not spend it in public-houses. ⁷ Let them wear their collars, arm-rings, and finger-rings. Let each man curry his own horse and baggage-animal, let no one sell the fodder allowed him for his beast, and let them take care in common of the mule belonging to the century. ⁸ Let one yield obedience to another as a soldier and no one as a slave, let them be attended by the physicians without charge, let them give no fees to soothsayers, let them conduct themselves in their lodgings with propriety, and let anyone who begins a brawl be thrashed.”

⁸¹ I have recently found among the linen books in the Ulpian Library a letter, written by the Deified Valerian concerning the Emperor Aurelian, which I have inserted word for word, as seemed right:

² From Valerian Augustus to Antoninus Gallus, the consul. You find fault with

me in a personal letter for confiding my son Gallienus to Postumus rather than to Aurelian, on the ground, of course, that both the boy and the army should be entrusted to the sterner man. Of a truth you will continue to hold this opinion when once you have learned how stern Aurelian is; 3 for he is too stern, much too stern, he is harsh and his actions are not suited to those of our time. 4 Moreover, I call all to witness that I have even feared that he will act too sternly toward my son also, in case he does aught in behaving with too great frivolity — for he is naturally prone to merry-making.” 5 This letter shows how great was his sternness, so that even Valerian said that he feared him.

⁹¹ There is another letter by the same Valerian, sounding his praises, which I have brought out from the files of the city-prefecture. For when he came to Rome the allowance usually made to his rank was assigned to him. A copy of the letter:

² ‘From Valerian Augustus to Ceionius Albinus, the prefect of the city. It had, indeed, been our wish to bestow on each and every man who has been loyal to the commonwealth a much larger recompense than his rank demands, but especially when his manner of life recommends him for honours — for there should be some other reward for merit than rank — , but the public discipline requires that none shall receive for the income of the provinces a greater sum than the grade of his position permits. 3 Wherefore we have now chosen Aurelian, a very brave man, to inspect and set in order all our camps, for, by the general admission of the entire army, both we ourselves and the whole commonwealth as well are so in his debt that a scarcely any rewards that are worthy of him, or, indeed, too great. 4 For what quality has he that is not illustrious? that cannot be compared with the Corvini and the Scipios? He is a liberator of Illyricum, saviour of the provinces of Gaul, and as a general a great and perfect example. 5 And yet there is nothing but this that I can bestow on such a man by way of reward for his services; 6 for a wise and careful administration of the commonwealth will not permit it. Wherefore your Integrity, my dearest kinsman, will supply the aforesaid man, as long as he shall be in Rome, with sixteen loaves of soldiers’ bread of the finest quality, forty loaves of soldiers’ bread of the quality used in camp, forty pints of table-wine, the half of a swine, two fowl, thirty pounds of pork, forty pounds of beef, one pint of oil and likewise one pint of fish-pickle, one pint of salt, and greens and vegetables as much as shall be sufficient. 7 And indeed, since something out of the ordinary must be allowed him, as long as he shall be in Rome, you will allow him fodder beyond the usual amount and for his own expenses, moreover, a daily grant of two aurei of Antoninus, fifty silver minutuli of Philip, and one hundred denarii of bronze. All else will be furnished by the prefects of the treasury.”

^{10 1} These details may perhaps seem to someone to be paltry and over trivial, but research stops at nothing. 2 He held, then, very many commands as general and very many as tribune, and acted as deputy for generals or tribunes on about forty different occasions. Indeed, he even acted as deputy for Ulpus Crinitus, who used to assert that he was of the house of Trajan — he was, in actual fact, a most brave man and very similar to Trajan — , who was painted together with Aurelian in the Temple of the Sun, and whom Valerian had planned to appoint to the place of a Caesar. He also commanded troops, restored the frontiers, distributed booty among the soldiers, enriched the provinces of Thrace with captured cattle, horses, and slaves, dedicated spoils in the Palace, and brought together to a private estate of Valerian's five hundred slaves, two thousand cows, one thousand mares, ten thousand sheep, and fifteen thousand goats. 3 At this time, then, Ulpus Crinitus gave thanks formally to Valerian as he sat in the public baths at Byzantium, saying that he had done him great honour in giving him Aurelian as deputy. And for this reason he determined to adopt Aurelian.

¹¹ It is of interest to know the letters that were written concerning Aurelian and also the account of his adoption itself. Valerian's letter to Aurelian: "If there were anyone else, my dearest Aurelian, who could fill the place of Ulpus Crinitus, I should be consulting with you in regard to his courage and industry. But now do you — since I could not have found any other — take upon yourself the war around Nicopolis, in order that the illness of Crinitus may cause us no damage. 2 Do whatever you can. I will be brief. The command of the troops will be vested in you. 3 You will have three hundred Ituraean bowmen, six hundred Armenians, one hundred and fifty Arabs, two hundred Saracens, and four hundred irregulars from Mesopotamia; 4 you will have the Third Legion, the Fortunata, and eight hundred mounted cuirassiers. You will also have with you Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus and Charioviscus. 5 The prefects have arranged for the needful supplies in all the camps. 6 Your duty it is, with the aid of your wisdom and skill, to place your winter and summer camps where you will lack nothing, and, furthermore, to ascertain where the enemy's train is, and to find out exactly how great his forces are and of what kind, in order that no supplies may be used in vain or weapons wasted, for on these depends all success in war. 7 I, for my part, expect as much from you, if the gods but grant their favour, as the commonwealth could expect from Trajan, were he still alive. And indeed, he, in whose place I have made you deputy, is no less great a man. 8 It is, therefore, proper that you should expect the consulship, with this same Ulpus Crinitus as colleague, for the following year, beginning on the eleventh day before the Kalends of June, to fill out the term of Gallienus and Valerian, and your expenses shall be paid from the public funds. 9 For we should aid the

poverty of those men — and of none more than those — who after a long life in public affairs are nevertheless poor.” 10 This letter also shows how great a man Aurelian was — and truly great, indeed, for no one ever reached the highest place who did not from his earliest years climb up by the ladder of noble character.

¹² 1 The letter about the consulship: “From Valerian Augustus to Aelius Xiphidius, the prefect of the treasury. To Aurelian, whom we have named for the consulship, because of his poverty — in which he is great and greater than all others — you will supply for the performance of the races in the Circus three hundred aurei of Antoninus, three thousand silver minutuli of Philip, five million bronze sesterces, ten finely-woven tunics of the kind used by men, twenty tunics of Egyptian linen, two pairs of Cyprian table-covers, ten African carpets, ten Moorish couch-covers, one hundred swine, and one hundred sheep. 2 You will order, moreover, that a banquet shall be given at the state’s expense to the senators and Roman knights, and that there shall be two sacrificial victims of major and four of minor size.”

³ And now, inasmuch as I have said in reference to his adoption that I would include certain things which concern so great a prince, ⁴ I ask you not to consider me too tedious or too wordy in the following statement, which I have thought I should introduce, for the sake of accuracy, from the work of Acholius, the master of admissions under the Emperor Valerian, in the ninth book of his records:

¹³ 1 When Valerian Augustus had taken his seat in the public baths at Byzantium, in the presence of the army and in the presence of the officials of the Palace, there being seated with him Nummius Tuscus, the consul-regular, Baebius Macer, prefect of the guard, and Quintus Ancharius, governor of the East, and seated on his left hand Avulnius Saturninus, general in command of the Scythian frontier, Murrentius Mauricius, just appointed to Egypt, Julius Trypho, general in command of the frontier of the East, Maecius Brundisius, prefect of the grain-supply for the East, Ulpius Crinitus, general in command of the Illyrian and Thracian frontier, and Fulvius Boius, general in command of the Raetian frontier, Valerian Augustus spoke as follows: 2 “The commonwealth thanks you, Aurelian, for having set it free from the power of the Goths. Through your efforts we are rich in booty, we are rich in glory and in all that causes the felicity of Rome to increase. 3 Now, therefore, in return for your great achievements receive for yourself four mural crowns, five rampart crowns, two naval crowns, two civic crowns, ten spears without points, four bi-coloured banners, four red general’s tunics, two proconsul’s cloaks, a bordered toga, a tunic embroidered with palms, a gold-embroidered toga, a long under-tunic, and an ivory chair. 4

For on this day I appoint you consul, and I will write to the senate that it may vote you the sceptre of office and vote you also the fasces; for these insignia the emperor is not wont to give, but, on the contrary, to receive from the senate when he is created consul.” 14 After this speech of Valerian’s Aurelian arose and bending over the Emperor’s hand, he expressed his thanks in words befitting a soldier, and these I have considered suitable and worthy of being quoted here. He spoke as follows: 2 “As for myself, my lord Valerian, Emperor and Augustus, it was with this end in view that I have done all that I did, have suffered wounds with patience, and have exhausted my horses and my sworn comrades, namely, that I might win the approval of the commonwealth and of my own conscience. 3 You, however, have done more. Therefore, I am grateful for your kindness and I will accept the consulship which you offer me. May a god, and a god in whom we can put our trust, now grant that the senate shall form a like judgement concerning me.” 4 And so, when all who stood about expressed their thanks, Ulpus Crinitus arose and delivered the following speech: 5 “According to the custom of our ancestors, Valerian Augustus, — a custom which my own family has held particularly dear, — men of the highest birth have always chosen the most courageous to be their sons, in order that those families which either were dying out or had lost their offspring by marriage might gain lustre from the fertility of a borrowed stock. 6 This custom, then, which was followed by Nerva in adopting Trajan, by Trajan in adopting Hadrian, by Hadrian in adopting Antoninus, and by the others after them according to the precedent thus established, I have thought I should now bring back by adopting Aurelian, whom you, by the authority of your approval, have given to me as my deputy. 7 Do you, therefore, give the order that it may be sanctioned by law and that Aurelian may become the heir to the sacred duties, the name, the goods, and the legal rights of Ulpus Crinitus, already a man of consular rank, even as through your decision he is straightway to become a consular.” 15 It would be too long to include every detail in full. For Valerian expressed his gratitude to Crinitus, and the adoption was carried out in the wonted form. 2 I remember having read in some Greek book what I have thought I ought not to omit, namely, that Valerian commanded Crinitus to adopt Aurelian, chiefly for the reason that he was poor; but this question I think should be left undiscussed.

³ Now, inasmuch as I have previously inserted the letter in accordance with which Aurelian was furnished with the money needed for his consulship, I have thought I should tell why I inserted a detail apparently trivial. 4 We have recently beheld the consulship of Furius Placidus celebrated in the Circus with so much display that the chariot-drivers seemed to receive not prizes but patrimonies, for they were presented with tunics of part-silk, with embroidered tunics made of

fine linen, and even with horses, while right-thinking men groaned aloud. 5 For it has come to pass that the consulship is now a matter of wealth, not of men, because, of course, if it is offered to merit, it ought not to impoverish the holder. 6 Gone are those former days of integrity, destined to disappear still further through the currying of popular favour. But this question, too, as is our wont, we shall leave undiscussed.

¹⁶ 1 So then, raised to a high position by these many expressions of approval and these rewards, Aurelian became so illustrious during the time of Claudius that, after this emperor's death and the murder of his brother Quintillus, he alone received the imperial power; for Aureolus, with whom Gallienus had made peace, had been put to death. 2 Concerning this matter there is great diversity of opinion among the historians, even among the Greeks, for some say that Aureolus was killed by Aurelian against Claudius' will, others that it was by his command and desire, others again that he was killed by Aurelian after assuming the imperial power, and still others that it was while he was yet a commoner. 3 But these things, too, we shall leave undiscussed, to be learned from those who have put them in writing. 4 This much, however, is agreed among all, namely, that the Deified Claudius entrusted the whole conduct of the war against the Maeotidae to no one in preference to Aurelian.

¹⁷ 1 There is still in existence a letter, which, for the sake of accuracy, as is my wont, or rather because I see that other writers of annals have done so, I have thought I should insert: 2 "From Flavius Claudius to his dear Valerius Aurelian greeting: Our commonwealth demands of you your wonted services. Up then! Why this delay? I wish the soldiers to reap the benefit of your command, the tribunes of your leadership. The Goths must be crushed, they must be driven from Thrace. For large numbers of them are ravaging Haemimontum and Europe, those very ones who fled when you fought against them. 3 I now place under your command all the armies in Thrace, all in Illyricum, and, in fact, the whole frontier; come now, show us your wonted prowess. My brother Quintillus, as soon as he meets you, will also give you his aid. 4 Busied as I am with other tasks, I am entrusting to your valour the whole of this war. I am sending you, moreover, ten horses, two cuirasses, and all else which necessity bids me equip one going out to fight."

⁵ So, making use of success won in battles fought under Claudius' auspices, he brought back the empire to its previous condition and was at once, as we have related before, declared emperor by the unanimous vote of all the legions.

¹⁸ 1 Aurelian, in fact, commanded all the cavalry before he received the power and while Claudius was still ruling, after the leaders of the horse had incurred reproach for having fought rashly and without the Emperor's orders.

² Aurelian, too, during that same time, fought with the greatest vigour against the Suebi and the Sarmatians and won a most splendid victory. ³ Under him, it is true, a disaster was inflicted by the Marcomanni as the result of his blunder. For, while he was making no plan to meet them face to face during a sudden invasion, but was preparing to pursue them from the rear, they wrought great devastation in all the region around Milan. Later on, however, he conquered even the Marcomanni also.

⁴ During that panic, moreover, while the Marcomanni were devastating far and wide, great revolts arose at Rome, for all were afraid that what had happened under Gallienus might occur once more. ⁵ Therefore they even consulted the Sibylline Books, famed for their benefits to the State, and in these it was found that sacrifices should be made in certain places, which the barbarians then would not be able to pass. ⁶ And so all those measures which were ordered were carried out with divers kinds of ceremonies, and thus the barbarians were checked, all of whom, as they wandered about in small divisions, Aurelian later destroyed.

⁷ It is my desire to give in full the text of the senate's decree itself, in which the authority of that most illustrious body ordained that the Books should be consulted:

¹⁹ ¹ On the third day before the Ides of January Fulvius Sabinus, the city-praetor, spoke as follows: "We bring before you, Conscript Fathers, the recommendation of the pontiffs and a message from Aurelian our prince, bidding us consult the Books of Fate, in which, by the sacred command of the gods, are contained our hopes of ending the war. ² For you yourselves are aware that, whenever any serious commotion arose, they were always consulted, and that never have the public ills been brought to an end until there issued from them the command to make sacrifice." ³ Then Ulpius Silanus, whose right it was to give his opinion first, arose and spoke as follows: "It is over late, Conscript Fathers, for us to be consulted now concerning the safety of the commonwealth, and over late for us to look to the commands of Fate, even as do the sick who do not send for the greatest physicians save when in the greatest despair, exactly as though more skilful men must needs give a more certain cure, whereas it were better far to meet every disease at the outset. ⁴ For you remember, Conscript Fathers, that I often said in this body, when the invasion of the Marcomanni was first announced, that we should consult the commands of the Sibyl, make use of the benefits of Apollo, and submit ourselves to the bidding of the immortal gods; but some objected, and objected, too, with cruel guile, saying in flattery that such was the valour of the Emperor Aurelian that there was no need to consult the deities, just as though that great man does not himself revere the gods and found his hopes on the dwellers in Heaven. ⁵ Why say more? We have heard his

message asking the help of the gods, which never causes shame to any. Now let this most courageous man receive our assistance. 6 Therefore come, ye pontiffs, and do ye, pure and cleansed and holy, attired as is meet and with spirits sanctified, ascend to the temple, deck the benches with laurel, and with veiled hands unroll the volumes, and inquire into the fate of the commonwealth, that fate which is unchanging. And finally, do ye also enjoin a sacred song upon those boys who may lawfully aid in the ceremonies. We, for our part, will decree the money to be expended for the sacred rites and all that is needful for the sacrifices, and we will proclaim for the fields the festival of the Ambarvalia.” 20 After this speech many of the senators were asked for their opinions and gave them, but these it would be too long to include. 2 Then, while some raised their hands and others went on foot to give their votes and others again expressed their assent in words, the senate’s decree was enacted. 3 Then they went to the temple, consulted the Books, brought forth the verses, purified the city, chanted the hymns, celebrated the Amburbium, and proclaimed the Ambarvalia, and thus the sacred ceremony which was commanded was carried out.

4 Aurelian’s letter concerning the Sibylline Books — for I have included it also as evidence for my statements: 5 “I marvel, revered Fathers, that you have hesitated for so long a time to open the Sibylline Books, just as though you were consulting in a gathering of Christians and not in the temple of all the gods. 6 Come, therefore, and by means of the purity of the pontiffs and the sacred ceremonies bring aid to your prince who is harassed by the plight of the commonwealth. 7 Let the Books be consulted; let all that should be done be performed; whatever expenses are needful, whatever captives of any race, whatever princely animals, I will not refuse, but will offer them gladly, for it is not an unseemly thing to win victories by the aid of the gods. It was with this that our ancestors brought many wars to an end and with this that they began them. 8 Whatever costs there may be I have ordered to be paid by the prefect of the treasury, to whom I have sent a letter. You have, moreover, under your own control the money-chest of the State, which I find more full than were my desire.”

²¹¹ Aurelian, however, since he wished, by massing his forces together, to meet all the enemy at once, suffered such a defeat near Placentia that the empire of Rome was almost destroyed. 2 This peril, in fact, was caused by the cunning and perfidy of the barbarians’ mode of attack. 3 For, being unable to meet him in open battle, they fell back into the thickest forests, and thus as evening came on they routed our forces. 4 And, indeed, if the power of the gods, after the Books had been consulted and the sacrifices performed, had not confounded the barbarians by means of certain prodigies and heaven-sent visions, there would

have been no victory for Rome.

⁵ When the war with the Marcomanni was ended, Aurelian, over-violent by nature, and now filled with rage, advanced to Rome eager for the revenge which the bitterness of the revolts had prompted. Though at other times a most excellent man, he did, in fact, employ his power too much like a tyrant, for in slaying the leaders of the revolts he used too bloody a method of checking what should have been cured by milder means. ⁶ For he even killed some senators of noble birth, though the charges against them were trivial and could have been held in disdain by a more lenient prince, and they were attested either by a single witness or by one who was himself trivial or held in but little esteem. ⁷ Why say more? By the blow of a graver ill-repute he then marred that rule which had previously been great and of which high hopes were cherished, and not without reason. ⁸ Then men ceased to love and began to fear an excellent prince, some asserting that such an emperor should be hated and not desired, others that he was a good physician indeed, but the methods he used for healing were bad. ⁹ Then, since all that happened made it seem possible that some such thing might occur again, as had happened under Gallienus, after asking advice from the senate, he extended the walls of the city of Rome. The pomerium, however, he did not extend at that time, but later. ¹⁰ For no emperor may extend the pomerium save one who has added to the empire of Rome some portion of foreign territory. ¹¹ It was, indeed, extended by Augustus, by Trajan, and by Nero, under whom the districts of Pontus Polemoniacus and the Cottian Alps were brought under the sway of Rome.

²²¹ And so, having arranged for all that had to do with the fortifications and the general state of the city and with civil affairs as a whole, he directed his march against the Palmyrenes, or rather against Zenobia, who, in the name of her sons, was wielding the imperial power in the East. ² On this march he ended many great wars of various kinds. For in Thrace and Illyricum he defeated the barbarians who came against him, and on the other side of the Danube he even slew the leader of the Goths, Cannabas, or Cannabaudes as he is also called, and with him five thousand men. ³ From there he crossed over by way of Byzantium into Bithynia, and took possession of it without a struggle. ⁴ Many were the great and famous things that he said and did, but we cannot include them all in our book without causing a surfeit, nor, indeed, do we wish to do so, but for the better understanding of his character and valour a few of them must be selected. ⁵ For instance, when he came to Tyana and found its gates closed against him, he became enraged and exclaimed, it is said: "In this town I will not leave even a dog alive." ⁶ Then, indeed, the soldiers, in the hope of plunder, pressed on with greater vigour, but a certain Heraclammon, fearing that he would be killed along

with the rest, betrayed his native-place, and so the city was captured. 23 Aurelian, however, with the true spirit of an emperor, at once performed two notable deeds, one of which showed his severity, the other his leniency. 2 For, like a wise victor, he put to death Heraclammon, the betrayer of his native-place, and when the soldiers clamoured for the destruction of the city in accordance with the words in which he had declared that he would not leave a dog alive in Tyana, he answered them, saying: "I did, indeed, declare that I would not leave a dog alive in this city; well, then, kill all the dogs." 3 Notable, indeed, were the prince's words, but more notable still was the deed of the soldiers; for the entire army, just as though it were gaining riches thereby, took up the prince's jest, by which both booty was denied them and the city preserved intact.

4 The letter concerning Heraclammon: "From Aurelian Augustus to Mallius Chilo. I have suffered the man to be put to death by whose kindness, as it were, I recovered Tyana. But never have I been able to love a traitor and I was pleased that the soldiers killed him; for he who spared not his native city would not have been able to keep faith with me. 5 He, indeed, is the only one of all who opposed me that the earth now holds. The fellow was rich, I cannot deny it, but the property I have restored to the children of him to whom it belonged, that no one may charge me with having permitted a man who was rich to be slain for the sake of his money."

²⁴ 1 The city, moreover, was captured in a wonderful way. For after Heraclammon had shown Aurelian a place where the ground sloped upward by nature in the form of a siege-mound, up which he could climb in full attire, the emperor ascended there, and holding aloft his purple cloak he showed himself to the towns-folk within and the soldiers without, and so the city was captured, just as though Aurelian's entire army had been within the walls.

2 We must not omit one event which enhances the fame of a venerated man. 3 For, it is said, Aurelian did indeed truly speak and truly think of destroying the city of Tyana; but Apollonius of Tyana, a sage of the greatest renown and authority, a philosopher of former days, the true friend of the gods, and himself even to be regarded as a supernatural being, as Aurelian was withdrawing to his tent, suddenly appeared to him in the form in which he is usually portrayed, and spoke to him as follows, using Latin in order that he might be understood by a man from Pannonia: 4 "Aurelian, if you wish to conquer, there is no reason why you should plan the death of my fellow-citizens. Aurelian, if you wish to rule, abstain from the blood of the innocent. Aurelian, act with mercy if you wish to live long." 5 Aurelian recognized the countenance of the venerated philosopher, and, in fact, he had seen his portrait in many a temple. 6 And so, at once stricken with terror, he promised him a portrait and statues and a temple, and returned to

his better self. 7 This incident I have learned from trustworthy men and read over again in the books in the Ulpian Library, and I have been the more ready to believe it because of the reverence in which Apollonius is held. 8 For who among men has ever been more venerated, more revered, more renowned, or more holy than that very man? He brought the dead back to life, he said and did many things beyond the power of man. If any one should wish to learn these, let him read the Greek books which have been composed concerning his life. 9 I myself, moreover, if the length of my life shall permit and the plan shall continue to meet with his favour, will put into writing the deeds of this great man, even though it be briefly, not because his achievements need the tribute of my discourse, but in order that these wondrous things may be proclaimed by the voice of every man.

²⁵ 1 After thus recovering Tyana, Aurelian, by means of a brief engagement near Daphne, gained possession of Antioch, having promised forgiveness to all; and thereupon, obeying, as far as is known, the injunctions of that venerated man, Apollonius, he acted with greater kindness and mercy. 2 After this, the whole issue of the war was decided near Emesa in a mighty battle fought against Zenobia and Zaba, her ally. 3 When Aurelian's horsemen, now exhausted, were on the point of breaking their ranks and turning their backs, suddenly by the power of a supernatural agency, as was afterwards made known, a divine form spread encouragement throughout the foot-soldiers and rallied even the horsemen. Zenobia and Zaba were put to flight, and a victory was won in full. 4 And so, having reduced the East to its former state, Aurelian entered Emesa as a conqueror, and at once made his way to the Temple of Elagabalus, to pay his vows as if by a duty common to all. 5 But there he beheld that same divine form which he had seen supporting his cause in the battle. 6 Wherefore he not only established temples there, dedicating gifts of great value, but he also built a temple to the Sun at Rome, which he consecrated with still greater pomp, as we shall relate in the proper place.

²⁶ 1 After this he directed his march toward Palmyra, in order that, by storming it, he might put an end to his labours. But frequently on the march his army met with a hostile reception from the brigands of Syria, and after suffering many mishaps he incurred great danger during the siege, being even wounded by an arrow.

² A letter of his is still in existence, addressed to Mucapor, in which, without the wonted reserve of an emperor he confesses the difficulty of this war: 3 "The Romans are saying that I am merely waging a war with a woman, just as if Zenobia alone and with her own forces only were fighting against me, and yet,

as a matter of fact, there is as great a force of the enemy as if I had to make war against a man, while she, because of her fear and her sense of guilt, is a much baser foe. 4 It cannot be told what a store of arrows is here, what great preparations for war, what a store of spears and of stones; there is no section of the wall that is not held by two or three engines of war, and their machines can even hurl fire. 5 Why say more? She fears like a woman, and fights as one who fears punishment. I believe, however, that the gods will truly bring aid to the Roman commonwealth, for they have never failed our endeavours.”

⁶ Finally, exhausted and worn out by reason of ill-success, he despatched a letter to Zenobia, asking her to surrender and promising to spare her life; of this letter I have inserted a copy:

⁷ “From Aurelian, Emperor of the Roman world and recoverer of the East, to Zenobia and all others who are bound to her by alliance in war. 8 You should have done of your own free will what I now command in my letter. For I bid you surrender, promising that your lives shall be spared, and with the condition that you, Zenobia, together with your children shall dwell wherever I, acting in accordance with the wish of the most noble senate, shall appoint a place. 9 Your jewels, your gold, your silver, your silks, your horses, your camels, you shall all hand over to the Roman treasury. As for the people of Palmyra, their rights shall be preserved.”

^{27 1} On receiving this letter Zenobia responded with more pride and insolence than befitted her fortunes, I suppose with a view to inspiring fear; for a copy of her letter, too, I have inserted:

² “From Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus. None save yourself has ever demanded by letter what you now demand. Whatever must be accomplished in matters of war must be done by valour alone. 3 You demand my surrender as though you were not aware that Cleopatra preferred to die a Queen rather than remain alive, however high her rank. 4 We shall not lack reinforcements from Persia, which we are even now expecting. On our side are the Saracens, on our side, too, the Armenians. 5 The brigands of Syria have defeated your army, Aurelian. What more need be said? If those forces, then, which we are expecting from every side, shall arrive, you will, of a surety, lay aside that arrogance with which you now command my surrender, as though victorious on every side.”

⁶ This letter, Nicomachus says, was dictated by Zenobia herself and translated by him into Greek from the Syrian tongue. For that earlier letter of Aurelian’s was written in Greek.

^{28 1} On receiving this letter Aurelian felt no shame, but rather was angered, and at once he gathered together from every side his soldiers and leaders and laid

siege to Palmyra; and that brave man gave his attention to everything that seemed incomplete or neglected. 2 For he cut off the reinforcements which the Persians had sent, and he tampered with the squadrons of Saracens and Armenians, bringing them over to his own side, some by forcible means and some by cunning. Finally, by a mighty effort he conquered that most powerful woman. 3 Zenobia, then, conquered, fled away on camels (which they call dromedaries), but while seeking to reach the Persians she was captured by the horseman sent after her, and thus she was brought into the power of Aurelian.

4 And so Aurelian, victorious and in possession of the entire East, more proud and insolent now that he held Zenobia in chains, dealt with the Persians, Armenians, and Saracens as the needs of the occasion demanded. 5 Then were brought in those garments, encrusted with jewels, which we now see in the Temple of the Sun, then, too, the Persian dragon-flags and head-dresses, and a species of purple such as no nation ever afterward offered or the Roman world beheld.

^{29 1} Concerning this I desire to say at least a few words. For you remember that there was in the Temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest on the Capitolium a short woollen cloak of a purple hue, by the side of which all other purple garments, brought by the matrons and by Aurelian himself, seemed to fade to the colour of ashes in comparison with its divine brilliance. 2 This cloak, brought from the farthest Indies, the King of the Persians is said to have presented as a gift to Aurelian, writing as follows: "Accept a purple robe, such as we ourselves use." 3 But this was untrue. For later both Aurelian and Probus and, most recently, Diocletian made most diligent search for this species of purple, sending out their most diligent agents, but even so it could not be found. But indeed it is said that the Indian sandyx yields this kind of purple if properly prepared.

^{30 1} But to return to my undertaking: despite all this, there arose a terrible uproar among all the soldiers, who demanded Zenobia for punishment. 2 Aurelian, however, deeming it improper that a woman should be put to death, killed many who had advised her to begin and prepare and wage the war, but the woman he saved for his triumph, wishing to show her to the eyes of the Roman people. 3 It was regarded as a cruel thing that Longinus the philosopher should have been among those who were killed. He, it is said, was employed by Zenobia as her teacher in Greek letters, and Aurelian is said to have slain him because he was told that that over-proud letter of hers had been dictated in accord with his counsel, although, in fact, it was composed in the Syrian tongue.

4 And so, having subdued the East, Aurelian returned as a victor to Europe, and there he defeated the forces of the Carpi; and when the senate gave him in his absence the surname Carpicus, he sent them this message, it is said, as a jest:

“It now only remains for you, Conscript Fathers, to call me Carpiculus also” — 5 for it is well known that carpiculum is a kind of boot. This surname appeared to him as ignoble, since he was already called both Gothicus and Sarmaticus and Armeniacus and Parthicus and Adiabenicus.

^{31 1} It is a rare thing, or rather, a difficult thing, for the Syrians to keep faith. For the Palmyrenes, who had once been defeated and crushed, now that Aurelian was busied with matters in Europe, began a rebellion of no small size. 2 For they killed Sandario, whom Aurelian had put in command of the garrison there, and with him six hundred bowmen, thus getting the rule for a certain Achilles, a kinsman of Zenobia’s. 3 But Aurelian, indeed, prepared as he always was, came back from Rhodope and, because it deserved it, destroyed the city. 4 In fact, Aurelian’s cruelty, or, as some say, his sternness, is so widely known that they even quote a letter of his, revealing a confession of most savage fury; of this the following is a copy:

⁵ “From Aurelian Augustus to Cerronius Bassus. The swords of the soldiers should not proceed further. Already enough Palmyrenes have been killed and slaughtered. We have not spared the women, we have slain the children, we have butchered the old men, we have destroyed the peasants. 6 To whom, at this rate, shall we leave the land or the city? Those who still remain must be spared. For it is our belief that the few have been chastened by the punishment of the many. 7 Now as to the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, which has been pillaged by the eagle-bearers of the Third Legion, along with the standard-bearers, the dragon-bearer, and the buglers and trumpeters, I wish it restored to the condition in which it formerly was. 8 You have three hundred pounds of gold from Zenobia’s coffers, you have eighteen hundred pounds of silver from the property of the Palmyrenes, and you have the royal jewels. 9 Use all these to embellish the temple; thus both to me and to the immortal gods you will do a most pleasing service. I will write to the senate and request it to send one of the pontiffs to dedicate the temple.” 10 This letter, as we can see, shows that the savagery of the hard-hearted prince had been glutted.

^{32 1} At length, now more secure, he returned again to Europe, and there, with his well-known valour, he crushed all the enemies who were roving about. 2 Meanwhile, when Aurelian was performing great deeds in the provinces of Thrace as well as in all Europe, there rose up a certain Firmus, who laid claim to Egypt, but without the imperial insignia and as though he purposed to make it into a free state. 3 Without delay Aurelian turned back against him, and there also his wonted good-fortune did not abandon him. For he recovered Egypt at once and took vengeance on the enterprise — violent in temper, as he always was; and then, being greatly angered that Tetricus still held the provinces of

Gaul, he departed to the West and there took over the legions which were surrendered to him — for Tetricus betrayed his own troops since he could not endure their evil deeds. 4 And so Aurelian, now ruler over the entire world, having subdued both the East and the Gauls, and victor in all lands, turned his march toward Rome, that he might present to the gaze of the Romans a triumph over both Zenobia and Tetricus, that is, over both the East and the West.

³³ It is not without advantage to know what manner of triumph Aurelian had, for it was a most brilliant spectacle. 2 There were three royal chariots, of which the first, carefully wrought and adorned with silver and gold and jewels, had belonged to Odaenathus, the second, also wrought with similar care, had been given to Aurelian by the king of the Persians, and the third Zenobia had made for herself, hoping in it to visit the city of Rome. And this hope was not unfulfilled; for she did, indeed, enter the city in it, but vanquished and led in triumph. 3 There was also another chariot, drawn by four stags and said to have once belonged to the king of the Goths. In this — so many have handed down to memory — Aurelian rode up to the Capitol, purposing there to slay the stags, which he had captured along with this chariot and then vowed, it was said, to Jupiter Best and Greatest. 4 There advanced, moreover, twenty elephants, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds from Libya and Palestine, which Aurelian at once presented to private citizens, that the privy-purse might not be burdened with the cost of their food; furthermore, there were led along in order four tigers and also giraffes and elks and other such animals, also eight hundred pairs of gladiators besides the captives from the barbarian tribes. There were Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabs from Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Hiberians, Saracens and Persians, all bearing their gifts; there were Goths, Alans, Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebians, Vandals and Germans — all captive, with their hands bound fast. 5 There also advanced among them certain men of Palmyra, who had survived its fall, the foremost of the State, and Egyptians, too, because of their rebellion. 34 There were led along also ten women, who, fighting in male attire, had been captured among the Goths after many others had fallen; these a placard declared to be of the race of the Amazons — for placards were borne before all, displaying the names of their nations. 2 In the procession was Tetricus also, arrayed in scarlet cloak, a yellow tunic, and Gallic trousers, and with him his son, whom he had proclaimed in Gaul as emperor. 3 And there came Zenobia, too, decked with jewels and in golden chains, the weight of which was borne by others. There were carried aloft golden crowns presented by all the cities, made known by placards carried aloft. 4 Then came the Roman people itself, the flags of the guilds and the camps, the mailed cuirassiers, the wealth of the kings, the entire army, and, lastly, the senate (albeit somewhat

sadly, since they saw senators, too, being led in triumph) — all adding much to the splendour of the procession. 5 Scarce did they reach the Capitol by the ninth hour of the day, and when they arrived at the Palace it was late indeed. 6 On the following days amusements were given to the populace, plays in the theatres, races in the Circus, wild-beast hunts, gladiatorial fights and also a naval battle.

³⁵ 1 I think that I should not omit what both the people remember and the truth of history has made current, namely, that Aurelian, at the time of his setting out for the East, promised, if he came back victorious, to give to the populace crowns weighing two pounds apiece; the populace, however, expected crowns of gold, and these Aurelian either could not or would not give, and so he had crowns made of the bread now called wheaten and gave one to each separate man, providing that each and every one might receive his wheaten bread every day of his life and hand on his right to his heirs. 2 The same Aurelian, too, gave the allowance of pork to the Roman people which is given them also to day.

³ He enacted very many laws, and salutary ones indeed. He set the priesthoods in order, he constructed the Temple of the Sun, and he founded its college of pontiffs; and he also allotted funds for making repairs and paying attendants.

⁴ After doing these things, he set out for the regions of Gaul and delivered the Vindelici from a barbarian inroad; then he returned to Illyricum and having made ready an army, which was large, though not of inordinate size, he declared war on the Persians, whom he had already defeated with the greatest glory at the time that he conquered Zenobia. 5 While on his way thither, however, he was murdered at Caenophrurium, a station between Heraclea and Byzantium, through the hatred of his clerk but by the hand of Mucapor.

³⁶ 1 Both the reason for his murder and the manner in which he was slain I will set forth briefly, that a matter of such moment may not remain concealed. 2 Aurelian — it cannot be denied — was a stern, a savage, and a blood-thirsty prince. 3 And so, when he pushed his sternness to the length of slaying his sister's daughter without any good or sufficient reason, he incurred, first of all, the hate of his own kinsmen. 4 It came to pass, moreover, as things do happen by decree of fate, that he roused the anger of a certain Mnestheus — his freedman, some say — whom he had employed as his confidential clerk, because he had threatened him, suspecting him on some ground or other. 5 Now Mnestheus, knowing that Aurelian neither threatened in vain nor pardoned when he had threatened, drew up a list of names, in which he mixed together both those at whom Aurelian was truly angry and those toward whom he bore no ill-will, including his own name also, in order thereby to lend greater credence to the fear that he sought to inspire. This list he read to the various persons whose names were contained therein, adding that Aurelian had made arrangements to have

them all put to death, and that, if they were really men, they should save their lives. 6 Thereupon all were aroused, those who had deserved his anger being moved by fear, and those who were innocent by sorrow, since Aurelian seemed ungrateful for their services and their fidelity, and so they suddenly attacked the Emperor while on the march in the aforesaid place, and put him to death.

^{37.1} Such was the end of Aurelian, a prince who was necessary rather than good. After he was slain and the facts became known, those very men who had killed him gave him a mighty tomb and a temple. 2 Mnestheus, however, was afterward haled away to a stake and exposed to wild beasts, as is shown by the marble statues set up on either hand in that same place, where also statues were erected on columns in honour of the Deified Aurelian. 3 The senate mourned his death greatly, but the Roman people still more, for they commonly used to say that Aurelian was the senators' task-master. 4 He ruled six years save for a few days, and because of his great exploits he was given a place among the deified princes.

(37) 5 An incident related in history I must not fail to include, inasmuch as it has to do with Aurelian. For it is told by many that Quintillus, Claudius's brother, in command of a garrison in Italy, on hearing of Claudius' death seized the imperial power. 6 But later, when it was known that Aurelian was emperor, he was abandoned by all his army; and when he had made a speech attacking Aurelian and the soldiers refused to listen, he severed his veins and died on the twentieth day of his rule.

⁷ Now whatever crimes there were, whatever guilty plans or harmful practices, and, lastly, whatever plots — all these Aurelian purged away throughout the entire world. 38 This also, I think, has to do with my theme, namely, that it was in the name of her son Vaballathus and not in that of Timolaus or Hennianus that Zenobia held the imperial power, which she did really hold.

² There was also during the rule of Aurelian a revolt among the mint-workers, under the leadership of Felicissimus, the supervisor of the privy-purse. This revolt he crushed with the utmost vigour and harshness, but still seven thousand of his soldiers were slain, as is shown by a letter addressed to Ulpius Crinitus, thrice consul, by whom he had formerly been adopted:

³ "From Aurelian Augustus to Ulpius his father. Just as though it were ordained for me by Fate that all the wars that I wage and all commotions only become more difficult, so also a revolt within the city has stirred up for me a most grievous struggle. For under the leadership of Felicissimus, the lowest of all my slaves, to whom I had committed the care of the privy-purse, the mint-workers have shown the spirit of rebellion. 4 They have indeed been crushed, but with the loss of seven thousand men, boatmen, bank-troops, camp-troops and

Dacians. Hence it is clear that the immortal gods have granted me no victory without some hardship.”

^{39 1} Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph, he created supervisor of Lucania, and his son he retained in the senate. 2 The Temple of the Sun he founded with great magnificence. He so extended the wall of the city of Rome that its circuit was nearly fifty miles long. 3 He punished with inordinate harshness both informers and false accusers. In order to increase the sense of security of the citizens in general, he gave orders that the records of debts due the State should be burned once and for all in the Forum of Trajan. 4 Under him also an “amnesty” for offences against the State was decreed according to the example of the Athenians, which Cicero also cites in his *Philippics*. 5 Thieving officials in the provinces, accused of extortion or embezzlement, he punished with more than the usual military severity, inflicting on them unwonted penalties and sufferings. 6 He dedicated great quantities of gold and jewels in the Temple of the Sun. 7 On seeing that Illyricum was devastated and Moesia was in a ruinous state, he abandoned the province of Trans-Danubian Dacia, which had been formed by Trajan, and led away both soldiers and provincials, giving up hope that it could be retained. The people whom he moved out from it he established in Moesia, and gave to this district, which now divides the two provinces of Moesia, the name of Dacia.

⁸ It is said, furthermore, that so great was his cruelty that he brought against many senators a false accusation of conspiracy and intention to seize the throne, merely in order that it might be easier to put them to death. 9 Some say, besides, that it was the son of his sister, and not her daughter that he killed, many, however, that he slew the son as well.

^{40 1} How difficult it is to choose an emperor in the place of a good ruler is shown both by the dignified action of a revered senate and by the power exerted by a wise army. 2 For when this sternest of princes was slain, the army referred to the senate the business of choosing an emperor, for the reason that it believed that no one of those should be chosen who had slain such an excellent ruler. 3 The senate, however, thrust this selection back on the army, knowing well that the emperors whom the senate selected were no longer gladly received by the troops. 4 Finally, for the third time, the choice was referred, and so for the space of six months the Roman world was without a ruler, and all those governors whom either the senate or Aurelian had chosen remained at their posts, save only that Faltonius Probus was appointed proconsul of Asia in the place of Arellius Fuscus.

^{41 1} It is not without interest to insert the letter itself which the army sent to the senate:

“From the brave and victorious troops to the senate and the people of Rome. Aurelian our emperor has been slain through the guile of one man and the blunder of good and evil alike. 2 Do you, now, our revered lords and Conscript Fathers, place Aurelian among the gods and send us as prince one of your own number, whom you deem a worthy man. For none of those who have erred or committed crime will we suffer to be our emperor.”

³ To this a reply was made by decree of the senate. When on the third day before the Nones of February the most high senate had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius, Aurelius Gordianus, the consul, said: “We now lay before you, Conscript Fathers, the letter from our most victorious army.” 4 When this letter was read, Tacitus, whose right it was to give his opinion first (it was he, moreover, who was acclaimed as emperor after Aurelian by the voice of all), spoke as follows: 5 “Well and wisely would the immortal gods have planned, Conscript Fathers, had they but rendered good emperors invulnerable to steel, for so they would have longer lives and those have no power against them who with most grievous intent contrive abominable murder. 6 And if it were so, our emperor Aurelian would still be alive, than whom none was ever more brave or more beneficial. 7 For after the misfortune of Valerian and the evil ways of Gallienus our commonwealth did indeed under Claudius’s rule begin to breathe once more, but Aurelian it was who won victories throughout the entire world and restored it again to its former state. 8 He it was who gave us back the provinces of Gaul, he who set Italy free, he who removed from the Vindelici the yoke of barbarian enslavement. He by his victories won back Illyricum and brought again the districts of Thrace under the laws of Rome. 9 He restored to our sway the Orient, crushed down (oh, the shame of it!) beneath the yoke of a woman, he defeated and routed and destroyed the Persians, still vaunting themselves in the death of Valerian. 10 He was revered as a god, almost as though present in person, by the Saracens, the Blemmyes, the Axomitae, the Bactrians, the Seres, the Hiberians, the Albanians, the Armenians, and even by the peoples of India. 11 His donations, won from barbarian tribes, fill the Capitol; by his liberality one temple alone contains fifteen thousand pounds of gold, and with his gifts all the shrines in the city are gleaming. 12 Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, I could justly bring charges against even the very gods, who suffered such a prince to perish, were it not that perchance they preferred to have him among themselves. 13 I therefore propose divine honours, and these I believe you all will bestow. With regard to the choice of an emperor, indeed, you should refer it, I think, to this army. 14 For in a proposal of this kind, unless that which is urged be done, there is both danger for those who are chosen and odium for those who choose.” 15 The proposal of Tacitus found favour; but after the

matter had been referred back again and again, by decree of the senate Tacitus, as we shall relate in his Life, was chosen as emperor.

^{42 1} Aurelian left only a daughter, whose descendants are even now in Rome. 2 For Aurelianus, proconsul of Cilicia, a most excellent senator in his own true right and venerated for his manner of life, who now is living in Sicily, is a grandson of hers.

³ Now what shall I say of this, that whereas so many have borne the name of Caesar, there have appeared among them so few good emperors? For the list of those who have worn the purple from Augustus to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian is contained in the public records. 4 Among them, however, the best were Augustus himself, Flavius Vespasian, Titus Flavius, Cocceius Nerva, the Deified Trajan, the Deified Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, Severus the African, Alexander the son of Mamaea, the Deified Claudius, and the Deified Aurelian. For Valerian, though a most excellent man, was by his misfortune set apart from them all. 5 Observe, I pray you, how few in number are the good emperors, so that it has well been said by a jester on the stage in the time of this very Claudius that the names and the portraits of the good emperors could be engraved on a single ring. 6 But, on the other hand, what a list of the evil! For, to say nought of a Vitellius, a Caligula, or a Nero, who could endure a Maximinus, a Philip, or the lowest dregs of that disorderly crew? I should, however, except the Decii, who in their lives and their deaths should be likened to the ancients.

^{43 1} The question, indeed, is often asked what it is that makes emperors evil; first of all, my friend, it is freedom from restraint, next, abundance of wealth, furthermore, unscrupulous friends, pernicious attendants, the greediest eunuchs, courtiers who are fools or knaves, and — it cannot be denied — ignorance of public affairs. 2 And yet I have heard from my father that the emperor Diocletian, while still a commoner, declared that nothing was harder than to rule well. 3 Four or five men gather together and form one plan for deceiving the emperor, and then they tell him to what he must give his approval. 4 Now the emperor, who is shut up in his palace, cannot know the truth. He is forced to know only what these men tell him, he appoints as judges those who should not be appointed, and removes from public office those whom he ought to retain. Why say more? As Diocletian himself was wont to say, the favour of even a good and wise and righteous emperor is often sold. 5 These were Diocletian's own words, and I have inserted them here for the very purpose that your wisdom might understand that nothing is harder than to be a good ruler.

^{44 1} Now Aurelian, indeed, is placed by many among neither the good nor the evil emperors for the reason that he lacked the quality of mercy, that foremost

dowry of an emperor. 2 In fact, Verconnius Herennianus, Diocletian's prefect of the guard, used often to say — or so Asclepiodotus bears witness — that Diocletian, in finding fault with Maximian's harshness, frequently said that Aurelian ought to have been a general rather than an emperor. So displeasing to Diocletian was Aurelian's excessive ferocity.

³ This may perhaps seem a marvellous thing that was learned by Diocletian and is said to have been related by Asclepiodotus to Celsinus his counsellor, but concerning there is posterity will be the judge. 4 For he used to relate that on a certain occasion Aurelian consulted the Druid priestesses in Gaul and inquired of them whether the imperial power would remain with his descendants, but they replied, he related, that none would have a name more illustrious in the commonwealth than the descendants of Claudius. 5 And, in fact, Constantius is now our emperor, a man of Claudius' blood, whose descendants, I ween, will attain to that glory which the Druids foretold. And this I have put in the Life of Aurelian for the reason that this response was made to him when he inquired in person.

^{45 1} Aurelian set aside for the city of Rome the revenues from Egypt, consisting of glass, paper, linen, and hemp, in fact, the products on which a perpetual tax was paid in kind. 2 He planned to erect a public bath in the Transtiberine district as a winter bath since here there was no supply of fairly cold water. He began to construct a forum, named after himself, at Ostia on the sea, in the place where, later, the public magistrates' office was built. 3 He gave wealth to his friends with wisdom and moderation, in order that they might avoid the ills of poverty and yet, because of the moderate size of their fortunes, escape the envy that riches bring. 4 Clothing made wholly of silk he would neither keep in his own wardrobe nor present to anyone else for his use; 5 and when his wife besought him to keep a single robe of purple silk, he replied, "God forbid that a fabric should be worth its weight in gold." For at that time a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold. 46 He had in mind to forbid the use of gold on ceilings and tunic and leather and also the gilding of silver, but the gold was wasted by being used variously as gold-leaf, spun gold, and gold that is melted down, while the silver was kept for its proper use. 2 He had, indeed, given permission that those who wished might use golden vessels and goblets. 3 He furthermore granted permission to commoners to have coaches adorned with silver, whereas they had previously had only carriages ornamented with bronze or ivory. 4 He also allowed matrons to have tunics and other garments of purple, whereas they had had before only fabrics of changeable colours, or, as frequently, of a bright pink. 5 He also was the first to allow private soldiers to have clasps of gold, whereas formerly they had had them of silver. 6 He, too, was the first to give tunics

having bands of embroidery to his troops, whereas previously they had received only straight-woven tunics of purple, and to some he presented tunics with one band, to others those having two bands or three bands and even up to five bands, like the tunics to day made of linen.

⁴⁷ ¹ To the loaves of bread for the city of Rome he added one ounce, which he got from the revenues from Egypt, as he himself boasts in a certain letter addressed to the prefect of the city's supply of grain:

² "From Aurelian Augustus to Flavius Arabianus, the prefect of the grain supply. Among the various ways in which, with the aid of the gods, we have benefited the Roman commonwealth, there is nothing in which I take greater pride than that by adding an ounce I have increased every kind of grain for the city. ³ And to the end that this may be lasting, I have appointed additional boatmen on the Nile in Egypt and on the river in Rome, I have built up the banks of the Tiber, I have dug out the shallow places in its rising bed, I have taken vows to the god and the Goddess of Perpetual Harvests, and I have consecrated a statue of fostering Ceres. ⁴ It is now your task, my dearest Arabianus, to make every effort that my arrangements may not be in vain. For nothing can be more joyous than the Roman people when sufficiently fed."

⁴⁸ ¹ He had planned also to give free wine to the people of Rome, in order that they might be supplied with it as they were with oil and bread and pork, all free of cost, and he had designed to make this perpetual by means of the following arrangement. ² In Etruria, all along the Aurelian Way as far as the Maritime Alps, there are vast tracts of land, rich and well wooded. He planned, therefore, to pay their price to the owners of these uncultivated lands, provided they wished to sell, and to settle thereon families of slaves captured in war, and then to plant the hills with vines, and by this means to produce wine, which was to yield no profit to the privy-purse but to be given entirely to the people of Rome. He had also made provision for the vats, the casks, the ships, and the labour. ³ Many, however, say that Aurelian was cut off before he carried this out, others that he was restrained by his prefect of the guard, who is said to have remarked: "If we give wine to the Roman people, it only remains for us to give them also chickens and geese." ⁴ There is, indeed, proof that Aurelian really considered this measure, or, rather, made arrangements for carrying it out and even did so to some extent; for wine belonging to the privy-purse is stored in the porticos of the Temple of the Sun, which the people could obtain, not free of cost but at a price. ⁵ It should be known, however, that he thrice distributed largess among them, and that he gave to the Roman people white tunics with long sleeves, brought from the various provinces, and pure linen ones from Africa and Egypt, and that he was the first to give handkerchiefs to the Roman people, to be waved in

showing approval.

⁴⁹ 1 He disliked, when at Rome, to reside in the Palace, and preferred to live in the Gardens of Sallust or the Gardens of Domitia. 2 In fact, he built a portico in the Gardens of Sallust •one thousand feet long, in which he would exercise daily both himself and his horses, even though he were not in good health. 3 His slaves and attendants who were guilty of crime he would order to be slain in his own presence, for the purpose, some say, of keeping up discipline, or, according to others, through sheer love of cruelty. 4 One of his maid-servants, who had committed adultery with a fellow-slave, he punished with death, 5 and many slaves from his own household, who had committed offences, he delivered over to public courts to be heard according to law.

⁶ He had planned to restore to the matrons their senate, or rather senaculum, with the provision that those should rank first therein who had attained to priesthoods with the senate's approval. 7 He forbade men to wear boots of purple or wax-colour or white or the colour of ivy, but allowed them to women. He permitted the senators to have runners dressed like his own. 8 He forbade the keeping of free-born women as concubines, and limited the possession of eunuchs to those who had a senator's rating, for the reason that they had reached inordinate prices. 9 His silver vessels never went beyond •thirty pounds in weight, and his banquets consisted mostly of roasted meats. He took most pleasure in red wine. 50 When ill he never summoned a physician, but always cured himself, chiefly by abstaining from food. 2 He held a yearly celebration of the Sigillaria for his wife and daughter, like any private citizen. 3 To his slaves he gave when emperor the same kind of clothing that he had given them when a commoner, save for two old men, Antistius and Gillo, who received many privileges from him, just as though they were freedmen, and who after his death were set free by vote of the senate. 4 His amusements, indeed, were few, but he took marvellous pleasure in actors and had the greatest delight in a gourmand, who could eat vast amounts to such an extent that in one single day he devoured, in front of Aurelian's own table, an entire wild boar, one hundred loaves of bread, a sheep and a pig, and, putting a funnel to his mouth, drank more than a caskful.

⁵ Except for certain internal riotings his reign was most prosperous. The Roman people loved him, while the senate held him in fear.

The Life of Tacitus

^{1 1} A certain measure adopted after the departure of Romulus, during the infancy of Rome's power, and recorded by the pontiffs, the duly authorized writers of history, — namely, the proclamation of a regency for the interval in which one good prince was being sought for to succeed another — was also adopted after the death of Aurelian for the space of six whole months, while the senate and the army of Rome were engaged in a contest, one that was marked not by envy and unhappiness but rather by good feeling and sense of duty. ² This occasion, however, differed in many ways from that former undertaking. For originally, when the regency was proclaimed after the reign of Romulus, regents were actually created, and that whole year was divided up among the hundred senators for periods of three, or four, or five days apiece, in such a way that there was only one single regent who held the power. ³ From this it resulted that the regency remained in force for even more than a year, in order that there might be no one of those equal in rank who had not held the rule at Rome. ⁴ To this must be added that also in the time of the consuls and the military tribunes vested with consular power, whenever a regency was proclaimed there were always regents, and never did the Roman commonwealth so entirely lack this office that there was not some regent created, though it might be for only two or three days. ⁵ I perceive, indeed, that the argument can be brought up against me that for the space of four years during the time of our ancestors there were no curule magistrates in the commonwealth. There were, however, tribunes of the plebs vested with the tribunician power, which is the most important element of the power of a king. ⁶ Even so, it is nowhere stated that there were no regents in that time; and indeed it has been declared on the authority of more reliable historians that consuls were later created by regents for the purpose of conducting the election of the other magistrates.

^{2 1} And so the senate and people of Rome passed through an unusual and a difficult situation, namely, that for six months, while a good man was being sought, the commonwealth had no emperor. ² What harmony there was then among the soldiers! What peace for the people! How full of weight the authority of the senate! Nowhere did any pretender arise, and the judgement of the senate, the soldiers and the people of Rome guided the entire world; it was not because they feared any emperor or the power of a tribune that they did righteously, but — what is the noblest thing in life — because they feared themselves.

³ I must, however, describe the cause of a delay so fortunate and an instance of

unselfishness which should both receive special mention in the public records and be admired by future generations of the human race, in order that those who covet kingdoms may learn not to seize power but to merit it. 4 After Aurelian had been treacherously slain, as I have described in the previous book, by the trick of a most base slave and the folly of the officers (for with these any falsehood gains credence, provided only they hear it when angry, being often drunken and at best almost always devoid of counsel), when all returned again to sanity and the troops had sternly put down those persons, the question was at once raised whether any one of them all should be chosen as emperor. 5 Then the army, which was wont to create emperors hastily, in their anger at those who were present, sent to the senate the letter of which I have already written in the previous book, asking it to choose an emperor from its own numbers. 6 The senate, however, knowing that the emperors it had chosen were not acceptable to the soldiers, referred the matter back to them. And while this was being done a number of times the space of six months elapsed.

^{3 1} It is important, however, that it should be known how Tacitus was created emperor. 2 On the seventh day before the Kalends of October, when the most noble body had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius, Velius Cornificius Gordianus the consul spoke as follows: 3 “We shall now bring before you, Conscript Fathers, what we have often brought before you previously; you must choose an emperor, because it is not right for the army to remain longer without a prince, and at the same time because necessity compels. 4 For it is said that the Germans have broken through the frontier beyond the Rhine and have seized cities that are strong and famous and rich and powerful. 5 And even if we hear nothing now of any movement among the Persians, reflect that the Syrians are so light-minded that rather than submit to our righteous rule they desire even a woman to reign over them. 6 What of Africa? What of Illyricum?^o What of Egypt and the armies of all these regions? How long, do we suppose, can they stand firm without a prince? 7 Wherefore up, Conscript Fathers, and name a prince. For the army will either accept the one you name or, if it reject him, will choose another.”

^{4 1} Thereupon when Tacitus, the consular whose right it was to speak his opinion first, began to express some sentiment, it is uncertain what, the whole senate acclaimed him: 2 “Tacitus Augustus, may God keep you! We choose you, we name you prince, to your care we commit the commonwealth and the world. 3 Now take the imperial power by authority of the senate, for by reason of your rank, your life and your mind you deserve it. Rightfully is the prince of the senate created Augustus, rightfully is the man whose privilege it is to speak his opinion first created our emperor. 4 Who can rule more ably than a man of

authority? Who can rule more ably than a man of letters? May it prove happy, auspicious, and to the general welfare! Long have^o you been a commoner. You know how you should rule, for you have been subject to other princes. You know how you should rule, for on other princes you have rendered judgement.”

⁵ Tacitus, however, replied: “I marvel, Conscript Fathers, that in the place of Aurelian, a most valiant emperor, you should wish to make an aged man your prince. 6 Behold these members, which should be able to cast a dart, to hurl a spear, to clash a shield, and, as an example for instructing the soldiery, to ride without ceasing. Scarce can I fulfill the duties of a senator, scarce can I speak the opinions to which my position constrains me. 7 Observe with greater care my advanced age, which you are now sending out from the shade of the chamber into the cold and the heat. And think you that the soldiers will welcome an old man as their emperor? 8 Look you lest you give the commonwealth a prince whom you do not really desire and lest men begin to raise this as the sole objection against me, namely, that you have chosen me unanimously.”

^{5.1} Thereupon there were the following acclamations from the senate: “Trajan also came to power when an old man.” This they said ten times. “Hadrian also came to power when an old man.” This they said ten times. “Antoninus also came to power when an old man.” This they said ten times. “You yourself have read, ‘And the hoary beard of a Roman king.’ “ This they said ten times. “Can any one rule more ably than an old man?” This they said ten times. “We are choosing you as an emperor, not as a soldier. This they said twenty times. 2 “Do you but give commands, and let the soldiers fight.” This they said thirty times. “You have both wisdom and an excellent brother.” This they said ten times. “Severus said that it is the head that does the ruling and not the feet.” This they said thirty times. “It is your mind and not your body that we are choosing.” This they said twenty times. “Tacitus Augustus, may the gods keep you!”

³ Then all were asked their opinions. In addition, Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus, a senator of consular rank, whose place was next to Tacitus’, addressed them as follows: 6 “Always indeed, Conscript Fathers, has this noble body taken wise and prudent measures for the commonwealth, and from no nation in the whole world has sounder wisdom ever been awaited. At no time, however, has a more wise or more weighty opinion been voiced in this sacred place. 2 We have chosen as prince a man advanced in years, one who will watch over all like a father. From him we need fear nothing ill-considered, nothing over hasty, nothing cruel. All his actions, we may predict, will be earnest, all dignified, and, in fact, what the commonwealth herself would command. 3 For he knows what manner of prince he has ever hoped for, and he cannot show himself to us as other than what he himself has sought and desired. 4 Indeed, if

you should wish to consider those monsters of old, a Nero, I mean, an Elagabalus, a Commodus — or rather, always, an *Incommodious* — you would assuredly find that their vices were due as much to their youth as to the men themselves. 5 May the gods forbend that we should give the title of prince to a child or of Father of his Country to an immature boy, whose hand a schoolmaster must guide for the signing of his name and who is induced to confer a consulship by sweetmeats or toys or other such childish delights. 6 What wisdom is there — a plague upon it! — in having as emperor one who has not learned to care for fame, who knows not what the commonwealth is, who stands in dread of a guardian, who looks to a nurse, who is in subjection to the blows or the fear of a schoolmaster's rod, who appoints as consuls or generals or judges men whose lives, whose merits, whose years, whose families, whose achievements he knows not at all? 7 But why, Conscript Fathers, do I proceed farther. Let us rejoice that we have an elder as our prince, rather than recall again those times which appear more than tearful to those who endured them. 8 And so I bring and offer thanks to the gods in heaven in behalf, indeed, of the entire commonwealth, and I appeal to you, Tacitus Augustus, asking and entreating and openly demanding in the name of our common fatherland and our laws that, if Fate should overtake you too speedily, you will not name your young sons as heirs to the Roman Empire, or bequeath to them the commonwealth, the Conscript Fathers, and the Roman people as you would your farm, your tenants, and your slaves. 9 Wherefore look about you and follow the example of a Nerva, a Trajan, and a Hadrian. It is a great glory to a dying prince to love the commonwealth more than his own sons."

⁷¹ By this speech Tacitus himself was greatly moved and the whole senatorial order was deeply affected, and at once they shouted, "So say we all of us, all of us."

² Thereupon they proceeded to the Campus Martius, where Tacitus mounted the assembly-platform. There Aelius Cesettianus, the prefect of the city, spoke as follows: 3 "You have now, most venerated soldiers, and you, most revered fellow-citizens, an emperor chosen by the senate at the request of all the armies, Tacitus, I mean, the most august of men, who, as he has in the past benefited the commonwealth by his counsels, will now benefit it by his commands and decrees." 4 The people then shouted, "Tacitus Augustus, most blessed, may the gods keep you!" and all else that it is customary to say.

⁵ At this point I must not leave it unmentioned that many writers have recorded that Tacitus, when named emperor, was absent and residing in Campania; 6 this is indeed true, and I cannot dissemble. For when the rumour spread that he was to be made emperor, he withdrew and lived for two months at

his house at Baiae. 7 But after being escorted back from there he took part in this decree of the senate, as though actually a commoner and one who in truth would refuse the imperial power. 8 And now, lest any one consider that I have rashly put faith in some Greek or Latin writer, there is in the Ulpian Library, in the sixth case, an ivory book, in which is written out this decree of the senate, signed by Tacitus himself with his own hand. 2 For those decrees which pertained to the emperors were long inscribed in books of ivory.

³ He proceeded thence to the troops. Here also, as soon as he mounted the platform Moesius Gallicanus, the prefect of the guard, spoke as follows: 4 “The senate has given you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, the emperor you sought; and that most noble order has carried out the instructions and the wishes of the men of the camps. More I may not say, for the emperor is now present with you. Do you, then, as he speaks, listen to him with all respect, for his duty it is to watch over us.” 5 Thereupon Tacitus Augustus spoke: “Trajan also came into power in his old age, but he was chosen by a single man, whereas I have been judged worthy of this title, first by you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, and then by the most noble senate. Now I will endeavour and make every effort and do my utmost that you may have no lack, if not of brave deeds, at least of counsels worthy of you and of your emperor.”

⁹¹ After this he promised them their pay and the customary donative, and then he delivered his first speech to the senate as follows: “So surely may it be granted me, Conscript Fathers, to rule the empire in such a way that it will be apparent that I was chosen by you, as I have determined to do all things by your will and power. Yours it is, therefore, to command and enact whatsoever seems worthy of yourselves, worthy of a well-ordered army, and worthy of the Roman people.” 2 In this same speech he proposed that a golden statue of Aurelian be set up in the Capitolium, likewise a silver one in the Senate-house, in the Temple of the Sun, and in the Forum of the Deified Trajan. The golden one, however, was never set up and only the silver ones were ever dedicated. 3 In the same oration he ordained that if any one, either officially or privately, alloyed silver with copper, or gold with silver, or copper with lead, it should be a capital offence, involving confiscation of property. 4 In the same speech he ordained that slaves should not be questioned against their master when on trial for his life, not even in a prosecution for treason. 5 He added the further command that every man should have a painting of Aurelian, and he ordered that a temple to the deified emperors be erected, in which should be placed the statues of the good princes, so that sacrificial cakes might be set before them on their birthdays, the Parilia, the Kalends of January, and the Day of the Vows. 6 In the same speech he asked for the consulship for his brother Florian, but this request

he did not obtain for the reason that the senate had already fixed all the terms of office for the substitute consuls. It is said, moreover, that he derived great pleasure from the senate's independence of spirit, because it refused him the consulship which he had asked for his brother. Indeed he is said to have exclaimed, "The senate knows what manner of prince it has chosen."

^{10 1} He presented to the state the private fortune which he had in investments, amounting to two hundred and eighty million sesterces, and the money which he had accumulated in his house he used for the payment of the soldiers. He continued to wear the same togas and tunics that he had worn while a commoner. 2 He forbade the keeping of brothels in the city — which measure, indeed, could not be maintained for long. He gave orders that all public baths should be closed before the hour for lighting the lamps, that no disturbance might arise during the night. 3 He had Cornelius Tacitus, the writer of Augustan history, placed in all the libraries, claiming him as a relative; and in order that his works might not be lost through the carelessness of the readers he gave orders that ten copies of them should be made each year officially in the copying-establishments and put in the libraries. 4 He forbade any man to wear a garment made wholly of silk. He gave orders that his house should be destroyed and a public bath erected on the site at his own expense. 5 To the people of Ostia he presented from his own funds one hundred columns of Numidian marble, each twenty-three feet in height, and the estates which he owned in Mauretania he assigned for keeping the Capitolium in repair. 6 The table-silver which he had used when a commoner he dedicated to the service of the banquets to be held in the temples, 7 and all the slaves of both sexes whom he had in the city he set free, keeping the number, however, below one hundred in order not to seem to be transgressing the Caninian Law.

¹¹ In his manner of living he was very temperate, so much so that in a whole day he never drank a pint of wine, and frequently less than a half-pint. 2 Even at a banquet there would be served a single cock, with the addition of a pig's jowl and some eggs. In preference to all other greens he would indulge himself without stint in lettuce, which was served in large quantities, for he used to say that he purchased sleep by this kind of lavish expenditure. He especially liked the more bitter kinds of food. 3 He took baths rarely and was all the stronger in his old age. He delighted greatly in varied and elaborate kinds of glassware. He never ate bread unless it was dry, but he flavoured it with salt and other condiments. 4 He was very skilled in the handicrafts, fond of marbles, truly senatorial in his elegance and devoted to hunting. His table, indeed, was supplied only with country produce, and he never served pheasants except on his own birthday and on those of his family and on the chief festivals. He always brought

back home the sacrificial victims and bade his household eat them. 6 He did not permit his wife to use jewels and also forbade her to wear garments with gold stripes. In fact, it is said that it was he who impelled Aurelian to forbid the use of gold on clothing and ceilings and leather. 7 Many other measures of his are related, but it would be too long to set them all down in writing, and if anyone desires to know everything about this man, he should read Suetonius Optatianus, who wrote his life in full detail. 8 Though he was an old man, he could read very tiny letters to an amazing degree and he never let a night go without writing or reading something except only the night following the day after the Kalends.

^{12 1} It must not be left unmentioned, and if it should become widely known, that so great was the joy of the senate that the power of choosing an emperor had been restored to this most noble body, that it both voted ceremonies of thanksgiving and promised a hecatomb and finally each of the senators wrote to his relatives, and not to his relatives only but also to strangers, and letters were even despatched to the provinces, all in the following vein: "Let all the allies and all foreign nations know that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient condition, and that the senate now creates the ruler, nay rather the senate itself has been created ruler, and henceforth laws must be sought from the senate, barbarian kings bring their entreaties to the senate, and peace and war be made by authority of the senate." 2 In fact, in order that nothing may be lacking to your knowledge, I have placed many letters of this sort at the end of the book, to be read, as I think, with enjoyment, or at least without aversion.

^{13 1} His first care after being made emperor was to put to death all who had killed Aurelian, good and bad alike, although he had already been avenged. 2 Then with wisdom and courage he crushed the barbarians — for they had broken forth in great numbers from the district of Lake Maeotis. 3 The Maeotidae, in fact, were flocking together under the pretext of assembling by command of Aurelian for the Persian War, in order that, should necessity demand it, they might render aid to our troops. 4 Now Cicero declares that it is rather a matter for boasting to tell how one has conducted, rather than how one has obtained, the consulship; in the case of Tacitus, however, it was a noble achievement that he obtained the imperial power with such glory to himself, but by reason of the shortness of his reign he performed no great exploit. 5 For in the sixth month of his rule, he was slain, according to some, by a plot among the troops, though according to others he died of disease. It is, nevertheless, agreed among all that, crushed by plots, he grew weak both in mind and in spirit. 6 He likewise gave command that the month of September should be called Tacitus, for the reason that in that month he was not only born but also created emperor.

He was succeeded in the imperial power by his brother Florian, about whom a

few things must now be related.

^{14 1} Florian was own brother to Tacitus, and after his brother's death he seized the imperial power, not by authorisation of the senate but on his own volition, just as though the empire were an hereditary possession, and although he knew that Tacitus had taken oath in the senate that when he came to die he would appoint as emperor not his own sons but some excellent man. 2 Finally, after holding the imperial power for scarce two months he was slain at Tarsus by the soldiers, who heard that Probus, the choice of the whole army, was now in command. 3 So great, moreover, was Probus in matters of war that the senate desired him, the soldiers elected him, and the Roman people itself demanded him by acclamations. 4 Florian was also an imitator of his brother's ways, though not in every respect. For the frugal Tacitus found fault with his lavishness, and his very eagerness to rule showed him to be of a different stamp from his brother.

⁵ So then there arose two princes from one house, of whom the one ruled for six months and the other for scarce two — merely regents, so to speak, between Aurelian and Probus, and themselves named princes after a regency.

^{15 1} Their two statues, made of marble and thirty feet in height, were set up at Interamna, for there cenotaphs were erected to them on their own land; but these were struck by lightning and so thoroughly broken that they lay scattered in fragments. 2 On this occasion the soothsayers foretold that at some future time there would be a Roman emperor from their family, descended through either the male or the female line, who would give judges to the Parthians and the Persians, subject the Franks and the Alamanni to the laws of Rome, drive out every barbarian from the whole of Africa, establish a governor at Taprobane, send a proconsul to the island of Iuverna, act as judge to all the Sarmatians, make all the land which borders on the Ocean his own territory by conquering all the tribes, but thereafter restore the power to the senate and conduct himself in accordance with the ancient laws, being destined to live for one hundred and twenty years and to die without an heir. 3 They declared, moreover, that he would come one thousand years from the day when the lightning struck and shattered the statues. 4 It showed no great skill, indeed, on the soothsayers' part to declare that such a prince would come after an interval of one thousand years, for their promise applied to a time when such a story will scarce be remembered, whereas, if they had said one hundred years, their falsehood could perhaps be detected. 5 All this, nevertheless, I thought should be included in this volume for the reason that someone who reads me might think that I had not read.

^{16 1} Tacitus scarcely gave a largess to the Roman people in six months' time. 2 His portrait was placed in the house of the Quintilii, representing him in five

ways on a single panel, once in a toga, once in a military cloak, once in armour, once in a Greek mantle, and once in the garb of a hunter. 3 Of this picture, indeed, a writer of epigrams made mock, saying: "I do not recognise the old man in the armour, I do not recognise the man in the military cloak," and so forth, "but I do recognise the man in the toga." 4 Both Florian and Tacitus left many children, whose descendants, I suppose, are awaiting the coming of the thousandth year. About them many epigrams were written, ridiculing the soothsayers who made the promise of the imperial power. 5 This is all that I remember learning about the lives of Tacitus and Florian that is worthy of record.

⁶ Now we must take up Probus, a man of note both at home and abroad, and one to be preferred to Aurelian, to Trajan, to Hadrian, to the Antonines, to Alexander, and to Claudius, for the reason that, while they had various virtues, he had all combined and to a surpassing degree. He was made emperor after Tacitus by the vote of all good men, and he ruled a world to which he had brought perfect peace by destroying barbarian tribes and by destroying also the very many pretenders who arose in his time, and about him it was said that he was worthy to be called Probus even if that had not been his name. Many, indeed, declare that he was even foretold by the Sibylline books, and had he but lived longer the world would contain no barbarians. 7 These statements about him I thought should be given in the life of others as a foretaste, lest the day, the hour, and the moment should put forth some claim against me because my fate is destined, and I should die without mention of Probus. 8 Now, since I have for the time satisfied my zeal, I will bring this book to a close, believing that I have given satisfactory expression to my devotion and my desire.

¹⁷¹ The omens that predicted the rule of Tacitus were the following: A certain madman in the Temple of Silvanus was seized with a stiffening of the limbs and shouted out, "There is tacit purple, there is tacit purple," and so on for seven times; and this, indeed, was later regarded as an omen. 2 The wine, moreover, with which Tacitus was about to pour a libation in the Temple of Hercules Fundanius, suddenly turned purple, 3 and a vine, which had previously borne white Aminnian grapes, in the year in which he gained the imperial power bore grapes of a purple colour. Very many other things, too, turned purple. 4 Now the omens predicting his death were these: His father's tomb burst its doors asunder and opened of its own accord. His mother's shade appeared in the daytime as though alive to Tacitus and to Florian as well — it is said, indeed, that they had different fathers. All the gods in their private chapel fell down, overthrown either by an earthquake or by some mischance. 5 The statue of Apollo, worshipped by them both, was found removed from the top of its pedestal and laid on a couch,

all without the agency of any human hand. But to what end shall I proceed further? There are others to relate these things; let us save ourselves for Probus and for Probus' famous deeds.

^{18 1} Now since I have promised to quote some of the letters which showed the joy of the senate when Tacitus was created emperor, I will append the following and then make an end of writing.

The official letters:

² "From the most noble senate to the council of Carthage, greeting. May it prove happy, auspicious, of good omen, and to the welfare of the commonwealth and of the Roman world! The right of conferring the imperial power, of naming an emperor, and of entitling him Augustus has been restored to us. ³ To us, therefore, you will now refer all matters of importance. Every appeal shall now be made to the prefect of the city, but it shall come up to him from the proconsuls and the regular judges. ⁴ And herein, we believe, your authority also has been restored to its ancient condition, for this body is now supreme, and in recovering its own power it is preserving the rights of others as well."

⁵ Another letter:

"From the most noble senate to the council of the Treviri. We believe that you are rejoicing that you are free and have ever been free. The power to create the emperor has been restored to the senate, and at the same time the prefect of the city has been authorized to hear all appeals."

⁶ After the same manner letters were written to the people of Antioch, of Aquileia, of Milan, of Alexandria, of Thessalonica, of Corinth, and of Athens.

¹⁹ The private letters, moreover, were as follows:

"From Autronius Tiberianus to Autronius Justus his father, greeting. Now at last it is fitting, my revered father, for you to be present in the most noble senate, and now to speak your opinion, for so greatly has the authority of that noble body increased that, now that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient position, we name the princes, we create the emperors, we, in fine, give the Augusti their title. ² Now look to it that you grow strong, ready to be present once more in the ancient Senate-house. We have recovered the proconsular command, and to the prefect of the city have been restored the appeals from every office and from every rank."

³ Likewise another letter:

"From Claudius Sapidianus to Cereius Maecianus his uncle, greeting. We have obtained, revered sir, what we have always desired; the senate has been restored to its ancient position. We now create the emperors and in our body is vested every power. ⁴ All thanks to the Roman army, aye, Roman in truth! It has restored to us the power which we always held. ⁵ Now away with retirement to

Baiae and Puteoli! Present yourself in the city, present yourself in the Senate-house. Happy is Rome, happy the entire commonwealth. We name the emperors, we create the princes; and we who have begun to create are also able to depose. To the wise a word is sufficient.”

⁶ It would be too long to include all the letters that I have found and read. I will say only this much, that all the senators were so carried away by joy that they all in their houses sacrificed white victims, uncovered everywhere the portraits of their ancestors, sat arrayed in white garments, served more sumptuous banquets, and supposed that the ancient times had been restored.

The Life of Probus

¹¹ It is true — as Sallustius Crispus and the historians Marcus Cato and Gellius have put into their writings as a sort of maxim — that all the virtues of all men are as great as they have been made to appear by the genius of those who related their deeds. ² Hence it was that Alexander the Great of Macedonia, as he stood at the tomb of Achilles, said with a mighty groan, “Happy are you, young man, in that you found such a herald of your virtues,” making allusion to Homer, who made Achilles outstanding in the pursuit of virtue in proportion as he himself was outstanding in genius.

³ “But to what does all this apply,” you may perhaps be inquiring, my dear Celsinus. It means that Probus, an emperor whose rule restored to perfect safety the east, the west, the south, and the north, indeed all parts of the world, is now, by reason of a lack of writers, almost unknown to us. ⁴ Perished — shame be upon us! — has the story of a man so great and such as is not to be found either in the Punic Wars or in the Gallic terror, not in the commotions of Pontus or the wiles of the Spaniard. ⁵ But I will not permit myself — I who at first sought out Aurelian alone, relating the story of his life to the best of my powers, and have since written of Tacitus and Florian also — to fail to rise to the deeds of Probus, purposing, should the length of my life suffice, to tell of all who remain as far as Maximian and Diocletian. ⁶ No fluency or elegance of style can I promise, but only the record of their deeds, which I will not suffer to die.

²¹ I have used, moreover — not to deceive in any respect your friendly interest which I hold most dear — chiefly the books from the Ulpian Library (in my time in the Baths of Diocletian) and likewise from the House of Tiberius, and I have used also the registers of the clerks of the Porphyry Portico and the transactions of the senate and of the people; ² and since in collecting the deeds of so great a man I have received most aid from the journal of Turdulus Gallicanus, a most honourable and upright man, I ought not to leave unmentioned the kindness of this aged friend.

³ Who, pray, would know of Gnaeus Pompey, resplendent in the three triumphs that he won by his war against the pirates, his war against Sertorius, and his war against Mithradates, and exalted by the grandeur of his many achievements, had not Marcus Tullius and Titus Livius brought him into their works? ⁴ And as for Publius Scipio Africanus, or rather all the Scipios, whether called Lucius or Nasica, would they not lie hidden in darkness, had not historians, both famous and obscure, arisen to grace their deeds? ⁵ It would,

indeed, be too long to enumerate all the cases which might be brought up by way of example of this sort of thing, even if I were silent. 6 I do but wish to call to witness that I have also written on a theme which anyone, if he so desire, may narrate more worthily in loftier utterance. 7 As for me, indeed, it has been my purpose, in relating the lives and times of the emperors, to imitate, not a Sallust, or a Livy, or a Tacitus, or a Trogus, or any other of the most eloquent writers, but rather Marius Maximus, Suetonius Tranquillus, Fabius Marcellinus, Gargilius Martialis, Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, and the others who have handed down to memory these and other such details not so much with eloquence as with truthfulness. 8 For I am now an investigator — I cannot deny it — incited thereto by you, who, though you know much already, are desirous of learning much more besides. 9 And now, lest I speak at too great length concerning all that has to do with my plan, I will hasten on to an emperor great and illustrious, the like of whom our history has never known.

³¹ Probus was a native of Pannonia, of the city of Sirmium, his mother was of nobler birth than his father, his private fortune was modest, and his kindred unimportant. Both as commoner and as emperor he stood forth illustrious, famed for his virtues. 2 His father, so some have said in their writings, was a man named Maximus, who, after commanding in the ranks with honour and winning a tribuneship, died in Egypt, leaving a wife, a son, and a daughter. 3 Many aver that Probus was a relative of Claudius, that most excellent and venerated prince, but this, because it has been stated by only one of the Greek writers, we shall leave undiscussed. 4 This one thing I will say, however, which I remember reading in the journal, namely, that Probus was buried by a sister named Claudia. 5 As a youth Probus became so famed for his bodily strength that by approval of Valerian he received a tribuneship almost before his^o beard was grown. 6 There is still in existence a letter written by Valerian to Gallienus, in which he praises Probus, then still a youth, and holds him up for all to imitate. 7 From this it is clear that no man has ever in his maturity attained to the sum of the virtues except one who, trained in the nobler nursery of the virtues, had as a boy given some sign of distinction.

⁴ Valerian's letter:

“From Valerian the father to Gallienus the son, an Augustus to an Augustus. Following out the opinion which I have always held concerning Probus from his early youth, as well as that held by all good men, who say that he is a man worthy of his name, I have appointed him to a tribuneship, assigning six cohorts of Saracens and entrusting to him, besides, the Gallic irregulars along with that company of Persians which Artabassis the Syrian delivered over to us. 2 Now I beg of you, my dearest son, to hold this young man, whom I wish all the lads to

imitate, in the high honour that his virtues and his services call for in view of what is owed him by reason of the brilliance of his mind.”

³ Another letter about him, written to the prefect of the guard with an order for rations:

“From Valerian Augustus to Mulvius Gallicanus, prefect of the guard. You may perhaps wonder why it is that contrary to the ruling of the Deified Hadrian I have appointed as tribune a beardless youth. You will not, however, wonder much if you consider Probus; ⁴ he is a young man of probity indeed. For never, when I consider him myself, does aught suggest itself to me but his name, which, were it not his name already, he might well receive as a surname. ⁵ Therefore, since his fortune is but a modest one, that his rank may be enhanced by an additional remuneration, you will order him to be supplied with two red tunics, two Gallic cloaks provided with clasps, two under-tunics with bands of embroidery, a silver platter, polished to reflect the light, to weigh ten pounds, one hundred aurei of Antoninus, one thousand silver pieces of Aurelian, and ten thousand copper coins of Philip; ⁶ likewise for his daily rations, . . . pounds of beef, six pounds of pork, ten pounds of goat’s meat, one fowl every second day, one pint of oil every second day, ten pints of old wine every day, and a sufficient quantity of bacon, biscuit, cheap wine, salt, greens, and firewood. ⁷ You will order, furthermore, that quarters be assigned to him as they are to the tribunes of the legions.”

^{5.1} The foregoing details are attested by the letters. Now as to what I have been able to gather from the journal: Whereas during the Sarmatian war, while holding the rank of tribune, he had crossed the Danube and performed many brave exploits, he was formally presented in an assembly with four spears without points, two rampart-crowns, one civic crown, four white banners, two golden arm-bands, one golden collar, one sacrificial saucer weighing five pounds. ² At this same time, indeed, he delivered out of the hands of the Quadi Valerius Flaccinus, a young man of noble birth and a kinsman of Valerian’s, and it was for this reason that Valerian presented him with the civic crown. ³ The words of Valerian spoken before the assembly were: “Receive these rewards, Probus, from the commonwealth, receive this civic crown from a kinsman.” ⁴ At this time, too, he added the Third Legion to his command, with a testimonial as follows.

⁵ The letter concerning the Third Legion:

“Your exploits, my dear Probus, are causing me to appear too tardy in assigning you larger forces, and yet I will assign them with haste. ⁶ So take under your faithful care the Third Legion, the Fortunate, which as yet I have not entrusted to any save one well advanced in years; it was entrusted to me,

moreover, at an age when he who entrusted it, along with congratulations, beheld my grey hairs. 7 In your case, however, I shall not wait for age, for your virtues are now illustrious and your character is strong. 8 I have given command to supply you with three sets of garments, I have ordered you double rations, and I have assigned you a standard-bearer.”

^{6.1} It would be a lengthy task, were I to enumerate all the exploits of so great a man, which he performed as a commoner under Valerian, under Gallienus, under Aurelian, and under Claudius, how many times he scaled a wall, tore down a rampart, slew the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight, won the gifts of emperors, and by his valour restored the commonwealth to its ancient condition. 2 Gallienus’ letter, addressed to the tribunes, shows what manner of man was Probus:

“From Gallienus Augustus to the tribunes of the armies in Illyricum. Even if the destined fate of the Persian war has taken away my father, I have still my kinsman Aurelius Probus, through whose efforts I may be free from care. Had he been present, never would that pretender, whose name even should not be mentioned, have dared to usurp the imperial power. 3 Wherefore, it is my wish that all of you should obey the counsels of one who has been approved by the judgement both of my father and of the senate.”

⁴ It may seem perhaps that the judgement of Gallienus, so weak an emperor, is not worth much, but at least it cannot be denied that no one, not even a weakling, entrusts himself to the protection of a man unless he believes that his virtues will profit him. 5 But be it so! Let Gallienus’ letter be set aside. What will you say to the judgement of Aurelian? For he handed over to Probus the soldiers of the Tenth Legion, the bravest of his army, with whom he himself had done mighty deeds, giving him the following testimonial:

⁶ From Aurelian Augustus to Probus, greetings. In order that you may know how much I think of you, take the command of my Tenth Legion, which Claudius entrusted to me. For these are soldiers who know as commanders none but those destined to be emperors — an assurance, as it were, of favourable fortune.”

⁷ From this it was seen that Aurelian had in mind, in case anything serious befell him, which he well knew was to be such, was to make Probus emperor.

^{7.1} Now the judgement of Claudius concerning Probus and that of Tacitus also it would be too long to include; but it is reported that Tacitus said in the senate, when offered the imperial power, that Probus should be chosen as emperor. But the senate’s decree itself I have not been able to find.

² Tacitus himself, moreover, sent to Probus his first letter as emperor in the following vein:

³ From Tacitus Augustus to Probus. I, it is true, have been made emperor by

the senate in conformity with the wishes of our sagacious army. You, however, must know that it is on your shoulders that the burden of the commonwealth has now been laid more heavily. What sort of man and how great you are we all have learned, and the senate also knows. And so aid us in our need and, as is your custom, look upon the commonwealth as a part of your own household. 4 We have voted to you the command of the entire East, we have granted you five-fold rations, we have doubled your military insignia, we have appointed you consul for the coming year as colleague to ourselves; for by reason of your virtues, the palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium awaits you.”

⁵ Some relate that Probus regarded it as an omen of imperial power that Tacitus should have written, “The palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium awaits you,” but as a matter of fact this expression was always used in writing to every consul.

^{8 1} The soldiers’ love for Probus was always unbounded. Never, indeed, did he permit any of them to commit a wrong. Moreover, he often prevented Aurelian from some act of great cruelty. 2 He visited each maniple and inspected its clothing and boots, and whenever there was plunder he divided it so as to keep naught for himself but weapons and armour. 3 Once, indeed, when a horse was found among the booty taken from the Alani or some other nation — for this is uncertain — which, though not handsome or especially large, was reputed, according to the talk of the captives, to be able to run •one hundred miles in a day and to continue for eight or ten days, all supposed that Probus would keep such a beast for himself. But first he remarked, “This horse is better suited to a soldier who flees than to one who fights,” 4 and then he ordered the men of the put their names into an urn, that the one drawn by lots should receive the horse. 5 Then, since there were in the army four other soldiers named Probus, it so chanced that the name of Probus appeared on the lot that first came forth, though the general’s name had not been put into the urn. 6 And when the four soldiers strove with one another, each maintaining that the lot was his, he ordered the urn to be shaken a second time. But a second time, too, the name of Probus came forth; and when it was done for the third and the fourth time, on the fourth time also there leaped forth the name of Probus. 7 Then the entire army set apart that horse for Probus their general, and even those very soldiers whose names had come forth from the urn desired it thus.

^{9 1} He also fought with great bravery against the Marmaridae in Africa and defeated them too, and from Libya he passed over to Carthage and saved it from rebels. 2 And he fought a single combat in Africa against a certain Aradio and overcame him, and because he had seen that he was a valiant and resolute man, he honoured him with a mighty tomb, still standing on a mound of earth •two

hundred feet high piled up by the soldiers, whom he never allowed to be idle. 3 There are still to be seen in many cities in Egypt public works of his, which he caused to be built by the soldiers. On the Nile, moreover, he did so much that his sole efforts added greatly to the tithes of grain. 4 He constructed bridges and temples, porticos and basilicas, all by the labour of the soldiers, he opened up many river-mouths, and drained many marshes, and put in their place grain-fields and farms. 5 He fought also against the Palmyrenes who held Egypt for the party of Odaenathus and Cleopatra, fighting at first with success, but later so recklessly that he nearly was captured; later, however, when his forces were strengthened, he brought Egypt and the greater part of the Orient under the sway of Aurelian.

¹⁰ 1 And so, resplendent by reason of these many great virtues, when Tacitus had been removed by the decree of Fate and Florian was seizing the rule, he was created emperor by all the troops of the East. 2 Nor is the story of how he got the imperial power an idle or tiresome tale. 3 When the news came to the armies, the soldiers' first thought was how to forestall the armies of Italy, that the senate might not a second time appoint a prince. 4 But when discussion arose among them as to who should be chosen and the tribunes addressed them by maniples on their parade-ground, saying that they must look for a prince who would be brave and revered, modest and gentle and a man of probity, and this was repeated, as is wont to be done, throughout many groups, all on all sides, as though by divine command, shouted out, "Probus Augustus, may the gods keep you!" 5 Then they ran together, a tribunal of turf was erected, and Probus was saluted as emperor, being even decked with a purple robe, which they took from a temple-statue; from there he was led to the palace, against his will and protesting and saying again and again, "It is not to your own interest, soldiers, with me you will not fare well, for I cannot court your favour."

⁶ His first letter, addressed to Capito, prefect of the guard, was as follows: "I have never desired the imperial power and I have accepted it against my will. I may not refuse an office which is most distasteful to me. 7 I must play the part which the soldiers have assigned me. I beg of you, Capito, as you hope to enjoy with me the state in safety, to supply the soldiers everywhere with grain and provisions and all necessities. I assure you that in so far as it lies in me, I will have no other prefect if you administer all things well."

⁸ And so, when it was well known that Probus was emperor, the soldiers killed Florian, who had seized the imperial power as though an inheritance, for they knew well that no one could rule more worthily than Probus. 9 Accordingly, without any effort of his, the rule of the whole world was conferred upon him by the voice of both army and senate.

¹¹ Now, since we have mentioned the senate, it should be made known what he himself wrote to the senate and likewise what reply that most noble body wrote back to him:

² The first message of Probus to the senate:

“Rightly and duly did you act, Conscript Fathers, in the last year that has passed, when your clemency gave to the world a prince, and one, indeed, from among yourselves, you who are the princes of the world, as you have ever been in the past and shall continue to be in the days of your descendants. ³ And I would that Florian also had been content to wait for this and had not claimed the imperial power as though an inheritance, or even that your majesty had made him or some other man your prince. ⁴ But now, since he has seized the imperial power, we have been offered the name of Augustus by the army, while he has even been punished by the wiser soldiers because he usurped it. I beg you, therefore, to judge concerning my merits, for I am ready to do whatsoever your clemency shall command.”

⁵ Likewise the decree of the senate:

On the third day before the Nones of February, in the Temple of Concord, Aelius Scorpionus, the consul, said during his speech: “Conscript Fathers, you have listened to the letter of Aurelius Valerius Probus; now what is your pleasure concerning it?” ⁶ Thereupon they shouted out: “Probus Augustus, may the god keep you! Long since worthy, brave and just, a good leader, a good commander, an example in warfare, an example in command. May the gods keep you! ⁷ Deliverer of the commonwealth, may you be happy in your rule, master in warfare, may you be happy in your rule! May the gods guard you and yours! ⁸ Even before this the senate chose you. In years inferior to Tacitus, in all else superior. For having accepted the imperial power we give you our thanks. Protect us, protect the commonwealth. Rightly do we entrust to your keeping those whom you formerly saved. ⁹ You are Francicus, you are Gothicus, you are Sarmaticus, you are Parthicus, you are all things. In former years, too, you were ever worthy of command, worthy of triumphs. Happily may you live, happily rule!”

^{12 1} Thereupon Manlius Statianus, whose right it then was to give his opinion first, spoke as follows: “All thanks to the immortal gods, Conscript Fathers, and above the others to Jupiter the Best, for they have given us such an emperor as we always desired. ² If we consider the matter rightly we need seek no Aurelian, no Alexander, no Antonines, no Trajan, no Claudius. All their qualities are found in this one prince, knowledge of warfare, a merciful spirit, a revered life, a pattern for conducting the commonwealth, and the assurance of every virtue. ³ For what part of the world is there which he has not learned to know by

conquering it? Witness the Marmaridae, conquered on African soil, witness the Franks, overthrown amid pathless marshes, witness the Germans and the Alamanni, driven far back from the banks of the Rhine. 4 But why need I now speak of Sarmatians, of Goths, of Parthians and Persians, and all the expanse of Pontus? In all places the signs of Probus' valour abound. 5 It were too long to relate how many kings of mighty nations he drove into flight, how many commanders he slew with his own hand, how many arms he captured unaided while still a commoner. 6 What thanks former emperors gave him their letters attest, now placed in the public memorials. Ye Gods, how many times he has been presented with military gifts! What praise he has won from the soldiers! As a youth he received a tribuneship, not long after his youth the command of legions. 7 O Jupiter, Best and Greatest, thou, Juno our Queen, thou, Minerva, patroness of the virtues, thou, Concord of the world and thou, Victory of Rome, do ye all grant this to the senate and the people of Rome, grant this to our soldiers, grant this to our allies and to foreign^o nations: may he rule even as he has served! 8 Therefore, Conscript Fathers, in accordance with the harmonious wish of us all I vote him the name of emperor, the name of Caesar, the name of Augustus; and I add thereto the proconsular command, the revered title of Father of his Country, the chief pontificate, the right of three proposals in the senate, and the tribunician power." Thereupon they shouted out, "So say we all of us, all of us."

^{13 1} On receiving this decree of the senate, then, Probus in a second message granted the fathers the right to decide on appeals from the highest judges, to appoint the proconsuls, to name the proconsuls' legates, to confer on the governors the rights of a praetor, and to sanction by special decree of the senate all the laws that Probus enacted.

² Immediately thereafter he punished in various ways all the slayers of Aurelian who still survived, but he used therein more mildness and leniency than the army at first and Tacitus later had shown. 3 Next he punished those also who had formed a plot against Tacitus, but the comrades of Florian he spared, because they seemed to have followed no mere pretender but the brother of their prince. 4 He then received the submission of all the armies of Europe, who had made Florian emperor and then had killed him.

⁵ This done, he set out with a huge army for the provinces of Gaul, which since the death of Postumus had all been in turmoil, and after the murder of Aurelian had been seized by the Germans. 6 There, moreover, he fought battles so great and successful that he took back from the barbarians sixty most famous communes of Gaul, besides all the booty, by which the Germans, even apart from the actual wealth, were puffed up with glory. 7 And whereas they were

wandering at large on our bank, or rather through all the country of Gaul, Probus, after slaying about four hundred thousand who had seized upon Roman soil, drove all the rest back beyond the river Neckar and the district of Alba, 8 getting from them as much barbarian booty as they themselves had seized from the Romans. Opposite the Roman cities, moreover, he built camps on barbarian soil and in these he stationed troops. 14 He also provided farms and storehouses, homes and rations of grain for all beyond the Rhine, for those only, that is, whom he placed in the garrisons there. All the while the heads of barbarians were brought in to him daily, now at the price of an aureus apiece, 2 and he never ceased fighting until nine princes of different tribes came before him and prostrated themselves at his feet. 3 From these he demanded, first hostages, which they gave him at once, then grain, and last of all their cows and their sheep. 4 It is said, moreover, that he sharply ordered them not to use swords, since now they might count on protection from Rome in case they must be defended against any foe. 5 It appeared, however, that this could not be accomplished, unless the Roman frontier were advanced and the whole of Germany turned into a province. 6 Nevertheless, with the princes' consent, he punished severely those who did not faithfully give back the booty. 7 He took, besides, sixteen thousand recruits, all of whom he scattered through the various provinces, incorporating bodies of fifty or sixty in the detachments or among the soldiers along the frontier; for he said that the aid that Romans received from barbarian auxiliaries must be felt but not seen.

¹⁵¹ And so, the affairs in Gaul being settled, he sent to the senate the following letter: "I give thanks, Conscript Fathers, to the immortal gods that they have confirmed your judgment of me. 2 For all of Germany, throughout its whole extent, has now been subdued, and nine princes of different tribes have lain suppliant and prostrate at my feet, or, I should say, at yours. Now all the barbarians plough for you, plant for you, and serve against the more distant tribes. 3 Therefore do you, in accord with your custom, decree thanksgivings. For four hundred thousand of our foes have been slain, sixteen thousand armed men are at our disposal, seventy most famous cities have been rescued from the enemy's possession, and all the Gallic provinces have been made entirely free. 4 The crowns of gold which all the communes of Gaul have bestowed upon me I have dedicated to your clemency, Conscript Fathers. Do you, with your own hands, now consecrate them to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to the other immortal gods and goddesses. 5 All booty has been regained, other booty too has been captured, greater, indeed, than that which was previously taken. 6 The barbarians' oxen now plough the farms of Gaul, the Germans' yoked cattle, now captive, submit their necks to our husbandmen, the flocks of divers tribes are fed

for the nourishing of our troops, their herds of horses are now bred for the use of our cavalry, and the grain of the barbarians fills our granaries. Why say more? We have left them solely their soil, and all their goods we now possess. 7 It had been our wish, Conscript Fathers, to appoint a new governor for Germany, but this we have postponed for the completer fulfilment of our prayers. This indeed we believe will come to pass when divine providence shall more richly have prospered our armies.”

^{16 1} After this he set out for Illyricum, but before going thither he left Raetia in so peaceful a state that there remained therein not even any suspicion of fear. 2 In Illyricum he so crushed the Sarmatians and other tribes that almost without any war at all he got back all they had ravaged. 3 He then directed his march through Thrace, and received in either surrender or friendship all the tribes of the Getae, frightened by the repute of his deeds and brought to submission by the power of his ancient fame.

⁴ This done, he set out for the East, and while on his march he captured and killed a most powerful brigand, named Palfuerius, and so set free the whole of Isauria and restored the laws of Rome to the tribes and the cities. 5 By fear or favour he entered the places held by the barbarians living among the Isaurians, and when he had gone through them all he remarked: “It is easier far to keep brigands out of these places than to expel them.” 6 And so all those places which were difficult of access he gave to his veterans as their own private holdings, attaching thereto the condition that their children, that is, the males only, should be sent to the army at the age of eighteen, in order that they never might learn to be brigands.

^{17 1} Having finally established peace in all parts of Pamphylia and the other provinces adjacent to Isauria, he turned his course to the East. 2 He also subdued the Blemmyae, and the captives taken from them he sent back to Rome and thereby created a wondrous impression upon the amazed Roman people. 3 Besides this, he rescued from servitude to the barbarians the cities of Coptos and Ptolemais and restored them to Roman laws. 4 By this he achieved such fame that the Parthians sent envoys to him, confessing their fear and suing for peace, but these he received with much arrogance and then sent back to their homes in greater fear than before. 5 The letter, moreover, which he wrote to Narseus, rejecting the gifts which the king had sent, is said to have been as follows: “I marvel that you have sent so few of the riches all of which will shortly be ours. For the time being, keep all those things in which you take such pleasure. If ever we wish to have them, we know how we ought to get them.” 6 On the receipt of this letter Narseus was greatly frightened, the more so because he had learned that Coptos and Ptolemais had been set free from the Blemmyae, who had

previously held them, and that they, who had once been the terror of nations, had been put to the sword.

^{18 1} Having made peace, then, with the Persians, he returned to Thrace, and here he settled one hundred thousand Bastarnae on Roman soil, all of whom remained loyal. 2 But when he had likewise brought over many from other tribes, that is, Gepedes, Greuthungi and Vandals, they all broke faith, and when Probus was busied with wars against the pretenders they roved over well nigh the entire world on foot or in ships and did no little damage to the glory of Rome. 3 He crushed them, however, at divers times and by various victories, and only a few returned to their homes, enjoying glory because they had made their escape from the hands of Probus. Such were Probus' exploits among the barbarians.

⁴ He also had to cope with revolts of pretenders, and they were serious indeed. For Saturninus, who had seized the rule of the East, he overcame only by battles of various kinds and by his well-known valour. But when Saturninus was crushed, such quiet prevailed in the East that, as the common saying is, not even a rebel mouse was heard. 5 Then Proculus and Bonosus seized the rule at Agrippina in Gaul, and proceeded to claim all of Britain and Spain and the provinces, also, of Farther Gaul, but these men he defeated with the aid of barbarians.

⁶ But in order that you may not ask for more information now about either Saturninus, or Proculus, or Bonosus, I will put them all in a special book, relating a little concerning them, as seems fitting, or rather, as need demands. 7 One fact, indeed, must be known, namely, that all the Germans, when Proculus asked for their aid, preferred to serve Probus rather than rule with Bonosus and Proculus. 8 Hence he granted permission to all the Gauls and the Spaniards and Britons to cultivate vineyards and make wines, and he himself planted chosen vines on Mount Alma near Sirmium in Illyricum, after having had the ground dug up by the hands of the soldiers.

^{19 1} He also gave the Romans their pleasures, and noted ones, too, and he bestowed largesses also. 2 He celebrated a triumph over the Germans and the Blemmyae, and caused companies from all nations, each of them containing up to fifty men, to be led before his triumphal procession. He gave in the Circus a most magnificent wild-beast hunt, at which all things were to be the spoils of the people. 3 Now the manner of this spectacle was as follows: great trees, torn up with the roots by the soldiers, were set up on a platform of beams of wide extent, on which earth was then thrown, and in this way the whole Circus, planted to look like a forest, seemed, thanks to this new verdure, to be putting forth leaves. 4 Then through all the entrances were brought in one thousand ostriches, one thousand stags and one thousand wild-boars, then deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and

other grass-eating beasts, as many as could be reared or captured. The populace was then let in, and each man seized what he wished. 5 Another day he brought out in the Amphitheatre at a single performance one hundred maned lions, which woke the thunder with their roaring. 6 All of these were slaughtered as they came out of the doors of their dens, and being killed in this way they afforded no great spectacle. For there was none of that rush on the part of the beasts which takes place when they are let loose from cages. Besides, many, unwilling to charge, were despatched with arrows. 7 Then he brought out one hundred leopards from Libya, then one hundred from Syria, then one hundred lionesses and at the same time three hundred bears; all of which beasts, it is clear, made a spectacle more vast than enjoyable. 8 He presented, besides, three hundred pairs of gladiators, among whom fought many of the Blemmyae, who had been led in his triumph, besides many Germans and Sarmatians also and even some Isaurian brigands.

²⁰ 1 These spectacles finished, he made ready the war with Persia, but while on the march through Illyricum he was treacherously killed by his soldiers. 2 The causes of his murder were these: first of all, he never permitted a soldier to be idle, for he built many works by means of their labour, saying that a soldier should eat no bread that was not earned. 3 To this he added another remark, hard for them, should it ever come true, but beneficial to the commonwealth, namely, that soon there would be no need of such soldiers. 4 What had he in his mind when he made this remark? Had he not put down all barbarian nations under his feet and made the whole universe Roman? 5 “Soon,” he said, “we shall have no need of soldiers.” What else is this than saying: “Soon there will not be a Roman soldier? Everywhere the commonwealth will reign and will rule all in safety. 6 The entire world will forge no arms and will furnish no rations, the ox will be kept for the plough and the horse be bred for peace, there will be no wars and no captivity, in all places peace will reign, in all places the laws of Rome, and in all places our judges.”

²¹ 1 But in my love for a most excellent emperor I am proceeding further than a prosaic style requires. Wherefore, I will add only that which, most of all, hastened on for this great man his destined doom. 2 When he had come to Sirmium, desiring to enrich and enlarge his native place, he set many thousand soldiers together to draining a certain marsh, planning a great canal with outlets flowing into the Save, and thus draining a region for the use of the people of Sirmium. 3 At this the soldiers rebelled, and pursuing him as he fled to an iron-clad tower, which he himself had reared to a very great height to serve as a lookout, they slew him there in the fifth year of his reign. 4 Afterwards, however, all the soldiers together built him a mighty tomb on a lofty mound, with an

inscription carved on marble as follows: “Here lies Probus, the Emperor, a man of probity indeed, the conqueror of all barbarian nations, the conqueror, too, of pretenders.”

²² 1 As for myself, when I compare Probus as a ruler with other emperors, in whatever way almost all Roman leaders have stood out as courageous, as merciful, as wise, or as admirable, I perceive that he was the equal of any, or indeed, if no insane jealousy stands in the way, better than all. 2 For during his five years’ rule he waged so many wars through the whole of earth’s circle, all of them, too, unaided, that we can only marvel how he faced all the battles. 3 He did many deeds with his own hand and trained most illustrious generals. For from his training came Carus, Diocletian, Constantius, Asclepiodotus, Hannibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus, and all the others whom our fathers admired and from whom many good princes arose. 4 Let him now, who will, compare the twenty years of Trajan or Hadrian, let him compare the years of the Antonines, nearly equal in number. For why should I mention Augustus, the years of whose reign all but exceeded the life of a man? Of the evil princes, moreover, I will keep silent. That most famous remark of Probus itself reveals what he hoped to have brought about, for he said that soon there would be no need of soldiers. 23 He, truly conscious of his powers, stood in fear of neither barbarian nor pretender. 2 What great bliss would then have shone forth, if under his rule there had ceased to be soldiers! No rations would now be furnished by any provincial, no pay for the troops taken out of the public largesses, the commonwealth of Rome would keep its treasures forever, no payments would be made by the prince, no tax required of the holder of land; it was in very truth a golden age that he promised. 3 There would be no camps, nowhere should we have to hear the blast of the trumpet, nowhere fashion arms. That throng of fighting-men, which now harries the commonwealth with civil wars, would be at the plough, would be busy with study, or learning the arts, or sailing the seas. Add to this, too, that none would be slain in war. 4 O ye gracious gods, what mighty offence in your eyes has the Roman commonwealth committed, that ye should have taken from it so noble a prince? 5 Now away with those who make ready soldiers for civil strife, who arm the hands of brothers to slay their brothers, who call on sons to wound their fathers, and who deny to Probus the divinity which our emperors have wisely deemed should be immortalised by likenesses, honoured by temples, and celebrated by spectacles in the circus!

²⁴ 1 The descendants of Probus, moved either by hate or by fear of jealousy, fled from the region of Rome, and established their household gods in Italy near Verona and the Lakes Benacus and Larius and in all that district. 2 I cannot

indeed leave unmentioned that when a portrait of Probus in the region of Verona was struck by lightning in such a fashion that the colour of its bordered toga was altered, the soothsayers responded that future generations of his family would rise to such distinction in the senate that they all would hold the highest posts. 3 As yet, however, we have seen none, and moreover it would seem that the “future generations” are unlimited in time and not a definite number.

⁴ The senate mourned greatly at the death of Probus, and likewise the people also. But when they were told that Carus was emperor, a good man, to be sure, but far removed from the virtues of Probus, remembering his son Carinus, who had always lived a most evil life, both the senate and the people shuddered. 5 For while each one feared a sterner prince, they dreaded still more a wicked successor.

⁶ This is all we have learned of Probus, or rather all we have deemed worthy of mention. 7 Now in another book, and that a short one, we will tell of Firmus and Saturninus, Bonosus and Proculus. 8 For it has not seemed suitable to combine a four-span of pretenders with a righteous prince. Then next, if the length of our life suffice, we will proceed to hand down to memory Carus and his sons.

The Lives of

Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus

¹¹ The minor pretenders, I am well aware, have either been wholly omitted by most of the writers or else passed over briefly. For Suetonius Tranquillus, a most accurate and truthful author, has said nothing of Antonius or Vindex, content with having touched on them in passing, and Marius Maximus treated of Avidius in the time of Marcus and of Albinus and Niger under Severus in no special books of their own but merely joined them to the lives of others. ² Now in regard to Suetonius we feel no wonder, for he was naturally a lover of brevity. But what of Marius Maximus, the wordiest man of all, who involved himself in pseudo-historical works? Did he descend to such accuracy of detail? ³ But, on the other hand, Trebellius Pollio, in writing of the emperors, both good and bad, showed such industry and care that he also included, though briefly and in a single book, the thirty pretenders of the time of Valerian and Gallienus and the emperors who lived shortly before or after them. ⁴ Wherefore we also, even though we may show no such diligence as his, will yet make it by no means our smallest care, after telling of Aurelian, Tacitus and Florian, and Probus, too, that great and peerless prince, and having further to tell of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, to see to it that Saturninus and Bonosus and Proculus and Firmus, who revolted under Aurelian, be not passed over in silence.

²¹ For you know, my dear Bassus, how great an argument we had but recently with Marcus Fonteius, that lover of history, when he asserted that Firmus, who had seized Egypt in the time of Aurelian, was not an emperor but merely a brigand, while I, and together with me Rufius Celsus and Ceionius Julianus and Fabius Sossianus, argued against him, maintaining that Firmus had both worn the purple and called himself Augustus on the coins that he struck, and Archontius Severus even brought out certain coins of his and proved, moreover, from Greek and Egyptian books that in his edicts he had called himself emperor. ² Fonteius, on the other hand, in his contention against us, had only the argument that Aurelian wrote in one of his edicts, not that he had slain a pretender, but that he had rid the state of a brigand — just as though a prince of such renown could properly have called so obscure a fellow by the name of pretender, or as though mighty emperors did not always use the term of brigand in speaking of those whom they slew when attempting to seize the purple! ³ I myself, indeed, in my Life of Aurelian, before I learned the whole story of Firmus, thought of him, not as one who had worn the purple, but only as a sort of brigand; and this I have stated here that no one may think that I am inconsistent. ⁴ Lest I add too much,

however, to a book which I promised to make very short, we shall now proceed to Firmus.

³ Now Firmus was a native of Seleucia, though many of the Greeks write otherwise, not knowing that at that same time there were three men called Firmus, one of them prefect of Egypt, another commander of the African frontier and also proconsul, and the third this friend and ally of Zenobia's, who, incited by the madness of the Egyptians, seized Alexandria and was crushed by Aurelian with the good fortune that was wont to attend his valour.

² Concerning the wealth of this last-named Firmus much is related. For example, it is said that he fitted his house with square panes of glass set in with pitch and other such substances and that he owned so many books that he used often to say in public that he could support an army on the paper and glue. ³ He kept up, moreover, the closest relations with the Blemmyae and Saracens, and he often sent merchant-vessels to the Indians also. ⁴ He even owned, it is said, two elephant-tusks, •ten feet in length, to which Aurelian planned to add two more and make of them a throne on which he would place a statue of Jupiter, made of gold and decked with jewels and clad in a sort of bordered toga, to be set up in the Temple of the Sun; and, after asking advice of the oracle in the Apennines, he purposed to call him Jupiter the Consul or the Consulting. ⁵ These tusks, however, were later presented by Carinus to a certain woman, who is said to have made them into a couch; her name, both because it is known now and because future generations will have no profit from knowing it, I will leave unmentioned. ⁶ So under a most evil prince the gift of the Indians, consecrated to Jupiter Best and Greatest, seems to have become both the instrument and the reward of lust.

⁴¹ But as for Firmus himself, he was of huge size, his eyes very prominent, his hair curly, his brow scarred, his face rather swarthy, while the rest of his body was white, though rough and covered with hair, so that many called him a Cyclops. ² He would eat great amounts of meat and he even, so it is said, consumed an ostrich in a single day. He drank little wine but very much water. He was most resolute in spirit, and in sinews most strong, so that he surpassed even Tritannus, of whom Varro makes mention. ³ For he would hold out resolutely when an anvil was placed on his chest and men struck it, while he, leaning backward face up, supporting his weight on his hands, seemed to be suspended rather than to be lying down. In drinking, moreover, he would compete with Aurelian's generals whenever they wished to test him. ⁴ For example, when a certain fellow named Burburus, one of the standard-bearers and a notable drinker, challenged him to a contest in drinking, he drained two buckets full of wine and yet remained sober throughout the whole banquet; and

when Burburus asked, “Why did you not drink up the dregs?” he replied, “You fool, one does not drink earth.” But we are narrating mere trifles when we should be telling what is of greater importance.

⁵ ¹ He, then, seized the imperial power in opposition to Aurelian with the purpose of defending the remainder of Zenobia’s party. Aurelian, however, returning from Thrace defeated him. ² Many relate that he put an end to his life by strangling, but Aurelian himself in his proclamations says otherwise; for when he had conquered him he gave orders to issue the following proclamation in Rome:

³ “From Aurelian Augustus to his most devoted Roman people, greeting. We have established peace everywhere throughout the whole world in its widest extent, and also Firmus, that brigand in Egypt, who rose in revolt with barbarians and gathered together the remaining adherents of a shameless woman — not to speak at too great length — we have routed and seized and tortured and slain. ⁴ There is nothing now, fellow-citizens, sons of Romulus, which you need fear. The grain-supply from Egypt, which has been interrupted by that evil brigand, will now arrive undiminished. ⁵ Do you only maintain harmony with the senate, friendship with the equestrian order, and good will toward the praetorian guard. I will see to it that there is no anxiety in Rome. Do you devote your leisure to games and to races in the circus. ⁶ Let me be concerned with the needs of the state, and do you busy yourselves with your pleasures. Wherefore, most revered fellow-citizens,” and so forth.

⁶ ¹ This is what you should know that we have found out concerning Firmus, all, however, that is worthy of mention. ² For as to what Aurelius Festivus, Aurelian’s freedman, has reported about him in detail, if you wish to learn it, you should read him yourself, most of all the passage which tells how this same Firmus went swimming among the crocodiles when rubbed with crocodiles’ fat, how he drove an elephant and mounted a hippopotamus and rode about sitting upon huge ostriches, so that he seemed to be flying. ³ But what avails it to know all this, especially as both Livy and Sallust are silent in regard to trivial matters concerning those men on whose biographies they have laid hold? ⁴ For instance, we do not know of what breed were the mules of Clodius or the she-mules of Titus Annius Milo, or whether the horse that Catiline rode was a Tuscan or a Sardinian, or what kind of purple Pompey used for his cloak. ⁵ Therefore we will make an end of Firmus and pass on to Saturninus, who seized the imperial power in the regions of the East in opposition to Probus.

⁷ Saturninus was a Gaul by birth, one of a nation that is ever most restless and always desirous of creating either an emperor or an empire. ² To this man, above all the other generals, because it seemed certain that he was truly the greatest,

Aurelian had given the command of the Eastern frontier, wisely charging him never to visit Egypt. 3 For, as we see, this far-sighted man was well acquainted with the Gallic character and feared that if Saturninus visited this turbulent land he might be drawn by association with the inhabitants to a course toward which he was by nature inclined. 4 For the Egyptians, as you know well enough, are puffed up, madmen, boastful, doers of injury, and, in fact, liars and without restraint, always craving something new, even in their popular songs, writers of verse, makers of epigrams, astrologers, soothsayers, quacksalvers. 5 Among them, indeed, are Christians and Samaritans and those who are always ill-pleased by the present, though enjoying unbounded liberty. 6 But, lest any Egyptian be angry with me, thinking that what I have set forth in writing is solely my own, I will cite one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon, which fully reveals the character of the Egyptians.

8 1 From Hadrian Augustus to Servianus the consul, greeting. The land of Egypt, the praises of which you have been recounting to me, my dear Servianus, I have found to be wholly light-minded, unstable, and blown about by every breath of rumour. 2 There those who worship Serapis are, in fact, Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are, in fact, devotees of Serapis. 3 There is no chief of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an anointer. 4 Even the Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis, by others to worship Christ. 5 They are a folk most seditious, most deceitful, most given to injury; but their city is prosperous, rich, and fruitful, and in it no one is idle. 6 Some are blowers of glass, others makers of paper, all are at least weavers of linen or seem to belong to one craft or another; the lame have their occupations, the eunuchs have theirs, the blind have theirs, and not even those whose hands are crippled are idle. 7 Their only god is money, and this the Christians, the Jews, and, in fact, all nations adore. And would that this city had a better character, for indeed it is worthy by reason of its richness and by reason of its size to hold the chief place in the whole of Egypt. 8 I granted it every favour, I restored to it all its ancient rights and bestowed on it new ones besides, so that the people gave thanks to me while I was present among them. Then, no sooner had I departed thence than they said many things against my son Verus, and what they said about Antinous I believe you have learned. 9 I can only wish for them that they may live on their own chickens, which they breed in a fashion I am ashamed to describe. 10 I am sending you over some cups, changing colour and variegated, presented to me by the priest of a temple and now dedicated particularly to you and my sister. I should like you to use them at banquets on feast-days. Take good care, however, that our dear Africanus does not use them

too freely.”

^{9 1} So then, holding such an opinion about the Egyptians Aurelian forbade Saturninus to visit Egypt, showing a wisdom that was truly divine. For as soon as the Egyptians saw that one of high rank had arrived among them, they straightway shouted aloud, ² “Saturninus Augustus, may the gods keep you!” But he, like a prudent man, as one cannot deny, fled at once from the city of Alexandria and returned to Palestine. ³ There, however, when he had begun to reflect that it would not be safe for him to remain a commoner, he took down a purple robe from a statue of Venus and, with the soldiers standing about, he arrayed himself in a woman’s mantle and then received their adoration. ⁴ I have often heard my grandfather tell that he was present when Saturninus thus received adoration; ⁵ “He began to weep,” he would tell us, “and to say, ‘The commonwealth has lost an indispensable man, if I may say so without undue pride. I have certainly restored the provinces of Gaul, I have recovered Africa, seize by the Moors, I have brought peace to the provinces of Spain. But what does it all avail? For all these services go for nothing when once I have claimed imperial honours.’”

^{10 1} Then, when those who had clothed him with the purple began to hearten him, some to defend his life and others his power, he delivered the following speech: ² “My friends, you do not know what an evil thing it is to rule. A sword suspended by a hair hangs over your head, on all sides there are spears, on all sides arrows. You fear your very guards, you dread your very attendants. Your food brings you no pleasure, your journeys no honour, your wars do not meet with approval, your arms call forth no enthusiasm. ³ Remember, moreover, that they find fault with a man of any age as ruler. Is he an old man? He is deemed incapable. Is he young? They go on to say that he is mad as well. Why should I now tell you that Probus is beloved by all? In wishing me to be a rival of his, to whom I would gladly yield place and whose general I desire to be, you do but force me to an unavoidable death. One solace I have for my death: I shall not be able to die alone.” ⁴ This speech, according to Marcus Salvidienus, was really his own, and, in fact, he was not unlettered, for he had even studied under a rhetorician in Africa and attended the schools of the teachers at Rome.

¹¹ Now, not to proceed at too great length, I must say one thing which particularly concerns this man, namely, that many wrongly believe that he was the Saturninus who seized the imperial power in the time of Gallienus, whereas, in fact, he was altogether a different man, for he was put to death under Probus who did not desire his punishment. ² It is said, moreover, that Probus often sent him a letter offering him mercy and promised him pardon, but the soldiers who were with him refused to believe it. ³ So at last he was seized in a certain

stronghold and stabbed by those whom Probus had sent, though it was not at Probus' desire.

⁴ It would be too long to include every trivial thing and tiresome to tell of his stature, his person, and his comeliness, or how much he could eat and drink. Let others describe these things, which have almost no value as an example, and let us return to what we should tell.

^{12 1} Proculus was a native of Albingauni, situated in the Maritime Alps. He was a nobleman in his native place, but his ancestors had been brigands, and thus he was very rich in cattle and slaves and all that they had carried away. ² In fact, it is said that at the time when he seized the imperial power he armed two thousand slaves of his own. ³ His wife, who drove him to this act of madness, was a masculine woman called Samso — though this name was given her in her later years, for originally she was called Vituriga. ⁴ His son was Herennianus, whom also he would have dedicated to the imperial office — for that was his way of speaking — had he but completed his fifth year. ⁵ The man himself, it cannot be denied, was . . . and at the same time most valiant; though accustomed also to brigandage, he yet lived his whole life in arms, for he commanded many legions as tribune and did courageous deeds. ⁶ And now, since all the most trivial things are interesting and bring some pleasure when they are read, I must not fail to mention an incident of which he himself boasts in one of his letters, deeming it better to quote the letter itself rather than to speak about it at length.

⁷ “From Proculus to his kinsman Maecianus, greeting. I have taken one hundred maidens from Sarmatia. Of these I mated with ten in a single night; all of them, however, I made into women, as far as was in my power, in the space of fifteen days.”

⁸ He boasts, as you see, of a foolish and very licentious deed, thinking that he would be held a brave man if he grew callous through repeated acts of crime.

^{13 1} And yet this man, who, even after his military honours conducted himself with depravity and lustfulness but, nevertheless, with courage, at the bidding of the people of Lugdunum, who seemed to have been harshly put down by Aurelian and were in the greatest fear of Probus, was called to take the imperial power. This came about through what was almost a game and a jest, as Onesimus tells, though I know that I have not found it in any other writer. ² For when once at a banquet they were playing a game of “Brigands” and Proculus had ten times come out as “King,” a certain well-known wit cried out, “Hail, Augustus,” and bringing in a garment of purple wool he clasped it about Proculus' shoulders and then bowed in adoration. Then fear fell upon all who had had a part in the deed, and so an attempt was then made to gain both the army and the imperial power. ³ He was, nevertheless, of some benefit to the

Gauls, for he crushed the Alamanni — who then were still called Germans — and not without illustrious glory, though he never fought save in brigand-fashion. 4 He was forced by Probus, however, to flee to distant lands, and when he attempted to bring aid to the Franks, from whom he said he derived his origin, Probus conquered and slew him; for the Franks themselves betrayed him, whose custom it is to break faith with a laugh. 5 His descendants still live at Albingauni, and they are wont to say in jest that they do not desire to be either princes or brigands.

⁶ This is all that I remember having learned about Proculus that is worthy of mention. Let us now pass on to Bonosus, concerning whom I have written much less.

¹⁴ Bonosus was a Spaniard by birth, but in descent a Briton, though he had a Gallic mother. His father, so he himself used to say, was a rhetorician, but I have learned from others that he was only a teacher of letters. He lost his father when a child, and being reared by mother, a very brave woman, he learned nothing of literature. 2 He served in the beginning as a legionary centurion, and next in the cavalry; he commanded in the ranks, he held tribuneships, he was general in charge of the Raetian frontier, and he drank as no man had ever drunk. 3 In fact, Aurelian used often to say of him, “He was born, not to live, but to drink,” and yet, because of his prowess in war, he long held him in honour. 4 Indeed, whenever the envoys of barbarian nations came from any place, they were plied with wine in order that he might make them drunken, and when they were in wine learn from them all their secrets. But however much he drank himself, he always remained calm and sober, and, as Onesimus, the author of a Life of Probus, says, when in wine he was all the wiser. 5 He possessed, furthermore, a marvellous quality, namely, that he could always discharge all he had drunk, so that neither his stomach nor his abdomen nor his bladder ever felt any discomfort.

^{15 1} He, then, at the time when the Roman galleys on the Rhine were burned by the Germans, fearing that he might have to suffer punishment, seized the imperial power. This he held longer than he deserved, 2 for he was finally defeated by Probus only after a lengthy and difficult struggle, and he put an end to his life by the noose, which gave rise to the jest that it was not a man that was being hanged but a wine-jug.

³ He left two sons, both of whom were spared by Probus, and his wife, too, was treated with honour and given an allowance as long as she lived. 4 She was in fact, as my grandfather also used to declare, a woman of unequalled excellence and also of noble family, though by race a Goth; for Aurelian had given her to him as wife in order that through his help he might learn all the

plans of the Goths, for she was a maiden of royal blood. 5 There is still in existence a letter addressed to the governor of Thrace concerning this marriage and the gifts which Aurelian wished Bonosus to receive on the occasion of his wedding, and this letter I have inserted:

⁶ “From Aurelian Augustus to Gallonius Avitus, greeting. In a previous letter I wrote you to establish the Gothic noblewomen at Perinthus, and I assigned them rations, which they were not to receive singly, but seven of them together sharing one meal. For when they receive them singly, they get too little and the state loses too much. 7 Now, however, since it is our wish that Bonosus take Hunila to wife, you will give her all we have ordered in the subjoined list, and you will celebrate the marriage at the expense of the state.”

⁸ The list of gifts was as follows: “Violet tunics of part-silk provided with hoods, one tunic of part-silk with a golden stripe, to weigh •a pound, two double-striped under-tunics, and all the other things that are befitting a matron. To Bonosus himself you will give one hundred Philips of gold, one thousand silver Antonines, and ten thousand bronze sesterces.”

⁹ This is what I remember having read about Bonosus. I might, indeed, have omitted the lives of these men, concerning whom no one has ever inquired, but, in order that there may be no lack of accuracy, I have taken care to make known what I have learned about these also. 10 There still remain for me Carus, Carinus and Numerian; for Diocletian and those who came after him must be described in a grander style.

The Lives of Carus, Carinus and Numerian

^{1 1} That it is Fate which governs the commonwealth, now exalting it to the heights and again thrusting it down to the depths, was made very clear by the death of Probus. 2 For the state, in its course through the ages, was by turns raised up and dashed down by divers commotions, and, in the changes wrought now by some tempest and again by a time of prosperity, it suffered well nigh all the ills that human life may suffer in the case of a single man; but at last, after a diversity of evils, it seemed about to abide in assured and unbroken felicity, when, after the reign of Aurelian, a vigorous prince, both the laws and the helm of the state were directed by Probus in accordance with the wish of the senate and people. 3 Nevertheless, a mighty disaster, coming like a shipwreck or a conflagration, when the soldiers had been fired with a fated madness and this great prince had been removed from our midst, reduced the hopes of the state to such despair that all feared a Domitian, or a Vitellius, or a Nero. 4 For they felt more fear than hope from the ways of a prince yet unknown, especially since the commonwealth, stricken by recent wounds, was still in a state of sorrow from having endured the capture of Valerian, the excesses of Gallienus, and also the power of well nigh thirty pretenders, who could lay claim to naught but the mangled limbs of their fellow-citizens.

^{2 1} Now if we should wish, beginning with the origin of the city, to review all the changes that the Roman commonwealth endured, we shall find that no state abounded more in blessings or suffered more from evils. 2 For, to begin with Romulus, the true father and founder of the commonwealth, what felicity was his, who founded, established and strengthened this state, and alone among founders left a completed city! 3 Why should I speak of Numa, the next in order, who by means of religious observances safeguarded a state which resounded with wars and was swollen with triumphs? 4 From then on, therefore, our commonwealth prospered until the time of Tarquinius Superbus, when it endured a tempest arising from the evil ways of the monarch and avenged itself only at the cost of grave disaster. 5 Then it increased in strength until the time of the Gallic war, when it was overwhelmed, as it were, by shipwreck, the city, save only the citadel, being captured, and it suffered evils greater, indeed, than the prosperity with which it was swollen. 6 Again it returned to its former strength, but was brought so low by the Punic Wars and the terror caused by Pyrrhus that in the fear of its heart it came to know all the ills of human life. 3 Next, having conquered Carthage and extended its empire over the seas, it waxed great, but

afflicted by strife with allies it lost all sense of happiness, and crushed by civil wars it wasted away in weakness until the time of Augustus. He then restored it once more, if indeed we may say that it was restored when it gave up its freedom. 2 Nevertheless, in some way or other, though mourning at home, it enjoyed great fame among nations abroad. Next, after enduring so many of the house of Nero, it reared its head again under Vespasian, 3 and though having no joy from all the good fortune of Titus and bleeding from Domitian's brutality, it was happier than had been its wont under Nerva and Trajan and his successors as far as Marcus, but was sorely stricken by the madness and cruelty of Commodus. 4 Thereafter, save for the diligent care of Severus, it knew naught that was good until Alexander, the son of Mamaea. 5 All that ensued thereafter is too long to relate; for it was not permitted to enjoy the rule of Valerian and it endured Gallienus for fifteen years. 6 Then Claudius was begrudged a long-lasting rule by Fortune, which loves a change and is almost always a foe to justice. 7 For in such wise was Aurelian slain and Tacitus carried off by disease and Probus put to death, that it became clear that Fortune takes pleasure in nothing so much as in changing, by means of a varied succession of events, all that pertains to the public business. 8 To what end, however, do we dwell on such lamentations and the misfortunes of the times? Let us, rather, pass on to Carus, a mediocre man, so to speak, but one to be ranked with the good rather than the evil princes, yet a better ruler by far, had he not left Carinus to be his heir.

^{4 1} In regard to Carus' birthplace there is such divergence of statement among the various writers that by reason of the very great difference among them I am unable to tell what it really was. 2 For Onesimus, who wrote with great diligence a Life of Probus, maintains that, whereas Carus' parents were Illyrians, he himself was both born and educated at Rome. 3 Fabius Ceryllianus, however, who had described with the greatest skill the period of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, declares that he was born, not in Rome, but in Illyricum, and that his parents were not Pannonians but Carthaginians. 4 I myself remember having read in a certain journal that Carus was born at Milan but enrolled in the official list of the council of the cities of Aquileia. 5 Carus himself, it cannot be denied, wished to appear a Roman, for this is shown by a letter of his, which he wrote when proconsul to his legate, urging him to a faithful performance of duty.

⁶ The letter of Carus:

"From Marcus Aurelius Carus proconsul of Cilicia to Junius his legate. Our forefathers, those great men of Rome, in choosing their legates observed the following principle, namely, to display a sample of their own characters in those to whom they delegated the conduct of public affairs. 7 And even if this were not so, I myself should not do otherwise; and, indeed, I have not done otherwise, if

by your aid I shall make no mistake. Wherefore look to it that we may not be found to differ from our forefathers, that is, the men of Rome.”

⁸ You see that throughout his letter he wishes it to be understood that his forefathers were native Romans. ⁵ A speech of his, moreover, addressed to the senate, affords this same assurance regarding his birth. For when he was first made emperor, he wrote to the senatorial order among other things the following: ² “And so, Conscript Fathers, you should rejoice that one of your own order and your own race has been created emperor. Wherefore we will do our best that no foreigner shall seem to be a better man than one of yourselves.” ³ This passage also makes it sufficiently clear that he wished to be thought a Roman, that is, one born in Rome.

⁴ He, then, after rising through the various civil and military grades, as the inscriptions on his statues show, was made prefect of the guard by Probus, and he won such affection among the soldiers that when Probus, that great emperor, was slain, he alone seemed wholly worthy of the imperial power.

⁶¹ I am not unaware that many have suspected and, in fact, have put it into the records that Probus was slain by the treachery of Carus. This, however, neither the kindness of Probus toward Carus nor Carus’ own character will permit us to believe, and there is the further reason that he avenged the death of Probus with the utmost severity and steadfastness. ² Probus’ opinion of him, moreover, is shown by a letter written to the senate with regard to the honours conferred on him:

“Probus Augustus to his most devoted senate, greeting.” Among other recommendations: “Happy, indeed, were our commonwealth if I had more men engaged in the public business similar to Carus or, in fact, to most of yourselves. ³ Wherefore I recommend, if it be your pleasure, that an equestrian statue be voted to this man of old-time character, adding the further request that a house be erected for him at the public expense, the marble to be furnished by me. For it behooves us to reward the uprightness of so great a man,” and so forth.

⁷¹ And so — not to include what is of little importance or what can be found in other writers — as soon as he received the imperial power, by the unanimous wish of all the soldiers he took up the war against the Persians for which Probus had been preparing. He gave to his sons the name of Caesar, planning to despatch Carinus, with some carefully selected men, to govern the provinces of Gaul, and to take along with himself Numerian, a most excellent and eloquent young man. ² It is said, moreover, that he often declared that he was grieved that he had to send Carinus to Gaul as prince, and that Numerian was not of an age to be entrusted with the Gallic empire, which most of all needed a steadfast ruler. ³ But of this at another time; for there is still in existence a letter of Carus’, in

which he complains to his prefect about the character of Carinus, so that it seems to be true, as Onesimus says, that Carus intended to take from Carinus the power of a Caesar. 4 But of this, as I have already said, I must tell later on in the Life of Carinus himself. Now we will return to the order of events.

⁸¹ With a vast array and all the forces of Probus he set out against the Persians after finishing the greater part of the Sarmatian war, in which he had been engaged, and without opposition he conquered Mesopotamia and advanced as far as Ctesiphon; and while the Persians were busied with internal strife he won the name of Conqueror of Persia. 2 But when he advanced still further, desirous himself of glory and urged on most of all by his prefect, who in his wish to rule was seeking the destruction of both Carus and his sons as well, he met his death, according to some, by disease, according to others, through a stroke of lightning. 3 Indeed, it cannot be denied that at the time of his death there suddenly occurred such violent thunder that many, it is said, died of sheer fright. And so, while he was ill and lying in his tent, there came up a mighty storm with terrible lightning and, as I have said, still more terrible thunder, and during this he expired. 4 Julius Calpurnius, who used to dictate for the imperial memoranda, wrote the following letter about Carus' death to the prefect of the city, saying among other things:

⁵ "When Carus, our prince for whom we truly care, was lying ill, there suddenly arose a storm of such violence that all things grew black and none could recognize another; then continuous flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, like bolts from a fiery sky, took from us the power of knowing what truly befell. For suddenly, after an especially violent peal which had terrified all, it was shouted that the emperor was dead. 7 It came to pass, in addition, that the chamberlains, grieving for the death of their prince, fired his tent; and the rumour arose, whatever its source, that he had been killed by the lightning, whereas, as far as we can tell, it seems sure that he died of his illness."

⁹¹ The letter I have inserted for the reason that many declare that there is a certain decree of Fate that no Roman emperor may advance beyond Ctesiphon, and that Carus was struck by the lightning because he desired to pass beyond the bounds which Fate has set up. 2 But let cowardice, on which courage should set its heel, keep its devices for itself. 3 For clearly it is granted to us and will always be granted, as our most venerated Caesar Maximian has shown, to conquer the Persians and advance beyond them, and methinks this will surely come to pass if only our men fail not to live up to the promised favour of Heaven.

⁴ That Carus was a good emperor is evident from many of his deeds but especially from this, that as soon as he received the imperial power he crushed

the Sarmatians, who were so emboldened by Probus' death that they threatened to invade not only Illyricum but Thrace and Italy as well, and he showed such skill in breaking up the war that in a very few days he made the provinces of Pannonia free from all fear, having killed sixteen thousand Sarmatians and captured twenty thousand of both sexes.

¹⁰ 1 This I believe to be enough about Carus; let us now pass on to Numerian. His history seems to be more closely connected with that of his father and to have become more noteworthy because of his father-in law; and although Carinus was older than he and received the title of Caesar before him, it is necessary, nevertheless, for us to tell first of Numerian, whose death followed that of his father, and afterwards of Carinus, whom Diocletian Augustus, a man indispensable to the state, met in battle and put to death.

¹¹ Numerian, the son of Carus, was of excellent character and truly worthy to rule; he was notable, moreover, for his eloquence, so much so, in fact, that even as a boy he declaimed in public, and his writings came to be famous, though more suitable for declamation than in keeping with Cicero's style. 2 In verse, furthermore, he is said to have had such skill that he surpassed all the poets of his time. In fact, he competed with Olympius Nemesianus, who wrote *On Fishing*, *On Hunting*, and *On Seamanship*, and shone with conspicuous lustre in all the colonial towns; and as for Aurelius Apollinaris, the writer of iambics, who had composed an account of his father's deeds, Numerian, when he published what he had recited, cast him into the shade like a ray of the sun. 3 The speech, moreover, which he sent to the senate is said to have been so eloquent that a statue was voted him not as a Caesar but as a rhetorician, to be set up in the Ulpian Library with the following inscription: "To Numerian Caesar, the most powerful orator of his time."

¹² 1 He accompanied his father in the Persian war, and after his father's death, when he had begun to suffer from a disease of the eyes — for that kind of ailment is most frequent with those exhausted, as he was, by too much loss of sleep — and was being carried in a litter, he was slain by the treachery of his father-in law Aper, who was attempting to seize the rule. 2 But the soldiers continued for several days to ask after the emperor's health, and Aper kept haranguing them, saying that he could not appear before them for the reason that he must protect his weakened eyes from the wind and the sun, but at last the stench of his body revealed the facts. Then all fell upon Aper, whose treachery could no longer be hidden, and they dragged him before the standards in front of the general's tent. Then a huge assembly was held and a tribunal, too, was constructed. 13 And when the question was asked who would be the most lawful avenger of Numerian and who could be given to the commonwealth as a good

emperor, then all, with a heaven-sent unanimity, conferred the title of Augustus on Diocletian, who, it was said, had already received many omens of future rule. He was at this time in command of the household-troops, an outstanding man and wise, devoted to the commonwealth, devoted to his kindred, duly prepared to face whatever the occasion demanded, forming plans that were always deep though sometimes over-bold, and one who could by prudence and exceeding firmness hold in check the impulses of a restless spirit. 2 This man, then, having ascended the tribunal was hailed as Augustus, and when someone asked how Numerian had been slain, he drew his sword and pointing to Aper, the prefect of the guard, he drove it through him, saying as he did so, "It is he who contrived Numerian's death." So Aper, a man who lived an evil life and in accordance with vicious counsels, met with the end that his ways deserved. 3 My grandfather used to relate that he was present at this assembly when Aper was slain by the hand of Diocletian; and he used to say that Diocletian, after slaying him, shouted, "Well may you boast, Aper, ' 'Tis by the hand of the mighty Aeneas you perish.' " 4 I do, indeed, wonder at this in a military man, although I know perfectly well that very many soldiers use sayings in both Greek and Latin taken from the writers of comedy and other such poets. 5 In fact, the comic poets themselves frequently introduce soldiers in such a way as to make them use familiar sayings; for "You are a hare yourself and yet are you looking for game?" is a saying which is taken for Livius Andronicus, and many others were given by Plautus and Caecilius.

¹⁴¹ I do not consider it too painstaking or yet too much in the ordinary manner to insert a story about Diocletian Augustus that seems not out of place here — an incident which he regarded as an omen of his future rule. This story my grandfather related to me, having heard it from Diocletian himself. 2 "When Diocletian," he said, "while still serving in a minor post, was stopping at a certain tavern in the land of the Tungri in Gaul, and was making up his daily reckoning with a woman, who was a Druidess, she said to him, 'Diocletian, you are far too greedy and far too stingy,' to which Diocletian replied, it is said, not in earnest, but only in jest, 'I shall be generous enough when I become emperor.' 3 At this the Druidess said, so he related, 'Do not jest, Diocletian, for you will become emperor when you have slain a Boar (Aper).' " 15 Now Diocletian always had in his mind a desire to rule, as Maximian knew and my grandfather also, to whom he himself told these words of the Druidess. Then, however, reticent, as was his wont, he laughed and said nothing. 2 Nevertheless, in hunting, whenever there was opportunity, he always killed the boars with his very own hand. 3 In fact, when Aurelian received the imperial power, then Probus, then Tacitus, and then Carus himself, Diocletian remarked, "I am always

killing boars, but the other man enjoys the meat.” 4 It is now well known and a common story that when he had killed Aper, the prefect of the guard, he declared, it is said, “At last I have killed my fated Boar.” 5 My grandfather also used to say that Diocletian himself declared that he had no other reason for killing him with his own hand than to fulfill the Druidess’ prophecy and to ensure his own rule. 6 For he would not have wished to become known for such cruelty, especially in the first few days of his power, if Fate had not impelled him to this brutal act of murder.

7 We have written of Carus, we have written, too, of Numerian, and now there still remains Carinus. 16 He was the most polluted of men, an adulterer and a constant corrupter of youth (I am ashamed to relate what Onesimus has put into writing), and he even made evil use of the enjoyment of his own sex. 2 He was left by his father as Caesar in Gaul and Italy and in Illyricum, Spain, Britain, and Africa, all of which had been voted to him, and he exercised there a Caesar’s powers, but with the permission to perform all the duties of an Augustus. Then he defiled himself by unwonted vices and inordinate depravity, 3 he set aside all the best among his friends and retained or picked out all the vilest, and he appointed as city-prefect one of his doorkeepers, a baser act than which no one can conceive or relate. 4 He slew the prefect of the guard whom he found in office 5 and put in his place Matronianus, one of his clerks and an old procurer, whom he had always kept with him as accomplice and assistant in debaucheries and lusts. 6 He appeared in public as consul contrary to his father’s wish. He wrote arrogant letters to the senate, and he even promised the senate’s property to the mob of the city of Rome, as though it, forsooth, were the Roman people. 7 By marrying and divorcing he took nine wives in all, and he put away some even while they were pregnant. He filled the Palace with actors and harlots, pantomimists, singers and pimps. 8 He had such an aversion for the signing of state-papers that he appointed for signing them a certain filthy fellow, with whom he used always to jest at midday, and then he reviled him because he could imitate his writing so well. 17 He wore jewels on his shoes, used only a jewelled clasp and often a jewelled belt also. In fact, in Illyricum most people hailed him as king. 2 He would never come forward to meet the prefects or consuls. He granted favours most of all to the base, and always invited them to banquets. 3 At one of his banquets he often served one hundred pounds of birds, one hundred of fish, and one thousand of meat of different kinds, and he lavished on his guests vast quantities of wine. He swam about among apples and melons and strewed his banqueting-halls and bedrooms with roses from Milan. 4 The baths which he used were as cold as the air of rooms that are under the ground, and his plunge-baths were always cooled by means of snow. 5 Once, when he

came in the winter to a certain place in which the spring-water was very tepid — its wonted natural temperature during the winter — and he had bathed in it in the pool, he shouted to the bath-attendants, it is said, “This is water for a woman that you have given me”; and this is reported as his most famous saying. 6 When his father heard of all that he did, he exclaimed, “He is no son of mine,” and at last he determined to appoint Constantius — afterwards made Caesar but at that time serving as governor of Dalmatia — in the place of Carinus, for the reason that no one even then seemed to be better, and he even planned, as Onesimus relates, to put Carinus to death. 7 It would be too long to tell more, even if I should desire to do so, about his excesses. If anyone wishes to learn all in detail, he should read Fulvius Asprianus also, who tells the whole tale of his deeds even to the point of boredom.

^{18 1} When he learned that his father had been killed by lightning and his brother slain by his own father-in law, and that Diocletian had been hailed as Augustus, Carinus committed acts of still greater vice and crime, as though now set free and released by the death of his kindred from all the restraints of filial duty. 2 He did not, however, lack strength of purpose for claiming the imperial power. For he fought many battles against Diocletian, but finally, being defeated in a fight near Margus, he perished.

³ We have now come to the end of the three emperors, Carus, Numerian and Carinus, after whom the gods gave us Diocletian and Maximian to be our princes, joining to these great men Galerius and Constantius, the one of whom was born to wipe out the disgrace incurred by Valerian’s capture, the other, to bring again the province of Gaul under the laws of Rome. 4 Four rulers, indeed, of the world were they, brave, wise, kindly, and wholly generous, all of one mind toward the commonwealth, very respectful to the Roman senate, moderate, friends of the people, revered, earnest, and pious, and, in fact, such emperors as we have always desired. 5 Their lives have been related, each in a separate book, by Claudius Eusthenius, imperial secretary to Diocletian — a fact which I mention in order that none may demand so great a work from me, especially since the biographies even of living emperors cannot be written without incurring blame.

^{19 1} The most noteworthy event of the rule of Carus, Carinus and Numerian was the series of games that they gave the Roman people, distinguished by some novel spectacles, a painting of which we have seen in the Palace near the portico of the stables. 2 For there was exhibited a rope-walker, who in his buskins seemed to be walking on the winds, also a wall-climber, who, eluding a bear, ran up a wall, also some bears which acted a farce, and, besides, one hundred trumpeters who blew one single blast together, one hundred horn-blowers, one

hundred flute-players, also one hundred flute-players who accompanied songs, one thousand pantomimists and gymnasts, moreover, a mechanical scaffold, which, however, burst into flames and burned up the stage — though this Diocletian later restored on a more magnificent scale. Furthermore, actors were gathered together from every side. 3 They were given also Sarmatian games, than which nothing affords greater pleasure, and, besides, a Cyclops-performance. And they bestowed on the Greek artists and gymnasts and actors and musicians both gold and silver and they bestowed on them also garments of silk.

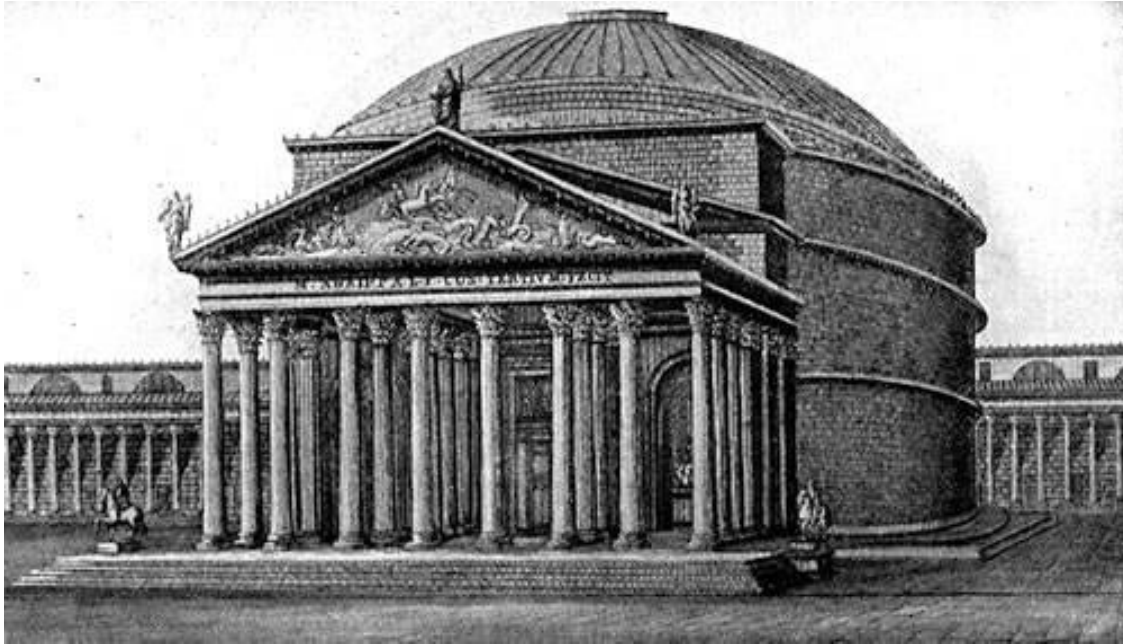
²⁰ 1 But although all these things have a certain charm for the populace, they are of no importance in a good emperor. 2 In fact, a saying of Diocletian's is current, uttered when one of his treasury-officials was speaking to him with praise of Carus' exhibition, saying that he and his sons, while emperors, had gained great favour by means of theatrical spectacles and spectacles in the circus. "And so," he remarked, "Carus caused great laughter during his rule." 3 In fact, when Diocletian himself presented spectacles, after inviting all nations thereto, he was most sparing in his liberality, declaring that there should be more continence in games when a censor was looking on.

⁴ I should like this passage to be read by Junius Messalla, with whom I will dare to find fault frankly. For he has cut off his natural heirs and bestowed his ancestral fortune on players, giving a tunic of his mother's to an actress and a cloak of his father's to an actor — and rightly so, I suppose, if a gold and purple mantle of his grandmother's could be used as a costume by a tragic actor! 5 Indeed, the name of Messalla's wife is still embroidered on the violet mantle of a flute-player, who exults in it as the spoils of a noble house. Why, now, should I speak of those linen garments imported from Egypt? Why of those garments from Tyre and Sidon, so fine and transparent, of gleaming purple and famed for their embroidery-work? 6 He has presented, besides, capes brought from the Atrabati and capes from Canusium and Africa, such splendour as never before was seen on the stage. 21 All of this I have put into writing in order that future givers of spectacles may be touched by a sense of shame and so be deterred from cutting off their lawful heirs and squandering their inheritances on actors and mountebanks.

² And now, my friend, accept this gift of mine, which, as I have often said, I have brought out to the light of day, not because of its elegance of style but because of its learned research, chiefly with this purpose in view, that if any gifted stylist should wish to reveal the deeds of the emperors, he might not lack the material, having, as he will, my little books as ministers to his eloquence. 3 I pray you, then, to be content and to contend that in this work I had the wish to

write better than I had the power.

The Latin Texts



The Pantheon in Rome, built by the Emperor Hadrian



The Pantheon today

DE VITIS CAESARUM



CONTENTS

[VITA DIVI IVLI](#)
[VITA DIVI AVGVSTI](#)
[VITA TIBERI](#)
[VITA GAI](#)
[VITA DIVI CLAVDI](#)
[VITA NERONIS](#)
[VITA GALBAE](#)
[VITA OTHONIS](#)
[VITA VETELLII](#)
[VITA DIVI VESPASIANI](#)
[VITA DIVI TITI](#)
[VITA DOMITIANI](#)

VITA DIVI IVLI

[1] Annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit; sequentibusque consulibus flamen Dialis destinatus dimissa Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum diues praetextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem, ex qua illi mox Iulia nata est; neque ut repudiaret compelli a dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit. quare et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentilicis hereditatibus multatus diuersarum partium habebatur, ut etiam discedere e medio et quamquam morbo quartanae adgrauante prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redimeret, donec per uirgines Vestales perque Mamercum Aemilium et Aurelium Cottam propinquos et adfines suos ueniam impetrauit. satis constat Sullam, cum deprecantibus amicissimis et ornatissimis uiris aliquamdiu denegasset atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamasse siue diuinitus siue aliqua coniectura: uincerent ac sibi haberent, dum modo scirent eum, quem incolumem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque optimatium partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum; nam Caesari multos Marios inesse.

[2] Stipendia prima in Asia fecit Marci Thermi praetoris contubernio; a quo ad accersendam classem in Bithyniam missus desedit apud Nicomeden, non sine rumore prostratae regi pudicitiae; quem rumorem auxit intra paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia per causam exigendae pecuniae, quae deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo. reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit et a Thermo in expugnatione Mytilenarum corona ciuica donatus est.

[3] Meruit et sub Seruilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed breui tempore. nam Sullae morte comperta, simul spe nouae dissensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum mouebatur, Romam propere redit. et Lepidi quidem societate, quamquam magnis condicionibus inuitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio eius diffisus tum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

[4] Ceterum composita seditione ciuili Cornelium Dolabellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postulauit; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad declinandam inuidiam et ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est mansitque apud eos non sine summa indignatione prope quadraginta dies cum uno medico et cubicularis duobus. nam comites seruosque ceteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias, quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis expositus in litore non distulit quin e uestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntis ac redactos in potestatem supplicio, quod saepe illis minatus inter

iocum fuerat, adficeret. uastante regiones proximas Mithridate, ne desidere in discrimine sociorum uideretur, ab Rhodo, quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam auxiliisque contractis et praefecto regis prouincia expulso nutantis ac dubias ciuitates retinuit in fide.

[5] Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reuerso per suffragia populi honor optigit, actores restituendae tribuniciae potestatis, cuius uim Sulla deminuerat, enixissime iuuuit. L. etiam Cinnae uxoris fratri, et qui cum eo ciuili discordia Lepidum secuti post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in ciuitatem rogatione Plotia confecit habuitque et ipse super ea re contionem.

[6] Quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudauit e more pro rostris. et in amitae quidem laudatione de eius ac patris sui utraque origine sic refert: 'Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus coniunctum est. nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.' In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit Quinti Pompei filiam, L. Sullae neptem; cum qua deinde diuortium fecit adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio, quem inter publicas caerimonias penetrasse ad eam muliebri ueste tam constans fama erat, ut senatus quaestionem de pollutis sacris decreuerit.

[7] Quaestori ulterior Hispania obuenit; ubi cum mandatu pr(aetoris) iure dicundo conuentus circumiret Gadisque uenisset, animaduersa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignauiam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitauit ad captandas quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in urbe. etiam confusum eum somnio proximae noctis + nam uisus erat per quietem stuprum matri intulisse + coiectores ad amplissimam spem incitauerunt arbitrium terrarum orbis portendi interpretantes, quando mater, quam subiectam sibi uidisset, non alia esset quam terra, quae omnium parens haberetur.

[8] Decedens ergo ante tempus colonias Latinas de petenda ciuitate agitantes adiit, et ad audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi consules conscriptas in Ciliciam legiones paulisper ob id ipsum retinuissent.

[9] Nec eo setius maiora mox in urbe molitus est: siquidem ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, uenit in suspicionem conspirasse cum Marco Crasso consulari, item Publio Sulla et L. Autronio post designationem consulatus ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur, et trucidatis quos placitum esset, dictaturam Crassus inuaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur constitutaque ad arbitrium re publica Sullae et Autronio consulatus

restitueretur. meminerunt huius coniurationis Tanusius Geminus in historia, Marcus Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus. de hac significare uidetur et Cicero in quadam ad Axiu epistula referens Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitarat. Tanusius adicit Crassum paenitentia uel metu diem caedi destinatum non obisse et idcirco ne Caesarem quidem signum, quod ab eo dari conuenerat, dedisse; conuenisse autem Curio ait, ut togam de umeris deiceret. idem Curio sed et M. Actorius Naso auctores sunt conspirasse eum etiam cum Gnaeo Pisone adolescente, cui ob suspicionem urbanae coniurationis prouincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit; pactumque ut simul foris ille, ipse Romae ad res nouas consurgerent, per Ambranos et Transpadanos; destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

[10] Aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornaui porticibus ad tempus extructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. uenationes autem ludosque et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo factum est, ut communium quoque inpensarum solus gratiam caperet nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus, euenisse sibi quod Polluci: ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris uocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris dici. adiecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorium munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinauerat paribus; nam cum multiplici undique familia comparata inimicos exterruisset, cautum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne maiorem cuiquam habere Romae liceret.

[11] Conciliato populi fauore temptauit per partem tribunorum, ut sibi Aegyptus prouincia plebi scito daretur, nactus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant resque uulgo inprobabatur. nec obtinuit aduersante optimatum factione: quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis in uicem deminueret, tropaea Gaii Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sulla disiecta restituit atque in exercenda de sicariis quaestione eos quoque sicariorum numero habuit, qui proscriptione ob relata ciuium Romanorum capita pecunias ex aerario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Cornelis legibus.

[12] Subornauit etiam qui Gaius Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret, quo praecipuo adiutore aliquot ante annos Luci Saturnini seditiosum tribunatum senatus coercuerat, ac sorte iudex in reum ductus tam cupide condemnauit, ut ad populum prouocanti nihil aeque ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit.

[13] Deposita prouinciae spe pontificatum maximum petit non sine profusissima largitione; in qua reputans magnitudinem aeris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, praedixisse matri osculanti fertur domum se nisi pontificem non reuersurum. atque ita potentissimos duos competitores multumque et aetate et dignitate antecedentes superauit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam

uterque in omnibus tulerit.

[14] Praetor creatus, detecta coniuratione Catilinae senatuque uniuerso in socios facinoris ultimam statuente poenam, solus municipatim diuidendos custodiendosque publicatis bonis censuit. quin et tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret inuidia, ut Decimum Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, uelut grauius atque ipse sensisset exceptam. obtinisset adeo transductis iam ad se pluribus et in his Cicerone consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio. ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad manus equitum Romanorum, quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat, inmoderatus perseveranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, uix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint. tunc plane deterritus non modo cessit, sed et in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit.

[15] Primo praeturae die Quintum Catulum de refectione Capitoli ad disquisitionem populi uocauit rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferebat; uerum impar optimatum conspirationi, quos relicto statim nouorum consulum officio frequentes obstinatosque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

[16] Ceterum Caecilio Metello tribuno plebis turbulentissimas leges aduersus collegarum intercessionem ferenti auctorem propugnatoremque se pertinacissime praestitit, donec ambo administratione rei publicae decreto patrum submouerentur. ac nihilo minus permanere in magistratu et ius dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos, qui ui ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus abiecta praetexta domum clam refugit pro condicione temporum quieturus. multitudinem quoque biduo post sponte et ultro confluentem operamque sibi in adserenda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem conpescuit. quod cum praeter opinionem euenisset, senatus ob eundem coetum festinato coactus gratias ei per primores uiros egit accitumque in curiam et amplissimis uerbis conlaudatum in integrum restituit inducto priore decreto.

[17] Recidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Nouium Nigrum quaestorem a Lucio Vettio indice et in senatu a Quinto Curio, cui, quod primus consilia coniuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice praemia. Curius e Catilina se cognouisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae datum pollicebatur. id uero Caesar nullo modo tolerandum existimans, cum inplorato Ciceronis testimonio quaedam se de coniuratione ultro ad eum detulisse docuisset, ne Curio praemia darentur effecit; Vettium pignoribus captis et direpta suppellectile male mulcatum ac pro rostris in contione

paene discerptum coiecit in carcerem; eodem Nouium quaestorem, quod compellari apud se maiorem potestatem passus esset.

[18] Ex praetura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam retinentes creditores interuentu sponsorum remouit ac neque more neque iure, ante quam prouinciae or_[di]narentur, profectus est: incertum metune iudicii, quod priuato parabatur, an quo maturius sociis inplorantibus subueniret; pacataque prouincia pari festinatione, non expectato successore ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit. sed cum edictis iam comitis ratio eius haberi non posset nisi priuatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus solueretur multi contra dicerent, coactus est triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

[19] E duobus consulatus competitoribus, Lucio Luceio Marcoque Bibulo, Luceium sibi adiunxit, pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, nummos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret. qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordi et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantundem pollicendi, ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e re publica fieri. Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur. eandem ob causam opera ab optimatibus data est, ut prouinciae futuris consulibus minimi negotii, id est siluae callesque, decernerentur. qua maxime iniuria instinctus omnibus officiis Gnaeum Pompeium adsectatus est offensum patribus, quod Mithridate rege uicto cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua; Pompeioque Marcum Crassum reconciliauit ueterem inimicum ex consulatu, quem summa discordia simul gesserant; ac societatem cum utroque iniit, ne quid ageretur in re publica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

[20] Inito honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur. antiquum etiam re_[ti]tulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur. lege autem agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit ac postero die in senatu conquestum nec quoquam reperto, qui super tali consternatione referre aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa saepe in leuioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem, ut, quoad potestate abiret, domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret. Vnus ex eo tempore omnia in re publica et ad arbitrium administrauit, ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consulibus actum scriberent bis eundem praeponentes nomine atque cognomine, utque uulgo mox ferrentur hi uersus:

non Bibulo quiddam nuper sed Caesare factum est:
nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

campum Stellatam maioribus consecratum agrumque Campanum ad subsidia rei publicae uectigalem relictum diuisit extra sortem ad uiginti milibus ciuium, quibus terni pluresue liberi essent. publicanos remissionem petentis tertia mercedum parte releuauit ac, ne in locatione nouorum uectigalium inmoderatus licerentur, propalam monuit. cetera item, quae cuique libuissent, dilargitus est contra dicente nullo ac, si conaretur quis, absterrito. Marcum Catonem interpellantem extrahi curia per lictorem ducique in carcerem iussit. Lucio Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum iniecit, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Cicerone in iudicio quodam deplorante temporum statum Publium Clodium inimicum eius, frustra iam pridem a patribus ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die horaque nona transduxit. postremo in uniuersos diuersae factionis ^[indicem] inductum praemiis, ut se de inferenda Pompeio nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur productusque pro rostris auctores ex compacto nominaret; sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspicione fraudis nominatis desperans tam praecipitis consilii euentum interceptisse ueneno indicem creditur.

[21] Sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pisonis filiam successuri sibi in consulatu duxit uxorem suamque, Iuliam, Gnaeo Pompeio conlocauit repudiato priore sponso Seruilio Caepione, cuius uel praecipua opera paulo ante Bibulum inpuugnauerat. ac post nouam adfinitatem Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret essetque consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul Kal. Ianuariis instituisset, eum toto anno conseruaret.

[22] Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus ex omni prouinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, + cuius emolumento et oportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum +. et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam Illyrico adiecto lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam quoque, ueritis patribus ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret. quo gaudio elatus non temperauit, quin paucos post dies frequenti curia iactaret, inuitis et gementibus aduersariis adeptum se quae concupisset, proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus; ac negante quodam per contumeliam facile hoc ulli feminae fore, responderit quasi adludens: in Suria quoque regnasse Sameram in magnamque Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.

[23] Functus consulatu Gaio Memmio Lucioque Domitio praetoribus de superioris anni actis referentibus cognitionem senatui detulit; nec illo suscipiente triduoque per inritas altercationes absumpto in prouinciam abiit. et statim quaestor eius in praeiudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est. mox et ipse a Lucio Antistio tr. pl. postulatus appellato demum collegio optinuit, cum rei publicae causa abesset reus ne fieret. ad securitatem ergo posterius temporis in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus et e petitoribus non

alios adiuuare aut ad honorem pati peruenire, quam qui sibi recepissent propugnatos absentiam suam; cuius pacti non dubitauit a quibusdam ius iurandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

[24] Sed cum Lucius Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur consulem se effecturum quod praetor nequisset adempturumque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem prouinciae suae Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque ^[per] utrumque, ut in quinquennium sibi imperium prorogaretur. qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias priuato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, uocabulo quoque Gallico + Alauda enim appellabatur +, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea uniuersam ciuitate donauit. nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ^[ne] iniusti quidem ac periculosi abstinuit, tam foederatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacescit, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreuerit ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint. sed prospere ^[de] cedentibus rebus et saepius et plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum supplicationes impetrauit.

[25] Gessit autem nouem annis, quibus in imperio fuit, haec fere. Omnem Galliam, quae saltu Pyrenaeo Alpibusque et monte Cebenna, fluminibus Rheno ac Rhodano continetur patetque circuitu ad bis et tricies centum milia passuum, praeter socias ac bene meritas ciuitates in prouinciae formam redegit, eique ^[cccc] in singulos annos stipendii nomine inposuit. Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato adgressus maximis adfecit cladibus; adgressus est et Britannos ignotos antea superatisque pecunias et obsides imperauit; per tot successus ter nec amplius aduersum casum expertus: in Britannia classe ui tempestatis prope absumpta et in Gallia ad Gergouiam legione fusa et in Germanorum finibus Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis per insidias caesis.

[26] Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, nec multo post nepotem amisit. inter quae, consternata Publi Clodi caede re publica, cum senatus unum consulem nominatimque Gnaeum Pompeium fieri censuisset, egit cum tribunis plebis collegam se Pompeio destinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, petitio secundi consulatus daretur, ne ea causa maturius et imperfecto adhuc bello decederet. quod ut adeptus est, altiora iam meditans et spei plenus nullum largitionis aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice priuatimque omisit. forum de manubiis incohauit, cuius area super sestertium milies constitit. munus populo epulumque pronuntiauit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo. quorum ut quam maxima expectatio esset, ea quae ad epulum pertinerent, quamuis macellaris ablocata, etiam domesticatim apparabat. gladiatores notos, sicubi

infestis spectatoribus dimicarent, ui rapiendos reseruandosque mandabat. tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas, sed in domibus per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat, precibus enitens, quod epistulis eius ostenditur, ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent ipsique dictata exercentibus darent. legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicauit. frumentum, quotiens copia esset, etiam sine modo mensuraque praebuit ac singula interdum mancipia e praeda uiritim dedit.

[27] Ad retinendam autem Pompei necessitudinem ac uoluntatem Octauiam sororis suae neptem, quae Gaio Marcello nupta erat, condicionem ei detulit sibi que filiam eius in matrimonium petit Fausto Sullae destinatam. omnibus uero circa eum atque etiam parte magna senatus gratuito aut leui faenore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoque ordinum genere uel inuitatos uel sponte ad se commeantis uberrimo congiario prosequabatur, liberos insuper seruulosque cuiusque, prout domino patronae gratus qui esset. tum reorum aut obaeratorum aut prodigae iuuentutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat, nisi quos grauior criminum uel inopiae luxuriaue uis urgeret, quam ut subueniri posset a se; his plane palam bello ciuili opus esse dicebat.

[28] Nec minore studio reges atque prouincias per terrarum orbem adliciebat, aliis captiuorum milia dono offerens, aliis citra senatus populique auctoritatem, quo uellent et quotiens uellent, auxilia submittens, superque Italiae Galliarumque et Hispaniarum, Asiae quoque et Graeciae potentissimas urbes praecipuis operibus exornans; donec, attonitis iam omnibus et quorsum illa tenderent reputantibus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus consul edicto praefatus, de summa se re publica acturum, rettulit ad senatum, ut ei succederetur ante tempus, quoniam bello confecto pax esset ac dimitti deberet uictor exercitus; et ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebi scito Pompeius postea abrogasset. acciderat autem, ut is legem de iure magistratuum ferens eo capite, quo petitione honorum absentis submouebat, ne Caesarem quidem exciperet per obliuionem, ac mox lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita corrigeret errorem. nec contentus Marcellus prouincias Caesari et priuilegium eripere, rettulit etiam, ut colonis, quos rogatione Vatinia Nouum Comum deduxisset, ciuitas adimeretur, quod per ambitionem et ultra praescriptum data esset.

[29] Commotus his Caesar ac iudicans, quod saepe ex eo auditum ferunt, difficilius se principem ciuitatis a primo ordine in secundum quam ex secundo in nouissimum detrudi, summa ope restitit, partim per intercessores tribunos, partim per Seruium Sulpicium alterum consulem. insequenti quoque anno Gaio Marcello, qui fratri patrueli suo Marco in consulatu successerat, eadem temptante collegam eius Aemilium Paulum Gaiumque Curionem uiolentissimum tribunorum ingenti mercede defensores parauit. sed cum obstinatius omnia agi

uideret et designatos etiam consules e parte diuersa, senatum litteris deprecatus est, ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur, aut ut ceteri quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent; confisus, ut putant, facilius se, simul atque libuisset, ueteranos conuocaturum quam Pompeium novos milites. cum aduersariis autem pepigit, ut dimissis octo legionibus Transalpinaque Gallia duae sibi legiones et Cisalpina prouincia uel etiam una legio cum Illyrico concederetur, quoad consul fieret.

[30] uerum neque senatu interueniente et aduersariis negantibus ullam se de re publica facturos pactionem, transiit in citeriorem Galliam, conuentibusque peractis Rauennae substitit, bello uindicaturus si quid de tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se grauius a senatu constitutum esset. Et praetextum quidem illi ciuiliu armorum hoc fuit; causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Gnaeus Pompeius ita dictitabat, quod neque opera consummare, quae instituerat, neque populi expectationem, quam de aduentu suo fecerat, priuatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia ac permiscere uoluisse. alii timuisse dicunt, ne eorum, quae primo consulatu aduersus auspicia legesque et intercessionem gessisset, rationem reddere cogeretur; cum M. Cato identidem nec sine iure iurando denuntiaret delaturum se nomen eius, simul ac primum exercitum dimisisset; cumque uulgo fore praedicarent, ut si priuatus redisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam apud iudices diceret. quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio, Pharsalica acie caesos profligatosque aduersarios prospicientem haec eum ad uerbum dixisse referens: ‘hoc uoluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.’ quidam putant captum imperii consuetudine pensitatisque suis et inimicorum uiribus usum occasione rapiendae dominationis, quam aetate prima concupisset. quod existimasse uidebatur et Cicero scribens de Officiis tertio libro semper Caesarem in ore habuisse Euripidis uersus, quos sic ipse conuertit:

nam si uiolandum est ius, ^[regnandi] gratia
uiolandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[31] Cum ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem ipsosque urbe cecis-
se nuntiatum esset, praemissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio
moueretur, et spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit et formam, qua
ludum gladiatorium erat aedificaturus, consideraui et ex consuetudine conuiuio
se frequenti dedit. dein post solis occasum mulis e proximo pistrino ad
uehiculum iunctis occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est; et cum
luminibus extinctis decessisset uia, diu errabundus tandem ad lucem duce
reperito per angustissimos tramites pedibus euasit. consecutusque cohortis ad

Rubiconem flumen, qui prouinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit, ac reputans quantum moliretur, conuersus ad proximos: ‘etiam nunc,’ inquit, ‘regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.’

[32] Cunctanti ostentum tale factum est. quidam eximia magnitudine et forma in proximo sedens repente apparuit harundine canens; ad quem audiendum cum praeter pastores plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent interque eos et aeneatores, rapta ab uno tuba prosiliuit ad flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam. tunc Caesar: ‘eatur,’ inquit, ‘quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas uocat.

[33] Iacta alea est,’ inquit. atque ita traiecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis plebis, qui pulsi superuenerant, pro contione fidem militum flens ac ueste a pectore discissa inuocauit. existimatur etiam equestres census pollicitus singulis; quod accidit opinione falsa. nam cum in adloquendo adhortandoque saepius digitum laeuae manus ostentans adfirmaret se ad satis faciendum omnibus, per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset, anulum quoque aequo animo detracturum sibi, extrema contio, cui facilius erat uidere contionantem quam audire, pro dicto accepit, quod uisu suspicabatur; promissumque ius anulorum cum milibus quadringenis fama distulit.

[34] Ordo et summa rerum, quas deinceps gessit, sic se habent. Picenum Vmbriam Etruriam occupauit et Lucio Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso secundum Superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quo consules Pompeiusque confugerant quam primum transfretaturi. hos frustra per omnis moras exitu prohibere conatus Romam iter conuertit appellatisque de re publica patribus ualidissimas Pompei copias, quae sub tribus legatis M. Petreio et L. Afranio et M. Varrone in Hispania erant, inuasit, professus ante inter suos, ire se ad exercitum sine duce et inde reuersurum ad ducem sine exercitu. et quanquam obsidione Massiliae, quae sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaque frumentariae rei penuria retardante breui tamen omnia subegit.

[35] Hinc urbe repetita in Macedoniam transgressus Pompeium, per quattuor paene menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico proelio fudit et fugientem Alexandriam persecutus, ut occisum deprehendit, cum Ptolemaeo rege, a quo sibi quoque insidias tendi uidebat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit, neque loco neque tempore aequo, sed hieme anni et intra moenia copiosissimi ac sollertissimi hostis, inops ipse omnium rerum atque inparatus. regnum Aegypti uictor Cleopatrae fratrique eius minori permisit, ueritus prouinciam facere, ne quandoque uiolentior praesidem nacta nouarum rerum materia esset. ab Alexandria in Syriam et inde Pontum transiit urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis, quem Mithridatis Magni filium ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem iamque

multiplici successu praeferocem, intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in conspectum uenit horis, una profligauit acie; crebro commemorans Pompei felicitatem, cui praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium contigisset. dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refouentis deuicit, Pompei liberos in Hispania.

[36] Omnibus ciuilibus bellis nullam cladem nisi per legatos suos passus est, quorum C. Curio in Africa periit, C. Antonius in Illyrico in aduersariorum deuenit potestatem, P. Dolabella classem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Caluinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. ipse prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem umquam fortuna praeterquam bis dimicauit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus non instante Pompeio negauit eum uincere scire, iterum in Hispania ultimo proelio, cum desperatis rebus etiam de consciscenda nece cogitauit.

[37] Confectis bellis quinquies triumphauit, post deuictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos. primum et excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, nouissimum Hispaniensem, diuerso quemque apparatu et instrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum praeteruehens paene curru excussus est axe diffracto ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina quadraginta elephantis dextra sinistraque lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium uerborum praetulit titulum *veni : vidi : vici* non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.

[38] Veteranis legionibus praedae nomine in pedites singulos super bina sestertia, quae initio ciuilis tumultus numerauerat, uicena quaterna milia nummum dedit. adsignauit et agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur. populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras treceos quoque nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, uiritim diuisit et hoc amplius centenos pro mora. annuam etiam habitationem Romae usque ad bina milia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sestertios remisit. adiecit epulum ac uiscerationem et post Hispaniensem uictoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit.

[39] Edidit spectacula uarii generis: munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones, item circenses athletas naumachiam. munere in foro depugnauit Furius Leptinus stirpe praetoria et Q. Calpenus senator quondam actorque causarum. pyrricham saltauerunt Asiae Bithyniaeque principum liberi. ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum suum egit donatusque quingentis sestertiis et anulo aureo sessum in quattuordecim [e] scaena per orchestram transiit. circensibus spatio circi ab

utraque parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito quadrigas bigasque et equos desultorios agitaauerunt nobilissimi iuuenes. Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorumque puerorum. uenationes editae per dies quinque ac nouissime pugna diuisa in duas acies, quingenis peditibus, elephantis uicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc et inde commissis. nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae inque earum locum bina castra exaduersum constituta erant. athletae stadio ad tempus extructo regione Marti campi certauerunt per triduum. nauali proelio in minore Codeta defosso lacu biremes ac triremes quadriremesque Tyriae et Aegyptiae classis magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt. ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique confluit hominum, ut plerique aduenae aut inter uicos aut inter uias tabernaculis positae manerent, ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores.

[40] Conuersus hinc ad ordinandum rei publicae statum fastos correxit iam pridem uitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriae aestate neque uindemiarum autumno competerent; annumque ad cursum solis accommodauit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset et intercalario mense sublato unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Ianuariis nouis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Nouembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios; fuitque is annus, quo haec constituebantur, quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

[41] Senatum suppleuit, patricos adlegit, praetorum aedilium quaestorum, minorum etiam magistratuum numerum ampliauit; nudatos opere censorio aut sententia iudicum de ambitu condemnatos restituit. comitia cum populo partitus est, ut exceptis consulatus competitoribus de cetero numero candidatorum pro parte dimidia quos populus uellet pronuntiarentur, pro parte altera quos ipse dedisset. et edebat per libellos circum tribum missos scriptura breui: ‘Caesar dictator illi tribui. commendo uobis illum et illum, ut uestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant.’ admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos. iudicia ad duo genera iudicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii; tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit. Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed uicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex uiginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui noui coetus recensiois causa moueri quandoque possent, instituit, quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis, qui recenseri non essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.

[42] Octoginta autem ciuium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit, ne quis ciuis maior annis uiginti minorue + decem +, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset, neu qui senatoris filius nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus

peregre proficisceretur; neue ii, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent. omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, ciuitate donauit. de pecuniis mutuis disiecta nouarum tabularum expectatione, quae crebro mouebatur, decreuit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante ciuile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni, si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit. poenas facinorum auxit; et cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent, quod integris patrimoniis exulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multauit.

[43] Ius laboriosissime ac seuerissime dixit. repetundarum conuictos etiam ordine senatorio mouit. diremit nuptias praetorii uiri, qui digressam a marito post biduum statim duxerat, quamuis sine probri suspicione. peregrinarum mercium portoria instituit. lecticarum usum, item conchyliatae uestis et margaritarum nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies ademit. legem praecipue sumptuariam exercuit dispositis circa macellum custodibus, qui obsonia contra uetitum retinerent deportarentque ad se, submissis nonnumquam lictoribus atque militibus, qui, si qua custodes fefellissent, iam adposita e triclinio auferrent.

[44] Nam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat: in primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere repleto et conplanato lacu, in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans; ius ciuile ad certum modum redigere atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum; siccare Pomptinas paludes; emittere Fucinum lacum; uiam munire a mari Supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere; mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem nec nisi ante expertos adgredi proelio. Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praeuenit. de qua prius quam dicam, ea quae ad formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus quae ad ciuilia et bellica eius studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

[45] Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris uegetisque oculis, ualitudine prospera, nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. comitali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est. circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed uelleretur etiam, ut

quidam exprobrauerunt, caluitii uero deformitatem iniquissime ferret saepe obtreptatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. ideoque et deficientem capillum reuocare a uertice adsueuerat et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut usurpauit libentius quam ius laureae coronae perpetuo gestandae. Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt: usum enim lato clauo ad manus fimbriato nec umquam aliter quam ^[ut] super eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cinctura; unde emanasse Sullae dictum optimates saepius admonentis, ut male praecinctum puerum cauerent.

^[46] Habitauit primo in Subura modicis aedibus, post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra uia domo publica. munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: uillam in Nemorensi a fundamentis incohatam magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quanquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum; in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pauimenta circumtulisse.

^[47] Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus; gemmas, toreumata, signa, tabulas operis antiqui semper animosissime comparasse; seruitia rectiora politioraque inmenso pretio, et cuius ipsum etiam puderet, sic ut rationibus uetaret inferri.

^[48] Conuiuatum assidue per prouincias duobus tricliniis, uno quo sagati palliatue, altero quo togati cum inlustrioribus prouinciarum discumberent. domesticam disciplinam in paruīs ac maioribus rebus diligenter adeo seuerereque rexit, ut pistorem alium quam sibi panem conuiuis subicientem compedibus uinxerit, libertum gratissimum ob adulteratam equitis Romani uxorem, quamuis nullo querente, capitali poena adfecerit.

^[49] Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis contubernium laesit, graui tamen et perenni obprobrio et ad omnium conuicia exposito. omitto Calui Licini notissimos uersus:

Bithynia quicquid
et pedicator Caesaris umquam habuit.

praetereo actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris, in quibus eum Dolabella ‘paelicem reginae, spondam interiorem regiae lecticae,’ at Curio ‘stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem’ dicunt. missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit collegam suum Bithynicam reginam, eique antea regem fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum. quo tempore, ut Marcus Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam ualitudine mentis liberius dicax conuentu maximo, cum Pompeium regem appellasset, ipsum reginam salutauit. sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum + et ui + Nicomedi stetisse obicit, cum reliquis exoletis, pleno conuiuio,

accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert nomina. Cicero uero non contentus in quibusdam epistulis scripsisse a satellitibus eum in cubiculum regium eductum in aureo lecto ueste purpurea decubuisse floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti: ‘remoue,’ inquit, ‘istaec, oro te, quando notum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.’ Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter cetera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam illud uulgatissimum pronuntiauerunt: Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem: ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias, Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.

[50] Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est, plurimasque et illustres feminas corrupisse, in quibus Postumiam Serui Sulpici, Lolliam Auli Gabini, Tertullam Marci Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompei Muciam. nam certe Pompeio et a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis exprobratum est, quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem et quem gemens Aegisthum appellare consuesset, eius postea filiam potentiae cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset. sed ante alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Seruiliam, cui et proximo suo consulatu sexagiens sestertium margaritam mercatus est et bello ciuili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctionibus hastae minimo addixit; cum quidem plerisque uilitatem mirantibus facetissime Cicero: ‘quo melius,’ inquit, ‘emptum sciatis, tertia deducta’; existimabatur enim Seruilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Caesari conciliare.

[51] Ne prouincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse uel hoc disticho apparet iactato aequae a militibus per Gallicum triumphum: urbani, seruate uxores: moechum caluom adducimus. aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.

[52] Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram Bogudis uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit; sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et conuiuia in primam lucem saepe protraxit et eadem naue thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetrauit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset, quam denique accitam in urbem non nisi maximis honoribus praemiisque auctam remisit filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. quem quidem nonnulli Graecorum similem quoque Caesari et forma et incessu tradiderunt. M. Antonius adgnitum etiam ab eo senatui adfirmavit, quae scire C. Matium et C. Oppium reliquosque Caesaris amicos; quorum Gaius Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Caesaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Heluius Cinna tr. pl. plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot uellet ducere liceret. at ne cui

dubium omnino sit et impudicitiae et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione omnium mulierum uirum et omnium uirorum mulierem appellat.

[53] Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negauerunt. Marci Catonis est: unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad euertendam rem publicam sobrium accessisse. nam circa uictum Gaius Oppius adeo indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum pro uiridi adpositum aspernantibus ceteris solum etiam largius appetisse scribat, ne hospitem aut negligentiae aut rusticitatis uideretur arguere.

[54] Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus praestitit. ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania pro consule et a sociis pecunias accepit emendicatas in auxilium aeris alieni et Lusitanorum quaedam oppida, quanquam nec imperata detrectarent et aduenienti portas patefacerent, diripuit hostiliter. in Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilauit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum, ut auro abundaret ternisque milibus nummum in libras promerciale per Italiam prouinciasque diuenderet. in primo consulatu tria milia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio tantundem inaurati aeris reposuit. societates ac regna pretio dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit. postea uero euidentissimis rapinis ac sacrilegis et onera bellorum ciuiliu et triumphorum ac munerum sustinuit impendia.

[55] Eloquentia militarique re aut aequauit praestantissimorum gloriam aut excessit. post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est. certe Cicero ad Brutum oratores enumerans negat se uidere, cui debeat Caesar cedere, atque eum elegantem, splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo rationem dicendi tenere; et ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem ita scripsit: 'quid? oratorem quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt? quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior? quis uerbis aut ornatior aut elegantior?' genus eloquentiae dum taxat adulescens adhuc Strabonis Caesaris secutus uidetur, cuius etiam ex oratione, quae inscribitur 'pro Sardis,' ad uerbum nonnulla transtulit in diuinationem suam. pronuntiasse autem dicitur uoce acuta, ardenti motu gestuque, non sine uenustate. orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. 'pro Quinto Metello' non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuariis exceptam male subsequentibus uerba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam; nam in quibusdam exemplaribus inuenio ne inscriptam quidem 'pro Metello,' sed 'quam scripsit Metello,' cum ex persona Caesaris sermo sit Metellum seque aduersus communium obrectatorum criminationes purgantis. 'apud milites' quoque 'in Hispania' idem Augustus uix ipsius putat, quae tamen duplex fertur: una quasi priore habita proelio, altera posteriore, quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem

contionandi habuisse eum dicit subita hostium incursione.

[56] Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici ciuilisque belli Pompeiani. nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est: alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli nouissimum imperfectumque librum suppleuerit. de commentariis Caesaris Cicero in eodem Bruto sic refert: ‘commentarios scripsit ualde quidem probandos: nudi sunt, recti et uenusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam ueste detracta; sed dum uoluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui uellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui illa uolent calamistris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit.’ de isdem commentariis Hirtius ita praedicat: ‘adeo probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus uideatur. [cuius tamen rei maior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio; ceteri

enim, quam bene atque emendate,] nos etiam, quam facile atque celeriter eos perscripserit, scimus.’ Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra ueritate compositos putat, cum Caesar pleraque et quae per alios erant gesta temere crediderit et quae per se, uel consulto uel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit; existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse. reliquit et ‘de analogia’ duos libros et ‘Anticatones’ totidem ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conuentibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, sequentes sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; nouissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et uicensimo die peruenit. epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant, quas primum uidetur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli conuertisse, cum antea consules et duces non nisi transuersa charta scriptas mitterent. extant et ad Ciceronem, item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in quibus, si qua occultius perferenda erant, per notas scripsit, id est sic structo litterarum ordine, ut nullum uerbum effici posset: quae si qui inuestigare et persequi uelit, quartam elementorum litteram, id est D pro A et perinde reliquas commutet. feruntur [a puero et] ab adolescentulo quaedam scripta, ut ‘Laudes Herculis,’ tragoedia ‘Oedipus,’ item ‘Dicta collectanea’: quos omnis libellos uetuit Augustus publicari in epistula, quam breuem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegauerat, misit.

[57] Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat. in agmine nonnumquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset; longissimas uias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria raeda, centena passuum milia in singulos dies; si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens uel innixus inflatis utribus, ut persaepe nuntios de se praeuenerit.

[58] In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transuexit, nisi ante per se portus et nauigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset. at idem obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata per

stationes hostium Gallico habitu penetrauit ad suos. a Brundisio Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hieme transmisit cessantibusque copiis, quas subsequi iusserat, cum ad accersendas frustra saepe misisset, nouissime ipse clam noctu paruulum nauigium solus obuoluto capite conscendit, neque aut quis esset ante detexit aut gubernatorem cedere aduersae tempestati passus est quam paene obrutus fluctibus.

[59] Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam uel retardatus est. cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem aduersus Scipionem et Iubam non distulit. prolapsus etiam in egressu nauis uerso ad melius omine: ‘teneo te,’ inquit, ‘Africa.’ ad eludendas autem uaticinationes, quibus felix et inuictum in ea prouincia fataliter Scipionum nomen ferebatur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium uitae Saluitoni cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

[60] Proelia non tantum destinato, sed ex occasione sumebat ac saepe ab itinere statim, interdum spurcissimis tempestatibus, cum minime quis moturum putaret; nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus est, quo saepius uicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans nihilque se tantum adquisiturum uictoria, quantum [.....] hostem fudit, quin castris quoque exueret: ita [ut] nullum spatium perterritis dabat. ancipiti proelio equos dimittebat et in primis suum, quo maior permanendi necessitas imponeretur auxilio fugae erepto.

[61] Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit; cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicauit.

[62] Inclinatam aciem solus saepe restituit obsistens fugientibus retinensque singulos et contortis faucibus conuertens in hostem et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifer^[o] moranti se cuspe sit comminatus, alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

[63] Non minor illa constantia eius, maiora etiam indicia fuerint. post aciem Pharsalicam cum praemissis in Asiam copiis per angustias Hellesponti uectoria nauicula traiceret, L. Cassium partis aduersae cum decem rostratis nauibus obuium sibi neque refugit et comminus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

[64] Alexandriae circa oppugnationem pontis eruptione hostium subita compulsus in scapham pluribus eodem praecipitantibus, cum desilisset in mare, nando per ducentos passus euasit ad proximam nauem, elata laeua, ne libelli quos tenebat madefierent, paludamentum mordicus trahens, ne spolio poteretur hostis.

[65] Militem neque a moribus neque a fortuna probabat, sed tantum a uiribus, tractabatque pari seueritate atque indulgentia. non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercebat: tum maxime exactor grauissimus disciplinae, ut neque itineris neque proelii tempus denuntiaret, sed paratum et intentum momentis omnibus quo uellet subito educeret. quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, praecipue pluuiis et festis diebus. ac subinde obseruandum se admonens repente interdiu uel nocte subtrahebat, augebatque iter, ut serius subsequens defetigaret.

[66] Fama uero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando minuendoue, sed insuper amplificando ementiendoque confirmabat. itaque cum expectatio aduentus Iubae terribilis esset, conuocatis ad contionem militibus: ‘scitote,’ inquit, ‘paucissimis his diebus regem adfuturum cum decem legionibus, equitum triginta, leuis armaturae centum milibus, elephantis trecentis. proinde desinant quidam quaerere ultra aut opinari mihi, qui compertum habeo, credant; aut quidem uetustissima naue impositos quocumque uento in quascumque terras iubebo auehi.’

[67] Delicta neque obseruabat omnia neque pro modo exequebatur, sed desertorum ac seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus coniebat in ceteris. ac nonnumquam post magnam pugnam atque uictoriam remisso officiorum munere licentiam omnem passim lasciuiendi permittebat, iactare solitus milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse. nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat habebatque tam cultos, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem et quo tenaciores eorum in proelio essent metu damni. diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit nec ante dempserit quam uindicasset.

[68] Quibus rebus et deuotissimos sibi et fortissimos reddidit. ingresso ciuile bellum centuriones cuiusque legionis singulos equites e uiatico suo optulerunt, uniuersi milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam, cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. neque in tam diuturno spatio quisquam omnino desciiuit, plerique capti concessam sibi sub condicione uitam, si militare aduersus eum uellent, recusarunt. famem et ceteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, tanto opere tolerabant, ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompeius uiso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, cum feris sibi rem esse dixerit amouerique ocius nec cuiquam ostendi iusserit, ne patientia et pertinacia hostis animi suorum frangerentur. Quanta fortitudine dimicarint, testimonio est quod aduerso semel apud Dyrrachium proelio poenam in se ultro depoposcerunt, ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. ceteris proeliis innumeras aduersariorum copias multis partibus ipsi

pauciores facile superarunt. denique una sextae legionis cohors praeposita castello quattuor Pompei legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit paene omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta milia intra uallum reperta sunt. nec mirum, si quis singulorum facta respiciat, uel Cassi Scaeuae centurionis uel Gai Acili militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scaeuia excusso oculo, transfixus femore et umero, centum et uiginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portae commissi castelli retinuit. Acilius nauali ad Massiliam proelio iniecta in puppem hostium dextera et abscisa memorabile illud apud Graecos Cynegiri exemplum imitatus transiuit in nauem umbone obuios agens.

[69] Seditionem per decem annos Gallicis bellis nullam omnino mouerunt, ciuilibus aliquas, sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. non enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obuiam semper iit; et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quanquam in armis adhuc Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit aegreque post multas et supplicis preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus poena, restituit.

[70] Decimanos autem Romae cum ingentibus minis summoque etiam urbis periculo missionem et praemia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere; sed una uoce, qua 'Quirites' eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamuis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti; ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque et praedae et agri destinati tertia parte multauit.

[71] Studium et fides erga clientis ne iuueni quidem de fuerunt. Masintham nobilem iuuenem, cum aduersus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset, ut Iubae regis filio in altercatione barbam inuaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronuntiatum et abstrahentibus statim eripuit occultauitque apud se diu et mox ex praetura proficiscens in Hispaniam inter officia prosequentium fascisque lictorum lectica sua auexit.

[72] Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiaque tractauit, ut Gaio Oppio comitanti se per siluestre iter correptoque subita ualitudine deuersoriolo^[co], quod unum erat, cesserit et ipse humi ac sub diuo cubuerit. iam autem rerum potens quosdam etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores prouexit, cum ob id culparetur, professus palam, si grassatorum et sicariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.

[73] Simultates contra nullas tam graues excepit umquam, ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. Gai Memmi, cuius asperrimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. Gaio Caluo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua

stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseuerauit.

[74] Sed et in ulciscendo natura lenissimus piratas, a quibus captus est, cum in dicionem redeisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante iurauerat, iugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi; Cornelio Phagitae, cuius quondam nocturnas insidias aeger ac latens, ne perduceretur ad Sullam, uix praemio dato euaserat, numquam nocere sustinuit; Philemonem a manu seruum, qui necem suam per uenenum inimicis promiserat, non grauius quam simplici morte puniit; in Publium Clodium Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caerimoniarum reum testis citatus negauit se quicquam comperisse, quamuis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide re₁₀tulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem: ‘quoniam,’ inquit, ‘meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere.’

[75] Moderationem uero clementiamque cum in administratione tum in uictoria belli ciuilis admirabilem exhibuit. denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiauit. quibus autem ex commendatione Pompei ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. motis apud Ilerdam deditionis condicionibus, cum, assiduo inter utrasque partes usu atque commercio, Afranius et Petreius deprehensos intra castra Iulianos subita paenitentia interfecissent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari. acie Pharsalica proclamauit, ut ciuibus parceretur, deincepsque nemini non suorum quem uellet unum partis aduersae seruare concessit. nec ulli perisse nisi in proelio reperientur, exceptis dum taxat Afranio et Fausto et Lucio Caesare iuuenes; ac ne hos quidem uoluntate ipsius interemptos putant, quorum tamen et priores post impetratam ueniam rebellauerant et Caesar libertis seruisque eius ferro et igni crudelem in modum enectis bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidauerat. denique tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignouerat, cunctis in Italiam redire permisit magistratusque et imperia capere; sed et statuas Luci Sullae atque Pompei a plebe disiectas reposuit; ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur grauius aduersus se aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam uindicare. itaque et detectas coniurationes conuentusque nocturnos non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas, et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro contione denuntiare ne perseuerarent, Aulique Caecinae criminosis libro et Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam existimationem suam ciuili animo tulit.

[76] Praegrauant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur. non enim honores modo nimios recepit: continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen

Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, puluinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine; ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit. tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenuis gessit contentus dictaturae potestate decretae cum consulatibus simul atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos nouissimos menses, ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit praeter tribunorum et aedilium plebis praefectosque pro praetoribus constituerit, qui apse se res urbanas administrarent. pridie autem Kalendas Ianuarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. eadem licentia spreto patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinauit, decem praetoriis uiris consularia ornamenta tribuit, ciuitate donatos et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. praeterea monetae publicisque uestigalibus peculiares seruos praeposuit. trium legionum, quas Alexandreae relinquebat, curam et imperium Rufioni liberti sui filio exoleto suo demandauit.

[77] Nec minoris inpotentiae uoces propalam edebat, ut Titus Amp[er]ius scribit: nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit. debere homines consideratius iam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quae dicat. eoque arrogantiae progressus est, ut haruspice tristitia et sine corde exta quondam nuntiante futura diceret laetiora, cum uellet; nec pro ostento ducendum, si pecudi cor defuisset.

[78] Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem sibi inuidiam hinc maxime mouit. adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis uniuersos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit. quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere; alii, ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admonentem Gaium Trebatium ut assurgeret minus familiari uultu respexisse. idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est uisum, quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia tribunicia praeteruehenti sibi unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit, ut proclamauerit: ‘repete ergo a me Aquila rem publicam tribunus!’ et nec destiterit per continuos dies quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptione polliceri: ‘si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.’

[79] Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum reuertente eo inter inmodicas ac nouas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuae eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flauus coronae fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in uincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem siue, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos grauitur increpitos potestate priuauit. neque ex eo

infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere ualuit, quanquam et plebei regem se salutanti Caesarem se, non regem esse responderit et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in Capitolium Ioui Optimo Maximo miserit. quin etiam uaria fama percrebuit migraturum Alexandream uel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa, proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimuirum sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.

[80] Quae causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Consilia igitur dispersim antea habita et quae saepe bini terniue ceperant, in unum omnes contulerunt, ne populo quidem iam praesenti statu laeto, sed clam palamque detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante. peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est: ‘Bonum factum: ne quis senatori nouo curiam monstrare uelit!’ et illa uulgo canebantur:

Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam:
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.

Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animaduerti ex more iussisset, ab uniuersis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: ‘utinam uiueres!’ item ipsius Caesaris:

Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est:
hic, quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est.

conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassio Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspiracyonis. qui primum cunctati utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia uocantem partibus diuisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent, an in Sacra uia uel in aditu theatri adorirentur, postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in Pompei curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

[81] Sed Caesari futura caedes euidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas uillas uetustissima sepulcra disicerent idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum uasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiabant, tabula aenea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inuenta est conscripta litteris uerbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capii detecta essent, fore ut

illo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus uindicaretur. cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris. proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in traiciendo Rubiconi flumini consecrarat ac uagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere. et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit, caueret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur. pridie autem easdem Idus auem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem uolucres uarii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt. ea uero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi uisus est per quietem interdum supra nubes uolitare, alias cum Ioue dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt. Ob haec simul et ob infirmam ualitudinem diu cunctatus an se contineret et quae apud senatum proposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante, ne frequentis ac iam dudum opperientis destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est libellumque insidiarum indicem ab obuio quodam porrectum libellis ceteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat, quasi mox lecturus commiscuit. dein pluribus hostiis caesis, cum litare non posset, introiit curiam sprete religione Spurinnamque irridens et ut falsum arguens, quod sine ulla sua noxa Idus Martiae adessent: quanquam is uenisse quidem eas diceret, sed non praeterisse.

[82] Assidentem conspirati specie officii circumsteterunt, ilicoque Cimber Tillius, qui primas partes suscepit, quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit renuentique et gestu^[m] in aliud tempus differenti ab utroque umero togam adprehendit: deinde clamantem: 'ista quidem uis est!' alter e Cascis auersum uulnerat paulum infra iugulum. Caesar Cascae brachium arreptum graphio traiecit conatusque prosilire alio uulnere tardatus est; utque animaduertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obuoluit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte uelata. atque ita tribus et uiginti plagis confossus est uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine uoce edito, etsi tradiderunt quidam Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse: *kai su teknon*; exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres seruoli domum rettulerunt. nec in tot uulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat. Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci Antoni consulis et magistri equitum Lepidi destiterunt.

[83] Postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lauicano suo fecerat demandaueratque uirgini Vestali maximae. Quintus Tubero tradit heredem ab eo

scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium ciuilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque militibus pro contione recitatum. sed nouissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octauium ex dodrante, et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquo^[s]; in ima cera Gaium Octauium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit; plerosque percussorum in tutoribus fili, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominauit, Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. populo hortos circa Tiberim publice et uiritim trecenos sestertios legauit.

^[84] Funere indicto rogos exstructus est in Martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum ueste, in qua fuerat occisus. praeferentibus munera, quia suffecturus dies non uidebatur, praeceptum, ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque uellet itineribus urbis, portaret in Campum. inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et inuidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacui Armorum iudicio: men seruasse, ut essent qui me perderent? et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam. laudationis loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiauit senatus consultum, quo omnia simul ei diuina atque humana decreuerat, item ius iurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius astrinxerant; quibus perpauca a se uerba addidit. lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. quem cum pars in Capitolini Iouis cella cremare pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt confestimque circumstantium turba uirgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congegit. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices uestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae et ueteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas. In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.

^[85] Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassi^[i] cum facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa obuium sibi Heluium Cinna per errorem nominis, quasi Cornelius is esset, quem grauiter pridie contionatum de Caesare requirebat, occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit. postea solidam columnam prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit ^[in]scripsitque parenti patriae. apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, uota suscipere, controuersias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseuerauit.

^[86] Suspicionem Caesar quibusdam suorum reliquit neque uoluisse se diutius

uiuere neque curasse quod ualitudine minus prospera uteretur, ideoque et quae religiones monerent et quae renuntiarent amici neglexisse. sunt qui putent, confisum eum nouissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis + adinspectantium + se remouisse. alii e diuerso opinantur insidias undique imminetis subire semel quam cauere [.....] solitum ferunt: non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse, uti saluus esset: se iam pridem potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum; rem publicam, si quid sibi eueniret, neque quietam fore et aliquanto deteriore condicione ciuilia bella subituram.

[87] Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit, talem ei mortem paene ex sententia obtigisse. nam et quondam, cum apud Xenophontem legisset Cyrum ultima ualitudine mandasse quaedam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optauerat; et pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super cenam apud Marcum Lepidum, quisnam esset finis uitae commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque praetulerat.

[88] Periit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione uolgi. siquidem ludis, quos primo^[s] consecrato^[s] ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in uertice additur stella. Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit Idusque Martias Parricidium nominari, ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

[89] Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius superuixit neque sua morte defunctus est. damnati omnes alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio, pars proelio; nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Caesarem uiolauerant, interemerunt.

VITA DIVI AVGVSTI

[1] Gentem Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata, qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur, ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur.

[2] Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quaestorius CN. et C. procreavit, a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit conditione diversa. Siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Gaius eiusque poster, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo imperatore. Avus municipalibus magisteriis contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit. Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobrat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus repperi.

[3] C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a nonnullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores operasque compestris proditum; amplis enim innutritus opibus, honores et adeptus est facile et egregie administravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum tenentis, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciae praefuit non minore iustitia quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fuis, ita socios tractavit, ut epistolae M. Ciceronis exstent quibus Quintum fratrem eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium.

[4] Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem obiit repentinam, superstitibus liberis Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia minore item Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus,

multis in familia senatoriis imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore praeturae inter vigintiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.*

[5] Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. XIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita bubulo, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli, quod primum Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur.

[6] Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste religio est, concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirmata. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

[7] Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobrio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel abu avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens: *Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.*

[8] Quadrimus patrem amisit. Duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumpta, militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quanquam expers belli propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias adversus CN. Pompei liberos, vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus naufragio etiam facto subsecutus, magno opere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam. Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps in maturumque omisit, ceterum urbe repetita hereitatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem publicam tenuit.

[9] Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint. Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum; e quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium, secundum adversus Brutum et Cassium, tertium adversus L. Antonium triumviri fratrem, quartum adversus Sextum Pomeium CN. F.

[10] Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et (quia provisum periculum subterfugerat) legibus adgredi reosque caedia absenis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequeretur, in locum TR. PL. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit, quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel praecipuum adiutorem speraverat, ac ne publicum quidem et tralaticium ius ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimae mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit, quibus eum invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum confirmata expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensa periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac rei publicae auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; iussusque comparato exercitui pro praetore praeesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confecit duobus proeliis. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse, sequenti satis constat non

modo ducis, sed etiam militis functum munere atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, aquilam umeris subisse diuque portasse.

[11] Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perissent, rumor increbruit ambos opera eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re publica consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Adicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum e consulibus Hirtium in pugnae tumultu ab ipso interemptum.

[12] Sed ut cognovit Antonium post fugam a M. Lepido receptum ceterosque duces et exercitus consentire pro patribus, causam optimatum sine cunctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus, quasi alii se puerum, alii ornandum tolendumque iactassent, ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorres oppido egit, quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumultu publice extructo ascripserant, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

[13] Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate, Philippense quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, duplici proelio transegit, quorum priore castris exutus vix ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuae Caesaris subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit; ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, *iam istam volucrum fore potestatem*; alios, patrem et filium, pro vita rogantis sortiri vel micare iussisse, ut alterutri concederetur, ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque voluntariam occubisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M. Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedissimo convitio coram prosciderunt. Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris conlocandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

[14] Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus, quem gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas molientem confugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditionem fame compulit, non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus dilato quasi eundem mox et discruciatum necasset, minimum afuit, quin periret concursu et indignatione turbae militaris. Saluti fuit, quod qui desiderabatur repente comparuit incolumnis ac sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum

sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido eruperat.

[15] Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *moriendum esse*. Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dediticiis electos, utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio extractam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Extiterunt qui traderent, conpecto eum ad arma isse, ut occulti adversarii et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita, detegerentur divictisque is et confiscatis, promissa veteranis praemia perolverentur.

[16] Siculum bellum incohavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum saepius, modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem; donec navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baias, inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno divinctus, ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. Unde praebitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, *ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves*. Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit, *etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum*, ac die circensium proximo sollemni pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Traiecto in Siciliam exercitus, cum partem reliquam copiarum continenti repeteret, oppressus ex improvviso a Demochare et Appollophane praefectis Pompei, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum cum praeter Locros Regium pedibus iret et prospectis biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli comitis eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est. Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terrore et minis vindicantem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

[17] M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abruptit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum, quod is Romae, etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis, reliquerat, aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes, atque inter alios

C. Sositum et Cn. Domitium tunc adhuc consules. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium vicit, in serum dimicatione protacta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur, fuis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit obsessaque Alexandria, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem, seras conditiones pacis temptantem, ad mortem adegit viditque mortuum. Cleopatrae, quam servatam triumpho magno opere cupiebat, etiam psyllus admovit, qui venenum ac virus exurgerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis inchoatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit. Reliquos Antonii reginaeque communes liberos non secus ac necessitudine iunctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro conditione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit.

[18] Per idem tempus conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum et penetrati subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est, consultusque, num et Ptolemaeum inspicere vellet, *regem se voluisse ait videre, non mortuos*. Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbanae redderet, fossas omnis, in quas Nilus exaestuat, oblimatas longa vetustate militari opere deterisit. Quoque Actiacae victoria memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravat.

[19] Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniurationesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio detectas, compressit alias alio tempore: Lepidi iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenarum et Fanni Caepionis, mox M. Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progenieri sui, ac praeter has L. Audasi, falsarum tabularum rei ac neque aetate neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthina ibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris servi nomenclatoris. Nam ne

ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Iuliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex insulis, quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus, Telephus quasi debita sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et senatum adgredi destinarant. Quin etiam quandam iuxta cubiculum eius lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, ianitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est cultro venatorio cinctus, imposne mentis an simulata dementia, incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

[20] Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit, Delmaticum adulescens adhuc, et Antonio devicto Cantabricum. Delmatico etiam vulnera excepit, una acie dextrum genu lapide ictus, altera et crus et utrumque brachium ruina pontis consauciatus. Reliqua per legatos administravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanium vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.

[21] Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum magna copia caesis, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pignora sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quotiens vellent, obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam ultus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret, ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama Indos etiam ac Scythas, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populique Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper optulerunt, denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

[22] Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviori temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.

[23] Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in Germania

accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paena exitiabilem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibu caesis. Hac nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut a peritis et assuetis socii containerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliorem statum vertisset: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: *Quintili Vare, legiones redde!* diemque cladis quot annis maestum habuerit a lugubrem.

[24] In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit. Disciplinam severissime rexit: ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Equitem Romanum, quod duobus filiis adolescentibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae; quem tamen, quod imminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam dimisit, item alias immodeste missionem postulantes citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit. Cohortes, si quae cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit, pro cetero delictorum genere variis ignominis adfecit, ut stare per totum diem iuberet ante praetorium, interdum tunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam cum decempedis, vel etiam cespitem portantes.

[25] Neque post bella civilia aut in continione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat, sed milites, ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis aliter appellari passus est, ambitiosius id existimans, quam aut ratio militaris aut temporum quies aut sua domusque suae maiestas postulatet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos ac sine mora manumissos, sub prioris vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos. Dona militaria, aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praeexcellerent, dabat; has quam parcissime et sine ambitione ac saepe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales, quamquam et socios expeditionum et participes victoriarum suarum, numquam donis impertiendos putavit, quod ipsi quoque ius habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent. Nihil autem minus perfecto duci quam

festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa iactabat: *Speude bradeos. Asphales gar est ameinon e thraasus stratelates.* Et, *Sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.* Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.

[26] Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuosque cepit. Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere: *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.* Secundum consulatum post novem annos, tertium anno interiecto gessit sequentis usque ad undecimum continuavit, multisque mox, cum deferrentur, recusatis duodecim magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praeditus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini Iovis paululum curuli sella praesedisset, honore abiit suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quantum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit.

[27] Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos administravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscripcio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magno opere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eudem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate. Iunius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum peracta proscripcione M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset praeterita et spem clementiae in posterum fecisset, quoniam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc a diverso professum, *ita modum se proscribendi statuisset, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera.* In cuius tamen pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vincium Philopoemenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravat invidia. Nam et Pinarium equitem R. cum, contionante se admissa turba paganorum, apud milites subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit; et Tedium Afrum consulem designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis conterruit minis, ut is se praecipitaverit; et Quintum Gallium praetorem, in officio salutationis tabellas

duplices veste tectas tenentem, suspicatus gladium occulere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere, paulo post per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali, servilem in modum torsit ac fatentem nihil iussit occidi, prius oculis eius sua manu effossis; quem tamen scribit conloquio petito insidiatum sibi coniectumque a se in custodiam, diende urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis perisse. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepit, in qua semel atque iterum per singula lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regimen aequae perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit; primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.

[28] De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: “Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei p. quae iecero.” Fecitque ipse se compotem voti nisus omni modo, ne quem novi status paeniteret. Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset. Tutam uero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

[29] Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori extruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est cautumque, ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petitori hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti Iovi aedem consecravat liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam eius fulgur praestrinxisset servumque praelucentem exanimasset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae

theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel reffectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc exstructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

[30] Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sestertium una donatione contulerit.

[31] Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem numquam vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia contracta undique cremavit ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, bos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit; in cuius ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit magis quam Septembrem quo erat natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et in signes victoriae optigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos Saeculares et Compitalicios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere inberbes, item Saecularibus ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis. Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus.

Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superposuit translata e curia, in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

[32] Pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant aut per pacem etiam exstiterant. Nam et grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum suppressantur, et plurimae factiones titulo collegi novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui possessoribus adiudicavit; diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quaereretur nomina abolevit condicione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficio negotiumve in punitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis. Iudices a tricensimo aetatis anno adlegit, id est quinquennio maturius quam solebant. Ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantibus vix concessit, ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset et ut solitae agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur.

[33] Ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam, si parum corpore valeret lectica pro tribunali collocata, vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod non nisi confessi adficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: “Certe patrem tuum non occidisti ?” Et cum de falso testamento ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset. Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano, at provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cuiusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisset.

[34] Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto severius quam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit nisi adempta demum lenitave parte poenarum et vacatione trienni data auctisque praemiis. Sic quoque abolitionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptosque partim ad se partim in patris gremium ostentavit, manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari

iuvenis exemplum. Cumque etiam in maturitate sponsarum et matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponsas habendi coartavit, divortiis modum imposuit.

[35] Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba - erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti, quos orcinos vulgus vocabat - ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus: prima ipsorum arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae; quo tempore existimatur lorica sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedis decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit ne admissum quidem tunc quem quam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quosdam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitque etiam excusantibus insigne vestis et spectandi in orchestra epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique et religiosius et minore molestia senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit, ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus ageretur, Kalendis et Idibus, neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique instituit consilia sortiri semenstria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. Sententias de maiore negotio non more atque ordine sed prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde quisque animum intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsentendum esset. [36] Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, ut proconsulibus ad mulos et tabernacula, quae publice locari solebant, certa pecunia constitueretur, ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consueverant cogere decemviri cogerent.

[37] Quoque plures partem administrandae rei p. caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet, nec optinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

[38] Nec parcius in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit. Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei p. assuescerent, protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit militiamque auspiciantibus non

tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios praeposuit singulis alis. Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.

[39] Impetratisque a senatu decem adiutoribus unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim legerent; notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati graviore faenore collocassent.

[40] Ac comitiis tribuniciis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus R. creavit, ita ut potestate transacta in utro vellent ordine manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio spectare ludos et quattuordecim non auderent metu poenae theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri ea, quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset. Populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplici poena coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula milia nummum a se dividebat. Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitates Romanas parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum termini navit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescripsit, non aliter se daturum, quam si praesens sibi persuasisset, quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit affirmans facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta removisse, cum et de numero et de condicione ac differentia eorum, qui manumitterentur, curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vinctus umquam tortusve quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur, Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba indignabundus et clamitans: “en Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!” negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circave nisi positus lacernis togatum consistere.

[41] Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter exhibuit. Nam et

invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit, ut faenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit, et postea, quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum eius gratuitum iis, qui cavere in duplum possent, ad certum tempus indulisit. Senatorum census ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertium taxavit supplevitque non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducenos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis non nisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est tesserasque nummarias duplicavit.

[42] Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum severissima coercuit voce: satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent. Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti bonae se fidei esse respondit; non promissum autem flagitanti turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque non daturum se quamvis dare destinaret. Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magno vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus partimque servitorum urbe expulisset, ut tandem annona convaluit, impetum se cepisse scribit frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret; neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet posse per ambitionem quandoque restitui. Atque ita posthac rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

[43] Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies. Fecitque nonnumquam etiam viciatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones, munera non in Foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in Circo et in Saeptis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque exstructis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In Circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere. In hoc ludicro Nonium

Asprenatem lapsu debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum posterosque Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit talia edendi Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseque in curia questo Aesernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse crus fregerat. Ad scaenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum Lycium honeste natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet, quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae. Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides tunc primum missos per mediam harenam ad spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare, ut rhinocerotem apud Saepta, tigrim in scaena, anguem quin quaginta cubitorum pro Comitio. Accidit votivis circensibus, ut correptus valitudine lectica cubans tensas deduceret; rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus caderet supinus. Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit, quae suspecta maxime erat.

[44] Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque, motus iniuria senatoris, quem Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset. Militem secrevit a populo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis, sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebre secus omne adeo summovit, ut pontificalibus ludis pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus edixeritque mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum non placere.

[45] Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adesset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistulis libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque

dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria et praemia in alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat nullique Graeco mini interfilit. a quo non pro merito quemaue certantium honorarit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est; athletis et conservavit privilegia et ampliavit, gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit, coercionem in histriones magistratibus omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam ademit praeterquam ludis et scaena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes aut gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circum tonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum querente praetore in atrio domus suae nemine excluso flagellis verberarit et Pyladen urbe atque Italia summoverit, quod spectatorem, a quo exhibilabatur, demonstrasset digito conspicuumque fecisset.

[46] Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero deductarum a se frequentavit operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit, etiam iure ac dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit excogitato genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque colonia terrent et sub die comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum de ficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat, at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.

[47] Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit aut merita erga populum R. adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dum taxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traicere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

[48] Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut iisdem quibus ademerat reddidit aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque

imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis, donec adoluerent aut resipiscerent; ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

[49] Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim distribuit, classem Miseni et alteram Ravennae ad tutelam Superi et Inferi maris conlocavit, ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium, item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuevit. Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit. Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco idem perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint.

[50] In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu scalpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt. Ad epistulas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, addebat.

[51] Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerem, quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia, alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae iuvenis nomine asperimam de se epistulam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset neque votum sibi neque animum deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione, cum Aemilio Aeliano Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorem commotoque similis: "Velim," inquit, "hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere, plura enim de eo loquar"; nec quicquam ultra aut statim aut postea inquisiit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius apud se per epistulam conquerenti ita rescripsit: "Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit."

[52] Templā, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore; atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit. Dictaturam magna vi offerente populo genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.

[53] Domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo: “O dominum aequum et bonum!” et universi quasi de ipso dictum exsultantes comprobassent, et statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque se posthac appellari ne a Liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel ioco passus est atque eius modi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adoperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam ioco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, “quasi elephanto stipem.” Die senatus numquam patres nisi in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis ac nominatim singulos nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare desiit, quam grandior iam natu et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Cerrinium senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinantem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

[54] In senatu verba facienti dictum est: “Non intellexi,” et ab alio: “Contra dicerem tibi, si locum haberem.” Interdum ob immodicas disceptantium altercationes e curia per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt licere oportere senatoribus de re p. loqui. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem olim eius et tunc exulantem legit interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, suum quemque iudicium habere respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

[55] Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis, qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.

[56] Iocis quoque quorundam invidiosis aut petulantibus lacesitus contra dixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur intercessit. Quotiens magistratum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut

unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Numquam filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: “Si merebuntur.” Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit, ut tamen pari iure essent quo ceteri legibusque iudicariis aequae tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii accusante Cassio Severo diceret, consuluit senatum, quid officii sui putaret; cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur; et consentientibus universis sedit in subselliis per aliquot horas, verum tacitus et ne laudatione quidem iudiciali data. Affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuniarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricius, per quem de coniuratione Murenae cognoverat.

[57] Pro quibus meritis quanto opere dilectus sit, facile est aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia. Equites R. natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quotannis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus vivatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque. In restitutionem Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summarum acervos neque ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequabantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quotiens introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam sumeretur.

[58] Patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis: “Quod bonum,” inquit, “faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! Sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei p. et laeta huic precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consalutat patriae patrem.” Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus his verbis: ipsa enim, sicut Messalae, posui: “Compos factus votorum meorum, p. c., quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?”

[59] Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam

aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt. Nonnulli patrum familiarum testamento caverunt, ut ab heredibus suis praelato titulo victumae in Capitolium ducerentur votumque pro se solveretur, quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent. Quaedam Italiae civitates diem, quo primum ad se venisset, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt.

[60] Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicare; ac saepe regnis relictis non Romae modo sed et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni more clientium praestiterunt.

[61] Quoniam qualis in imperiis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p. fuerit, exposui, referam nunc interiorum ac familiarem eius vitam quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagensimum et quartum agens aetatis annum. Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

[62] Sponsam habuerat adulescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expositantibus utriusque militibus ut et necessitudine aliqua iungerentur, privignam eius Claudiam, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nubilem ac simultate cum Fulvia socru orta dimisit intactam adhuc et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac quoque divortium fecit, “pertaesus,” ut scribit, “morum perversitatem eius,” ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

[63] Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Iuliam primum Marcello Octaviae sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut is obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit coegitque praegnantem uxorem et ex qua iam pater erat dimittere. M. Antonius scribit primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Getarum regi, quo tempore sibi quoque in vicem filiam regis in matrimonium petisset.

[64] Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit C. et L. et Agrippam, neptes duas Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. adoptavit domi per assem et libram

emptos a patre Agrippa tenerosque adhuc ad curam rei p. admovit et consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur; extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripserit quondam parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset. Nepotes et litteras et natare aliaque rudimenta per se plerum que docuit, ac nihil aequae elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque cenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent, neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequarent.

[65] Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit; G. et L. in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege curiata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum. Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fractus, de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum senatui fecit abstinuitque congressu hominum diu prae pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebe suspendio vitam finisset, maluisse se ait Phoebes patrem fuisse. Relegatae usum vini omnemque delictiorem cultum ademit neque adiri a quoquam libero servove nisi se consulto permisit, et ita ut certior fieret, qua is aetate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Post quinquennium demum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus transtulit eam. Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe p. R. et pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem adgnosci alique vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiosem, in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cavit etiam s. c. ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur. Atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliarum mentionem ingemiscens proclamare etiam solebat: *aith ophelon agamos t'emeni agonos t'apolesthai*. nec aliter eos appellare quam tris vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.

[66] Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat modica, perpessus. Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatu. tradidit,

alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso laudavit quidem pietatem tanto opere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes floruerunt, quanquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenarum coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset. Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensitavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se persecutus fuisset. Legata vel partes hereditatum a quibuscumque parentibus relictas sibi aut statim liberis eorum concedere aut, si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consueverat.

[67] Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomedem dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistula prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque C. filii, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen.

[68] Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum in famiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est; M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; item L. Marci frater, quasi pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardenti, quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobavit verum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris Deum tympanizante: "Videsne, ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?"

[69] Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque

mulieres exquireret. M. Antonius super festinatas Liviae nuptias obiecit et feminam consularem e triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam paelicis; condiciones quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent, tamquam Toranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipsum haec familiariter adhuc necdum plane inimicus aut hostis: “Quid te mutavit? Quod reginam in eo? Uxor mea est. Nunc coepi an abhinc annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? Ita valeas, uti tu, hanc epistulam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?”

[70] Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo *dodekatheos* vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum non Antoni modo epistulae singulorum nomina amarissime enumerantis ex probrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus;

‘Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas,
Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.”

Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: Omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus et aleae indulgens: Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

“Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,”

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est:

“Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.”

[71] Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posteræ vitae castitate; item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta nihil sibi praeter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento

regio retinuerit et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines haesit, postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur. Aleae rumorem nullo modo expavit lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex ac praeterquam Decembri mense aliis quoque festis et profestis diebus. Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula: “Cenavi,” ait, “mi Tiberi, cum iisdem; accesserunt convivae Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie; talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem iecerat.” Et rursus aliis litteris: “Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim retractum est. Ego perdidici viginti milia nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuisset, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet.” Scribit ad filiam: “Misi tibi denarios ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellent inter se inter cenam vel talis vel par impar ludere.”

[72] In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum constat ac sine suspitione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo iuxta Romanum Forum supra Scalas anularias, in domo quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et *technophonon* vocabat; huc transibat aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum; aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iuliae, profuse ab ea exstructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis modica non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus, qualia sunt Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur gigantum ossa, et arma heroum.

[73] Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam nunc residuis

lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fuis, clavo nec lato nec angusto, calciamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat videretur. Et forensia autem et calceos numquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

[74] Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sine magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messala tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sexti Pompei classem. Ipse scribit, invitasse se quendam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare inciperent, prius quam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabulantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

[75] Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tantum ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil praeter cilicia et spongas et rutabula et forpices atque alia id genus titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

[76] Cibi — nam ne haec quidem omiserim — minimi erat atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bubulum manu pressum et ficos virides biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturque et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco, quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistulis sunt: “Nos in essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus.” Et iterum: “Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi.” Et rursus: “Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi, qui in balneo demum post horam primam noctis duas buccas manducavi prius quam ungui inciperem.” Ex hac inobservantia nonnumquam vel ante initum vel post dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

[77] Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam, Cornelius Nepos tradit. Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat.

Et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdium bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem aut cucumeris frustum vel lactuculae thyrsus aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris.

[78] Post cibum meridianum, ita ut vestitus calciatusque erat, relictis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus non amplius cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum recipere, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis resumebat producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit umquam nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendebar; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius vigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

[79] Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima, quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens; in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret ac modo tonderet modo raderet barbam eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus in praecipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem — quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus et a memoria eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit, — sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, ut non nisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset.

[80] Corpore traditur maculoso dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam ex prurigne corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam in claudicaret; sed remedio harenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum

salutarem tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admoveret. Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eiectis levabatur.

[81] Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam destillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit; quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa. Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine. Quare quassato corpore neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat.

[82] Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur, aestate apertis cubiculi foribus, ac saepe in peristylo saliente aqua atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque non nisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica et noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel Tibur biduo procederet; ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate (unguebatur enim saepius). Aut sudabat ad flammam, deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta; aut quotiens nervorum causa marinis albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat ut insidens ligneo solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo durentam vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis iactaret.

[83] Exercitationes campestris equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis, subsultim decurreret segestria vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

[84] Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviore non nisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono, dabatque assidue phonasco

operam; sed non numquam, infirmatis faucibus, praeconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

[85] Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut “Rescripta Bruto de Catone,” quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item “Hortationes ad philosophiam,” et aliqua “De vita sua,” quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit. Poetica summam attigit. Unus liber exstat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est “Sicilia”; exstat alter aequae modicus “Epigrammatum,” quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis, quidnam Ajax ageret, respondit, Aiace suum in spongeam incubuisse.

[86] Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et “reconditorum verborum,” ut ipse dicit, “fetoribus”; praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augment. Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprexit, exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius “myrobrechis,” ut ait, “cincinnos” usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcat et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi iudicium eius, addit haec: “Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annii an Veranii Flacci imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis, quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris? an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda?” Et quadam epistula Agrippinae neptis ingenium conlaudans, “sed opus est,” inquit, “dare te operam, ne moleste scribas et loquaris.”

[87] Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostendant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, “ad Kal. Graecas soluturos” ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint: “contenti simus hoc Catone”; et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem: “celerius quam asparagi cocuntur”; ponit assidue et pro stulto “baceolum” et pro pullo “pulleiaceum” et pro cerrito “vacerosum” et “vapide” se habere pro male et “betizare” pro languere, quod vulgo “lachanizare” dicitur; item “simus” pro sumus et “domos” genetivo casu singulari pro domus. Nec umquam aliter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam

consuetudinem putet. Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versus abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumducitque.

[88] Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto, cuius manu “ixi” pro “ipsi” scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

[89] Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum levioe studio tenebatur. In quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit spectaculis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aequae sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli “de prole augenda” et Rutili “de modo aedificiorum,” quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse. Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit; recitantis et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendeatur, admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri.

[90] Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicionem in abditum et concamaratum locum se reciperet, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcurso fulguris, ut praediximus.

[91] Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegebat. Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio monitus; cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris lectica eius, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atque lacerata est. Ipse per

omne ver plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore rariora et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Iovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit, queri Capitolinum Iovem cultores sibi abduci, seque respondisse, Tonantem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium aedis redimiit, quod ea fere ianuis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quotannis die certo emendicabat a populo cavam manum asses porrigentibus praebens.

[92] Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturique et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluvium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos iam ad terram languentisque ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum re publica Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur aut Nonis quicquam rei seriae incoharet; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam *dysphemian* nominis.

[93] Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circum stantium solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragrandia Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.

[94] Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere, quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animad vertique posset. Velitris antiquitus tacta de caelo parte muri, responsum est eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis apparuit ostentum illud Augusti potentiam portendisse. Auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur, regem populo Romano naturam parturire; senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur. In Asclepiadis Mendetis *Theologumenon* libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente

irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam velut picti draconis nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius utero Atiae iubar solis exortum. Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium, comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre risus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum exstat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula loco plano, postera luce non comparuit, diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est iacens contra solis exortum. Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano obstrepentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negantur ibi ranae coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex inproviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit et, cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex inproviso leniter delapsa reddidit. Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus continuis noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse atque in eius sinum signum rei publicae quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tanquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero, de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset, ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum rettulisset. M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse, cuius

imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit. Sumentem virilem togam tunica latius clavi, resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur. Apud Mundam Divus Iulius, castris locum capiens cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus durum et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet. In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

[95] Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monumentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo ostenderunt, et immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coniectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi.

[96] Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. Contractis ad Bononiam triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio eius supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit; notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem qualis secuta est, et exitum praesagiente. Philippis Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit auctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itinere avio occurrisset. Circa Perusiam, sacrificio non litanti cum augeri hostias imperasset, ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatus abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices, quae periculosa et adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent, cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exta haberent; neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exsilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit, homini Eutychnus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

[97] Mors quoque eius, de qua dehinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna

populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit; nam se, quamquam conscriptis paratisque iam tabulis, negavit suscepturum quae non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod aesar, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur. Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atque aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est, *non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum*; atque itinere incohato Asturam perrexit, et inde praeter consuetudinem de nocte ad occasionem aurae evectus, causam valitudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi.

[98] Tunc Campaniae ora proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo. Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui*. Qua re admodum exhilaratus quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed et ceteros continuos dies inter varia munuscula togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo praebuit, permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit. Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat, a desidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum, Masgaban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae *ktisten* vocare consuevit. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti tumulum cum e triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Ktiston de tymbon eisoro pyroumenon

conversusque ad Thrasyllum Tiberi comitem, contra accubantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit, cuiusnam poetae putaret esse; quo haesitante subiecit alium:

Horas phaessi Masgaban timomenon;

ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil aliud responderet quam, cuiuscumque essent optimos esse, cachinnum sustulit atque in iocos effusus est.

Mox Neapolim traiecit, quanquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo adgravata valitudine tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli maiori negotio animum accommodavit.

[99] Supremo die identidem exquirens, an iam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit, et admissos amicos percontatus, *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*, adiecit et clausulam:

ei de ti
echoi kalos to paignion, kroton dote
kai pantes hemas meta charas propempsate

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: *Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale!* sortitus exitum facilem et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quotiens audisset cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi et suis *euthanasian* similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavefactus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminutio fuit, siquidem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

[100] Obiit in cubiculo eodem, quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIII. Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V et XXX minus. Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt, noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit, urbiue intulit atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exsequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui suaderet, appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum

umeris delatus in Campum crematusque. Nec defuit vir praetorius, qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu exstruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

[101] Testamentum L. Planco C. Silio cons. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu, scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aequae voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit primos: Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit, secundos: Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis, tertio gradu: propinquos amicosque compluris. Legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecentos nummos: quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit perduxitque quaedam ad vicies sestertium, quibus solvendis annum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate, nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos quam milies et quingenties professus, quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis ceterisque hereditatibus in rem publicam absumpsisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid iis accidisset, vetuit sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur, tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.

VITA TIBERI

[1] Patricia gens Claudia — fuit enim et alia plebeia, nec potentia minor nec dignitate — orta est ex Regillis oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientium manu conmigrauit auctore Tito Tatío consorte Romuli, uel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe, post reges exactos sexto fere anno; atque in patricias cooptata agrum insuper trans Anienem clientibus locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publice accepit. Deinceps procedente tempore duodetriginta consulatus, dictaturas quinque, censuras septem, triumphos sex, duas ouationes adepta est. Cum praenominibus cognominibusque uariis distingueretur, Luci praenomen consensu repudiauit, postquam e duobus gentilibus praeditis eo alter latrocinii, caedis alter conuictus est. Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo^[d] significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus.

[2] Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam sequius admissa in rem p. Extant. Sed ut praecipua commemorem, Appius Caecus societatem cum rege Pyrro ut parum salubrem iniri dissuasit. Claudius Caudex primus freto classe traiecto Poenos Sicilia expulit. Tiberius Nero aduenientem ex Hispania cum ingentibus copiis Hasdrubalem, prius quam Hannibali fratri coniungeretur, oppressit. Contra Claudius Regillianus, decemuir legibus scribendis, uirginem ingenuam per uim libidinis gratia in seruitutem asserere conatus causa plebi fuit secedendi rursus a patribus. Claudius ^[Russus] statua sibi diademata ad Appi Forum posita Italiam per clientelas occupare temptauit. Claudius Pulcher apud Siciliam non pascentibus in auspicando pullis ac per contemptum religionis mari demersis, quasi ut biberent quando esse nollent, proelium nauale iniit; superatusque, cum dictatorem dicere a senatu iuberetur, uelut iterum inludens discrimini publico Glycian uiatorem suum dixit. Extant et feminarum exempla diuersa aequae, siquidem gentis eiusdem utraque Claudia fuit, et quae nauem cum sacris Matris deum Idaeae obhaerentem Tiberino uado extraxit, precata propalam, ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret; et quae nouo more iudicium maiestatis apud populum mulier subiit, quod in conferta multitudine aegre procedente carpento palam optauerat, ut frater suus Pulcher reuiuisceret atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romae foret. Praeterea notatissimum est, Claudios omnis, excepto dum taxat P. Clodio, qui ob expellendum urbe Ciceronem plebeio homini atque etiam natu minori in adoptionem se dedit, optimates adsertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse atque aduersus plebem adeo uiolentos et contumaces, ut ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare uestem aut deprecari

sustinuerit; nonnulli in altercatione et iurgio tribunos plebi pulsauerint. Etiam uirgo Vestalis fratrem iniussu populi triumphantem ascenso simul curru usque in Capitolium prosecuta est, ne uetare aut intercedere fas cuiquam tribunorum esset.

[3] Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Caesar genus trahit, e_{ti} quidem utrumque: paternum a Tiberio Nerone, maternum ab Appio Pulchro, qui ambo Appi Caeci filii fuerunt. Insertus est et Liuiorum familiae adoptato in eam materno auo. Quae familia, quanquam plebeia, tamen et ipsa admodum floruit octo consulatibus, censuris duabus, triumphis tribus, dictatura etiam ac magisterio equitum honorata; clara et insignibus uiris ac maxime Salinatore Drusisque. Salinator uniuersas tribus in censura notauit leuitatis nomine, quod, cum se post Priorem consulatum multa inrogata condemnassent, consulem iterum censoremque fecissent. Drusus hostium duce Drauso comminus trucidato sibi posterisque suis cognomen inuenit. Traditur etiam pro praetore ex prouincia Gallia ret_ulisse aurum Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum nec, ut fama est, extortum a Camillo. Eius abnepos ob eximiam aduersus Gracchos operam patronus senatus dictus filium reliquit, quem in simili dissensione multa uarie molientem diuersa factio per fraudem interemit.

[4] Pater Tiberi, Nero, quaestor C. Caesaris Alexandrino bello classi praepositus, plurimum ad uictoriam contulit. Quare et pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus et ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in quis Narbo et Arelate erant, missus est. Tamen Caesare occiso, cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de praemiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit. Praetura deinde functus, cum exitu anni discordia inter triumuiros orta esset, retentis ultra iustum tempus insignibus L. Antonium consulem triumuiro fratrem ad Perusiam secutus, deditione a ceteris facta, solus permansit in partibus ac primo Praeneste, inde Neapolim euasit seruisque ad pilleum frustra uocatis in Siciliam profugit. Sed indigne ferens nec statim se in conspectum Sexti Pompei admissum et fascium usu prohibitum, ad M. Antonium traiecit in Achaia. Cum quo breui reconciliata inter omnis pace Romam redit uxoremque Liuiam Drusillam et tunc grauidam et ante iam apud se filium enixam petenti Augusto concessit. Nec multo post diem obiit, utroque liberorum superstite, Tiberio Drusoque Neronibus.

[5] Tiberium quidam Fundis natum existimauerunt secuti leuem coniecturam, quod materna eius auia Fundana fuerit et quod mox simulacrum Felicitatis ex s. C. Publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est Romae in Palatio XVI. Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Munatio Planco cons. Per bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est. Nec tamen desunt, qui partim antecedente anno, Hirti ac Pansae, partim insequenti, Seruili

Isaurici ^[L.]que Antoni^[i] consulatu, genitum eum scribant.

^[6] Infantiam pueritiamque habuit laboriosam et exercitatum, comes usque quaque parentum fugae; quos quidem apud Neapolim sub inruptionem hostis nauigium clam petentis uagitu suo paene bis prodidit, semel cum a nutricis ubere, ite^[ru]m cum a sinu matris raptim auferretur ab iis, qui pro necessitate temporis mulierculas leuare onere temptabant. Per Siciliam quoque et per Achaiam circumductus ac Lacedaemoniis publice, quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, digrediens inde itinere nocturno discrimen uitae adiit flamma repente e siluis undique exorta adeoque omnem comitatum circumplexa, ut Liuiæ pars uestis et capilli amburerentur. Munera, quibus a Pompeia Sex. Pompei sorore in Sicilia donatus est, chlamys et fibula, item bullae aureae, durant ostendunturque adhuc Bais. Post reditum in urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus hereditate adita mox nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius aduersarum Augusto partium fuerat. Nouem natus annos defunctum patrem pro rostris laudauit. Dehinc pubescens Actiaco triumpho curram Augusti comitatus est sinistro funali equo, cum Marcellus Octauiae filius dextero ueheretur. Praesedit et asticis ludis et Troiam circensibus ^[lusit] ductor turmae puerorum maiorum.

^[7] Virili toga sumpta adulescentiam omnem spatiumque insequentis aetatis usque ad principatus initia per haec fere transegit. Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in aui Drusi dedit, diuersis temporibus ac locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro, rudiaris quoque quibusdam reuocatis auctoramento centenum milium; dedit et ludos, sed absens: cuncta magnifice, impensa matris ac uitrici. Agrippinam, Marco Agrippa genitam, neptem Caecili Attici equitis R., ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae, duxit uxorem; sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quanquam bene conuenientem rursusque grauidam dimittere ac Iuliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere non sine magno angore animi, cum et Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur et Iuliae mores improbareret, ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam uulgo existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam et abegisse post diuortium doluit et semel omnino ex occursum adeo contentis et ^[i]umentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne umquam in conspectum ei posthac ueniret. cum Iulia primo concorditer et amore mutuo uixit, mox dissedit et aliquanto grauius, ut etiam perpetuo secubaret, intercepto communis filii pignore, qui Aquileiae natus infans extinctus est. Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit, cuius corpus pedibus toto itinere praegrediens Romam usque peruexit.

^[8] Ciuium officiorum rudimentis regem Archelaum Trallianos et Thessalos, uaria quosque de causa, Augusto cognoscente defendit; pro Laodice Thyatirensis Chiis terrae motu afflictis opemque implorantibus senatum

deprecatus est; Fannium Caepionem, qui cum Varrone Murena in Augustum conspirauerat, reum maiestatis apud iudices fecit et condemnauit. interque haec duplicem curam administrauit, annonae quae artior inciderat, et repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in inuidiam uenerant quasi exceptos suppresserent non solum uiatores sed et quos sacramenti metus ad eius modi latebras compulisset.

[9] Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit, dein ducto ad Orientem exercitu regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit. recepit et signa, quae M. Crasso ademerant Parthi. Post hoc Comatam Galliam anno fere rexit et barbarorum incursionibus et principum discordia inquietam. Exin Raeticum Vindelicumque bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum gessit. Raetico atque Vindelico gentis Alpinas, Pannonico Breucos et Dalmatas subegit, Germanico quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis conlocauit. Quas ob res et ouans et curru urbem ingressus est, prius, ut quidam putant, triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, nouo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris. Magistratus et maturius incohauit et paene iunctim percucurrit, quaesturam praeturam consulatum; interpositoque tempore consul iterum etiam tribuniciam potestatem in quinquennium accepit.

[10] Tot prosperis confluentibus integra aetate ac ualitudine statuit repente secedere seque e medio quam longissime amouere: dubium uxorisne taedio, quam neque criminari aut dimittere auderet neque ultra perferre posset, an ut uitato assiduitatis fastidio auctoritatem absentia tueretur atque etiam augeret, si quando indignisset sui res p. Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse exemplo M. Agrippae, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto Mytilenas abierit, ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens uideretur. Quam causam et ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem ac requiem laborum praetendens commeatum petit; neque aut matri suppliciter precanti aut uitrigo deseri se etiam in senatu conquerenti ueniam dedit. Quin et pertinacius retinentibus, cibo per quadriduum abstinuit. Facta tandem abeundi potestate, relictis Romae uxore et filio confestim Ostiam descendit, ne uerbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito paucosque admodum in digressu exosculatus.

[11] Ab Ostia oram Campaniae legens inbecillitate Augusti nuntiata paulum substitit. Sed increbrescente rumore quasi ad occasionem maioris spei commoraretur, tantum non aduersis tempestatibus Rhodum enauigauit, amoenitate et salubritate insulae iam inde captus cum ad eam ab Armenia rediens appulisset. Hic modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano genus uitae ciuile admodum instituit, sine lictore aut uiatore gymnasio interdum

obambulans mutuaque cum Graeculis officia usurpans prope ex aequo. Forte quondam in disponendo die mane praedixerat, quidquid aegrorum in ciuitate esset uisitare se uelle; id a proximis aliter exceptum iussique sunt omnes aegri in publicam porticum deferri ac per ualitudinum genera disponi. Percussus ergo inopinata re diuque quid ageret incertus, tandem singulos circuit excusans factum etiam tenuissimo cuique et ignoto. unum hoc modo neque praeterea quicquam notatum est, in quo exeruisse ius tribuniciae potestatis uisus sit: cum circa scholas et auditoria professorum assiduus esset, moto inter antisophistas grauiore iurgio, non defuit qui eum interuenientem et quasi studiosiorem partis alterius conuicio incesceret. Sensim itaque regressus domum repente cum apparitoribus prodiit citatumque pro tribunali uoce praeconis conuiciatorem rapi iussit in carcerem. Comperit deinde Iuliam uxorem ob libidines atque adulteria damnatam repudiumque ei suo nomine ex auctoritate Augusti remissum; et quamquam laetus nuntio, tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiae patrem frequentibus litteris et uel utcumque merita, quidquid umquam dono dedisset, concedere. transacto autem tribuniciae potestatis tempore, confessus tandem, nihil aliud secessu deuitasse se quam aemulationis cum C. Lucioque suspicionem, petit ut sibi securo iam ab hac parte, conroboratis his et secundum locum facile tutantibus, permitteretur reuisere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur. Sed neque impetrauit ultroque etiam admonitus est, dimitteret omnem curam suorum, quos tam cupide reliquisset.

[12] Remansit igitur Rhodi contra uoluntatem, uix per matrem consecutus, ut ad uelandam ignominiam quasi legatus Augusto abesset. Enimuero tunc non priuatum modo, sed etiam obnoxium et trepidum egit mediterraneis agris abditus uitansque praeternauigantium officia, quibus frequentabatur assidue, nemine cum imperio aut magistratu tendente quoquam quin deuerteret Rhodum. Et accesserunt maioris sollicitudinis causae. Namque priuignum Gaium Orienti praepositum, cum uisendi gratia traiecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lolli comitis et rectoris eius. uenit etiam in suspicionem per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones a commeatu castra repetentis mandata ad complures dedisse ambigua et quae temptare singulorum animos ad nouas res uiderentur. De qua suspicione certior ab Augusto factus non cessauit efflagitare aliquem cuiuslibet ordinis custodem factis atque dictis suis.

[13] Equi quoque et armorum solitas exercitationes omisit redegitque se deposito patrio habitu ad pallium et crepidas atque in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies et inuisior, adeo ut imagines eius et statuas Nemausenses subuerterint ac familiari quondam conuiuio mentione eius orta extiterit qui Gaio polliceretur, confestim se, si iuberet, Rhodum nauigaturum caputque exulis — sic enim appellabatur — relaturum. Quo praecipue non iam metu sed discrimine

coactus est, tam suis quam matris inpensissimis precibus reditum expostulare, impetrauitque adiutus aliquantum etiam casu. Destinatum Augusto erat, nihil super ea re nisi ex uoluntate maioris fili statuere; is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisque in uitricum fuit. Permittente ergo Gaio reuocatus est, uerum sub condicione ne quam partem curamue rei p. attingeret.

[14] Rediit octauo post secessum anno, magna nec incerta spe futurorum, quam et ostentis et praedictionibus ab initio aetatis conceperat. Praegnans eo Liuiia cum an marem editura esset, uariis captaret ominibus, ouum incubanti gallinae subductum nunc sua nunc ministrarum manu per uices usque fouit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est. Ac de infante Scribonius mathematicus praeclara spopondit, etiam regnaturum quandoque, sed sine regio insigni, ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Caesarum potestate. Et ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit ut apud Philippos sacratae olim uictricium legionum arae sponte subitis conlucerent ignibus; et mox, cum Illyricum petens iuxta Patauium adisset Geryonis oraculum, sorte tracta, qua monebatur ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos iaceret, euenit ut summum numerum iacti ab eo ostenderent; hodieque sub aqua uisuntur hi tali. Ante paucos uero quam reuocaretur dies aquila numquam antea Rhodi conspecta in culmine domus eius assedit; et pridie quam de reditu certior fieret, uestimenta mutanti tunica ardere uisa est. Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum, quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admouerat, tum maxime expertus est affirmantem naue prouisa gaudium afferri; cum quidem illum durius et contra praedicta cadentibus rebus ut falsum et secretorum temere conscium, eo ipso momento, dum spatiatur una, praecipitare in mare destinasset.

[15] Romam reuersus deducto in forum filio Druso statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit, priuata modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers. Gaio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa, coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quicquam postea pro patre familias egit aut ius, quod amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neque donauit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit ulla aliter quam ut peculio referret accepta. Nihil ex eo tempore praetermissum est ad maiestatem eius augendam ac multo magis, postquam Agrippa abdicato atque seposito certum erat, uni spem successionis incumbere;

[16] Data rursus potestas tribunicia in quinquennium, delegatus pacandae Germaniae status, Parthorum legati mandatis Augusto Romae redditus eum quoque adire in prouincia iussi. Sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione transiit ad curam noui belli, quod grauissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica, per quindecim legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam triennio gessit in magnis

omnium rerum difficultatibus summaque frugum inopia. Et quanquam saepius reuocaretur, tamen perseueravit, metuens ne uicinus et praeualens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac perseuerantiae grande pretium tulit, toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danuvium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet, perdomito et in dicionem redacto.

[17] Cui gloriae amplior adhuc ex oportunitate cumulus accessit. Nam sub id fere tempus Quintilius Varus cum tribus legionibus in Germania periit, nemine dubitante quin uictores Germani iuncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset. Quas ob res triumphus ei decretus est multi^[que] et magni honores. Censuerunt etiam quidam ut Pannonicus, alii ut Inuictus, nonnulli ut Pius cognominaretur. Sed de cognomine intercessit Augustus, eo contentum repromittens, quod se defuncto suscepturus esset. Triumphum ipse distulit maesta ciuitate clade Variana; nihilo minus urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intrauit positumque in Saeptis tribunal senatu astante conscendit ac medius inter duos consules cum Augusto simul sedit; unde populo consalutato circum templa deductus est.

[18] Proximo anno repetita Germania cum animaduerneret Varianam cladem temeritate et negligentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit; semper alias sui arbitrii contentusque se uno, tunc praeter consuetudinem cum compluribus de ratione belli communicauit. Curam quoque solito exactiorem praestitit. Traiecturus Rhenum commeatum omnem ad certam formulam adstrictum non ante transmisit, quam consistens apud ripam explorasset uehiculorum onera, ne qua deportarentur nisi concessa aut necessaria. Trans Rhenum uero eum uitae ordinem tenuit, ut sedens in caespite nudo cibum caperet, saepe sine tentorio pernoctaret, praecepta sequentis diei omnia, et si quid subiti muneris iniungendum esset, per libellos daret; addita monitione ut, de quo quisque dubitaret, se nec alio interprete quacumque uel noctis hora uteretur.

[19] Disciplinam acerrime exegit animaduersionum et ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis atque etiam legato legionis, quod paucos milites cum liberto suo trans ripam uenatum misisset, ignominia notato. proelia, quamuis minimum fortunae casibusque permetteret, aliquanto constantius inibat, quotiens lucubrante se subito ac nullo propellente decideret lumen et extingueretur, confidens, ut aiebat, ostento sibi a maioribus suis in omni ducatu expertissimo. Sed re prospere gesta non multum afuit quin a Bructero quodam occideretur, cui inter proximos uersanti et trepidatione detecto tormentis expressa confessio est cogitati facinoris.

[20] A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus triumphum, quem distulerat, egit prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat. Ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru seque praesidenti patri ad

genua summisit. Batonem Pannonium ducem ingentibus donatum praemiis Rauennam transtulit, gratiam referens, quod se quondam cum exercitu iniquitate loci circumclusum passus es^[se]t euadere. prandium dehinc populo mille mensis et congiarium trecenos nummos uiritim dedit. Dedicauit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis.

^[21] Ac non multo post lege per consules lata, ut prouincias cum Augusto communiter administraret simulque censum a^[u]geret, condito lustrum in Illyricum profectus est. Et statim ex itinere reuocatus iam quidem adfectum, sed tamen spirantem adhuc Augustum repperit fuitque una secreto per totum diem. Scio uulgo persuasum quasi egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio uox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: “Miserum populum R., qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.” Ne illud quidem ignoro aliquos tradidisse, Augustum palam nec dissimulanter morum eius diritatem adeo improbasse, ut nonnumquam remissiores hilarioresque sermones superueniente eo abrumperet; sed expugnatum precibus uxoris adoptionem non abnuisse, uel etiam ambitione tractum, ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret. Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem in tanto praesertim negotio nihil temere fecisse; sed uitiis Tiberi^[u] uirtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse uirtutes, praesertim cum et rei p. causa adoptare se eum pro contione iurauerit et epistulis aliquot ut peritissimum rei militaris utque unicum p. R. praesidium prosequatur. Ex quibus in exemplum pauca hinc inde subieci.

“Vale, iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere, *emoi kai tais +mouicacaist stratægøn*. Iucundissime et ita sim felix, uir fortissime et dux *nomimõtate*, uale. Ordinem aestiuorum tuorum ego uero [. . .], mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates *kai tosautæn apothym^[e]ian tøn strateuomenøn* non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se quam tu gesseris, existimo. ^[h]ii quoque qui tecum fuerunt omnes confitentur, uersum illum in te posse dici: unus homo nobis uigilando restituit rem. Siue quid incidit de quo sit cogitandum diligentius, siue quid stomachor, ualde medius Fidius Tiberium meum desidero succurritque uersus ille Homericus:

*toutou g’hespmenoio kai ek pyros aithomenoio
amphø nostæsaimen, epi perioide noæsai.*

Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum cum audio et lego, di me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum; teque oro ut parcas tibi, ne si te languere audierimus, et ego et mater tua expiremus et summa imperi sui populus R.

periclitetur. Nihil interest ualeam ipse necne, si tu non ualebis. Deos obsecro, ut te nobis conseruent et ualere nunc et semper patiantur, si non p. R. perosi sunt.”

[22] Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit, quam Agrippa iuvene interempto. Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus occidit lectis codicillis, quibus ut id faceret iubebatur; quos codicillos dubium fuit, Augustusne moriens reliquisset, quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret; an nomine Augusti Liuia et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro, dictasset. Tiberius renuntianti tribuno, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse se et redditurum eum senatui rationem respondit, inuidiam scilicet in praesentia uitans. Nam mox silentio rem obliterauit.

[23] Iure autem tribuniciae potestatis coacto senatu incohataque adlocutione derepente uelut impar dolori congemit, utque non solum uox sed et spiritus deficeret optauit ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit. Inlatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, ceteris extra curiam signa agnoscentibus, recitauit per libertum. testamenti initium fuit: “Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et sextante heres esto.” Quo et ipso aucta suspicio est opinantium successorem ascitum eum necessitate magis quam iudicio, quando ita praefari non abstinerit.

[24] Principatum, quamuis neque occupare confestim neque agere dubitasset, et statione militum, hoc est ui et specie dominationis assumpta, diu tamen recusauit, impudentissimo mimo nunc adhortantis amicos increpans ut ignaros, quanta belua esset imperium, nunc precantem senatum et procumbentem sibi ad genua ambiguis responsis et callida cunctatione suspendens, ut quidam patientiam rumperent atque unus in tumultu proclamaret: “Aut agat aut desistat!” Alter coram exprobraret ceteros, quod polliciti sint tarde praestare, se^[a] ipsum, quod praestet tarde polliceri. Tandem quasi coactus et querens miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi seruitutem, recepit imperium; nec tamen aliter, quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. Ipsius uerba sunt: “Dum ueniam ad id tempus, quo uobis aequum possit uideri dare uos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.”

[25] Cunctandi causa erat metus undique imminentium discriminum, ut saepe lupum se auribus tenere diceret. Nam et seruus Agrippae Clemens nomine non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini compararat et L. Scribonius Libo uir nobilis res nouas clam moliebatur et duplex seditio militum in Illyrico et in Germania exorta est. Flagitabant ambo exercitus multa extra ordinem, ante omnia ut aequarentur stipendio praetoriani^[s]. Germaniciani quidem etiam principem detractabant non a se datum summaque ui Germanicum, qui tum iis

praeerat, ad capessendam rem p. urgebant, quanquam obfirmate resistantem. Quem maxime casum timens, partes sibi quas senatui liberet, tuendas in re p. depoposcit, quando uniuersae sufficere solus nemo posset nisi cum altero uel etiam cum pluribus. Simulauit et ualitudinem, quo aequiore animo Germanicus celerem successionem uel certe societatem principatus opperiretur. Compositis seditionibus Clementem quoque fraude deceptum redegit in potestatem. Libonem, ne quid in nouitate acerbius fieret, secundo demum anno in senatu coarguit, medio temporis spatio tantum cauere contentus; nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curauit et secretum petenti non nisi adhibito Druso filio dedit dextramque obambulantis ueluti incumbens, quoad perageretur sermo, continuuit.

[26] Verum liberatus metu ciuilem admodum inter initia ac paulo minus quam priuatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus praeter paucos et modicos non recepit. Natalem suum plebeis incurrentem circensibus uix unius bigae adiectione honorari passus est. Tempia, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur. Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua iuraretur, et ne mensis September Tiberius, October Liuius uocarentur. Praenomen quoque imperatoris cognomenque patris patriae et ciuicam in uestibulo coronam recusauit; ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quanquam hereditarium, nullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit. Nec amplius quam mox tres consulatus, unum paucis diebus, alterum tribus mensibus, tertium absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.

[27] Adulationes adeo auersatus est, ut neminem senatorum aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit, consularem uero satisfacientem sibi ac per genua orare conantem ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus; atque etiam, si quid in sermone uel in continua oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare ac reprehendere et commutare continuo. Dominus appellatus a quodam denuntiauit, ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret. alium dicentem sacras eius occupationes et rursus alium, auctore eo senatum se a_[u]disse, uerba mutare et pro auctore suasorem, pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit.

[28] Sed et aduersus conuicia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens subinde iactabat in ciuitate libera linguam mentemque liberas esse debere; et quondam senatu cognitionem de eius modi criminibus ac reis flagitante: “Non tantum,” inquit, “otii habemus, ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus; si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis: omnium inimicitiae hoc praetexto ad uos deferentur.” Extat et sermo eius in senatu perciuilis: “Siquidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum

meorum dictorumque reddam; si perseuerauerit, in uicem eum odero.”

[29] Atque haec eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellandis uenerandisque et singulis et uniuersis prope excesserat humanitatis modum. Dissentiens in curia a Q. Haterio: “Ignoscas,” inquit, “rogo, si quid aduersus te liberius sicut senator dixero.” Et deinde omnis adloquens: “Dixi et nunc et saepe alias, p. c., bonum et salutarem principem, quem uos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui seruire debere et uniuersis ciuibus saepe et plerumque etiam singulis; neque id dixisse me paenitet, et bonos et aequos et fauentes uos habui dominos et adhuc habeo.”

[30] Quin etiam speciem libertatis quandam induxit conseruatis senatui ac magistratibus et maiestate pristina et potestate. Neque tam paruum quicquam neque tam magnum publici priuatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscriptos referretur: de uestigalibus ac monopoliis, de extruendis reficiendisue operibus, etiam de legendo uel exauctorando milite ac legionum et auxiliorum discriptione, denique quibus imperium prorogari aut extraordinaria bella mandari, quid et qua_[m] forma_[m] regum litteris rescribi placeret. Praefectum alae de ui et rapinis reum causam in senatu dicere coegit. Numquam curiam nisi solus intrauit; lectica quondam intro latus aeger comites a se remouit.

[31] Quaedam aduersus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est. Negante eo destinatos magistratus abesse oportere, ut praesentes honori adquiescerent, praetor designatus liberam legationem impetrauit. Iterum censente, ut Trebianis legatam in opus noui theatri pecuniam ad munitionem uiae transferre concederetur, optinere non potuit quin rata uoluntas legatoris esset. cum senatus consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo. Cetera quoque non nisi per magistratus et iure ordinario agebantur, tanta consulum auctoritate, ut legati ex Africa adierint eos querentes, trahi se a Caesare ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset, ipsum quoque eisdem et assurgere et decedere uia.

[32] Corripuit consulares exercitibus praepositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent quodque de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi ius haberent. Praetorem conlaudauit, quod honore inito consuetudinem antiquam ret_[u]ulisset de maioribus suis pro contione memorandi. Quorundam illustrium exequias usque ad rogam frequentauit. Parem moderationem minoribus quoque et personis et rebus exhibuit. Cum Rhodiorum magistratus, quod litteras publicas sine subscriptione ad se dederant, euocasset, ne uerbo quidem insectatus ac tantum modo iussos subscribere remisit. Diogenes grammaticus, disputare sabbatis Rhodi solitus, uenientem eum, ut se extra ordinem audiret, non admiserat ac per seruolum suum in septimum diem distulerat; hunc Romae salutandi sui causa pro foribus

adstantem nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret admonuit. praesidibus onerandas tributo prouincias suadentibus rescripsit boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.

[33] Paulatim principem exeruit praestititque etsi uarium diu, commodiorem tamen saepius et ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo eatenus interueniebat, ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque et constitutiones senatus quasdam rescidit et magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium assidebatque iuxtim uel exaduersum in parte primori; et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat iudicesque aut e plano aut e quaesitoris tribunali legum et religionis et noxae, de qua cognoscerent, admonebat; atque etiam, si qua in publicis moribus desidia aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit.

[34] Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit mercedibus scaenicorum recisis paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis. Corinthiorum uasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse tresque milia triginta milibus nummum uenisse grauiter conquestus, adhibendum supellectili modum censuit annonamque macelli senatus arbitrato quotannis temperandam, dato aedilibus negotio popinas ganeasque usque eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi uenalia sinerent. Et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo quoque iuuaret, sollemnibus ipse cenis pridiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans omnia eadem habere, quae totum. Cotidiana oscula edicto prohibuit, item strenarum commercium ne ultra Kal. Ian. exerceretur. consuerat quadriplam strenuam, et de manu, reddere; sed offensus interpellari se toto mense ab iis qui potestatem sui die festo non habuissent, ultra non tulit.

[35] Matronas prostratae pudicitiae, quibus accusator publicus deesset, ut propinqui more maiorum de communi sententia coercerent auctor fuit. Eq(uiti) R(omano) iuris iurandi gratiam fecit, uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se numquam repudiaturum ante iurauerat. Feminae famosae, ut ad euitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exoluerentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant, et ex iuuentute utriusque ordinis profligatissimus quisque, quominus in opera scaenae harenaeque edenda senatus consulto teneretur, famosi iudicii notam sponte subibant; eos easque omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exilio adfecit. Senatori latum clauum ademit, cum cognosset sub Kal. Iul. demigrasse in hortos, quo uilius post diem aedes in urbe conduceret. Alium e quaestura remouit, quod uxorem pridie sortitionem ductam postridie repudiasset.

[36] Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas uestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuuentutem per speciem sacramenti in prouincias grauioris caeli

distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem uel similia sectantes urbe summouit, sub poena perpetuae seruitutis nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus ueniam dedit.

[37] In primis tuendae pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit. Romae castra constituit, quibus praetorianae cohortes uagae ante id tempus et per hospitia dispersae continerentur. Populares tumultus et ortos grauissime coercuit et ne orerentur sedulo cauit. Caede in theatro per discordiam admissa capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegauit, nec ut reuocaret umquam ullis populi precibus potuit euinci. Cum Pollentina plebs funus cuiusdam primipilaris non prius ex foro misisset quam extorta pecunia per uim heredibus ad gladiatorium munus, cohortem ab urbe et aliam a Cotti regno dissimulata itineris causa detectis repente armis concinentibusque signis per diuersas portas in oppidum immisit ac partem maiorem plebei ac decurionum in perpetua uincula coiecit. Aboleuit et ius moremque asylorum, quae usquam erant. Cyzicenis in ciues R. uiolentius quaedam ausis publice libertatem ademit, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant. Hostiles motus nulla postea expeditione suscepta per legatos compescuit, ne per eos quidem nisi cunctanter et necessario. reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis et querelis quam ui repressit; quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut Marobodum Germanum, Rhascuporim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in formam prouinciae redegit.

[38] Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenus nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies; quamuis prouincias quoque et exercitus reuisurum se saepe pronuntiasset et prope quotannis profectionem praepararet, uehiculis comprehensis, commeatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis, ad extremum uota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus, ut uulgo iam per iocum “Callippides” uocaretur, quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi prouerbio Graeco notatum est.

[39] Sed orbatus utroque filio, quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romae obierat, secessum Campaniae petit; constanti et opinione et sermone paene omnium quasi neque rediturus umquam et cito mortem etiam obiturus. Quod paulo minus utrumque euenit; nam neque Romam amplius rediit ^[s]et paucos post dies iuxta Tarracinam in praetorio, cui Speluncae nomen est, incenante eo complura et ingentia saxa fortuito superne dilapsa sunt, multisque conuiuarum et ministrorum elisis praeter spem euasit.

[40] Peragrata Campania, cum Capuae Capitolium, Nolae templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis praetenderat, dedicasset, Capreas se contulit,

praecipue delectatus insula, quod uno paruoque litore adiretur, saepta undique praeruptis immensae altitudinis rupibus et profundo mari. Statimque reuocante assidua obtestatione populo propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas supra uiginti hominum milia gladiatorio munere amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit: tanto magis, quod urbe egrediens ne quis se interpellaret edixerat ac toto itinere adeuntis submouerat.

[41] Regressus in insulam rei p. Quidem curam usque adeo abiecit, ut postea non decurias equitum umquam supplerit, non tribunos militum praefectosque, non prouinciarum praesides ullos mutauerit, Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit, Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Moesiam a Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis uastari neglexerit: magno dedecore imperii nec minore discrimine.

[42] Ceterum secreti licentiam nactus et quasi ciuitatis oculis remotis, cuncta simul uitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit: de quibus singillatim ab exordio referam. In castris tiro etiam tum propter nimiam uini auditatem pro Tiberio “Biberius,” pro Claudio “Caldius,” pro Nerone “Mero” uocabatur. Postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri Syriam prouinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit, codicillis quoque iucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus. Cestio Gallio, libidinoso ac prodigo seni, olim ab Augusto ignominia notato et a se ante paucos dies apud senatum increpito cenam ea lege condixit, ne quid ex consuetudine immutaret aut demeret, utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cenaretur. ignotissimum quaesturae candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit ob epotam in conuiuio propinante se uini amphoram. Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donauit pro dialogo, in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat. nouum denique officium instituit a uoluptatibus, praeposito equite R. T. Caesonio Prisco.

[43] Secessu uero Caprensi etiam sellaria excogitauit, sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum et exoletorum greges monstrosique concubitus repertores, quos spintrias appellabat, triplici serie conexi, in uicem incestarent coram ipso, ut aspectu deficientis libidines excitaret. Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lasciuissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornauit librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar impe[r]atae schemae deesset. In siluis quoque ac nemoribus passim Venerios locos commentus est prost[r]antisque per antra et causa rupes ex utriusque sexus pube Paniscorum et Nympharum habitu, quae palam iam et uulgo nomine insulae abutentes “Caprineum” dictitabant.

[44] Maiore adhuc ac turpiore infamia flagrauit, uix ut referri audiriue, nedum

credi fas sit, quasi pueros primae teneritudinis, quos pisciculos uocabat, institueret, ut natanti sibi inter femina uersarentur ac luderent lingua morsuque sensim adpetentes; atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini ceu papillae admoueret, pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et natura et aetate. Quare Parrasi quoque tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub condicione, ut si argumento offenderetur decies pro ea sestertium acciperet, non modo praetulit, sed et in cubiculo dedicauit. Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam captus facie ministri acerram praeferentis nequisse abstinere, quin paene uixdum re diuina peracta ibidem statim seductum constupraret simulque fratrem eius tibicinem; atque utrique mox, quod mutuo flagitium exprobrant, crura fregisse.

[45] Feminarum quoque, et quidem illustrium, capitibus quanto opere solitus sit inludere, euidentissime apparuit Malloniae cuiusdam exitu, quam perductam nec quicquam amplius pati constantissime recusantem delatoribus obiecit ac ne ream quidem interpellare desiit, “ecquid paeniteret”; donec ea relicto iudicio domum se abripuit ferroque transegit, obscaenitate^[m] oris hirsuto atque olido seni clare exprobrata. unde mora in Atellanico exhodio proximis ludis adsensu maximo excepta percerebruit, “hircum uetulum capreis naturam ligurare.”

[46] Pecuniae parcus ac tenax comites peregrinationum expeditionumque numquam salario, cibariis tantum sustentauit, una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia uitrici prosecutus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cuiusque, primae sescenta sestertia, secundae quadringenta distribuit, ducenta tertiae, quam non amicorum sed Graecorum appellabat.

[47] Princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit — nam et quae sola susceperat, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit — neque spectacula omnino edidit; et iis, quae ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comoedum Actium coactus est manumittere. Paucorum senatorum inopia sustentata, ne pluribus opem ferret, negauit se aliis subuenturum, nisi senatui iustas necessitatum causas probassent. Quo pacto plerosque modestia et pudore deterruit, in quibus Hortalum, Quinti Hortensi oratoris nepotem, qui permodica re familiari auctore Augusto quattuor liberos tulerat.

[48] Publice munificentiam bis omnino exhibuit, pro posito milies sestertium gratuito in trienni tempus et rursus quibusdam dominis insularum, quae in monte Caelio deflagrant, pretio restituto. Quorum alterum magna difficultate nummaria populo auxilium flagitante coactus est facere, cum per senatus consultum sanxisset, ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim soluerent, nec res expediretur; alterum ad mitigandam temporum atrocitatem. Quod tamen beneficium tanti aestimauit, ut

montem Caelium appellatione mutata uocari Augustum iusserit. Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil umquam largitus est, praeterquam singula milia denariorum praetorianis, quod Seiano se non accommodassent, et quaedam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent. Atque etiam missiones ueteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans. Ne prouincias quidem liberalitate ulla subleuauit, excepta Asia, disiectis terrae motu ciuitatibus.

[49] Procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas conuertit animum. Satis constat, Cn. Lentulum Augurem, cui census maximus fuerit, metu et angore ad fastidium uitae ab eo actum et ut ne quo nisi ipso herede moreretur; condemnatam et generosissimam feminam Lepidam in gratiam Quirini consularis praediuitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio post uicensimum annum ueneni olim in se comparati arguebat; praeterea Galliarum et Hispaniarum Syriaeque et Graeciae principes confiscatos ob tam leue ac tam inpudens calumniarum genus, ut quibusdam non aliud sit obiectum, quam quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent; plurimis etiam ciuitatibus et priuatis ueteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac uestigalium adempta; sed et Vononem regem Parthorum, qui pulsus a suis quasi in fidem p. r. cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat. Spoliatum perfidia et occisum.

[50] Odium aduersus necessitudines in Druso primum fratre detexit, prodita eius epistula, qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat, deinde et in reliquis. Iuliae uxori tantum afuit ut relegatae, quod minimum est, officii aut humanitatis aliquid impertiret, ut ex constitutione patris uno oppido clausam domo quoque egredi et commercio hominum frui uetuerit; sed et peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudauit, per speciem publici iuris, quod nihil de his Augustus testamento cauisset. Matrem Liuiam grauatus uelut partes sibi aequas potentiae uindicantem, et congressum eius assiduum uitauit et longiores secretioresque sermones, ne consiliis, quibus tamen interdum et egere et uti solebat, regi uideretur. Tulit etiam perindigne actum in senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti, ita et “Liuliae filius” adiceretur. Quare non “parentem patriae” appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est; sed et frequenter admonuit, maioribus nec feminae conuenientibus negotiis abstinere, praecipue ut animaduertit incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam interuenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset.

[51] Dehinc ad similitudinem usque processit hac, ut ferunt, de causa. Instanti saepius, ut ciuitate donatum in decurias adlegeret, negauit alia se condicione adlecturum, quam si pateretur ascribi albo extortum id sibi a matre. At illa commota ueteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia

morum eius e sacrario protulit atque recitauit. Hos et custoditos tam diu et exprobratos tam infeste adeo grauiter tulit, ut quidam putent inter causas secessus hanc ei uel praecipuam fuisse. Toto quidem triennio, quo uiuente matre afuit, semel omnino eam nec amplius quam uno die paucissimis uidit horis; ac mox neque aegrae adesse curauit defunctamque et, dum aduentus sui spem facit, complurium dierum mora corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsa mandasset. Testamentum quoque eius pro irritum habuit omnisque amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris sui curam moriens demandauerat, intra breue tempus afflixit, uno ex iis, equestris ordinis uiro, et in antliam condemnato.

[52] Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum neque adoptiuum Germanicum patria caritate dilexit, alterius uitae infensus. Nam Drusus fluxioris remissiorisque uitae erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde adfectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit iustitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Iliensium legatis paulo serius consolantibus, quasi oblitterata iam doloris memoria, irridens se quoque respondit uicem eorum dolere, quod egregium ciuem Hectorem amisissent. Germanico usque adeo obtrectauit, ut et praeclara facta eius pro superuacuis eleuarit et gloriosissimas uictorias ceu damnosas rei publicae increparet. Quod uero Alexandream propter immensam et repentinam famem inconsulto se adisset, questus est in senatu. Etiam causa mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriae creditur, quem mox huius criminis reum putant quidam mandata prolaturum, nisi ea secreto ostendant [...] quae multifariam inscriptum et per noctes celeberrime adclamatum est: “Redde Germanicum!” Quam suspicionem confirmauit ipse postea coniuge etiam ac liberis Germanici crudelem in modum afflictis.

[53] Nurus Agrippinam post mariti mortem liberius quiddam questam manu apprehendit Graecoque uersu: “Si non dominaris,” inquit, “filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?” Nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est. Quondam uero inter cenam porrecta a se poma gustare non ausam etiam uocare desiit, simulans ueneni se crimine accersi; cum praestructum utrumque consulto esset, ut et ipse temptandi gratia offerret et illa quasi certissimum exitium cauere. Nouissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere uelle, Pandatariam relegauit conuiciantique oculum per centurionem uerberibus excussit. rursus mori inedia destinanti per uim ore diducto infulciri cibum iussit. sed et perseuerantem atque ita absumptam crimosissime insectatus, cum diem quoque natalem eius inter nefastos referendum suasisset, imputauit etiam, quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abiecerit: proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiae agerentur et Capitolino Ioui donum ex auro sacraretur.

[54] Cum ex Germanico tres nepotes, Neronem et Drusum et Gaium, ex Druso unum Tiberium haberet, destitutus morte liberorum maximos natu de Germanici filiis, Neronem et Drusum, patribus conscriptis commendauit diemque utriusque tirocinii congiario plebei dato celebrauit. Sed ut comperit ineunte anno pro eorum quoque salute publice uota suscepta, egit cum senatu, non debere talia praemia tribui nisi expertis et aetate prouectis. Atque ex eo patefacta interiore animi sui nota omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit uariaque fraude inductos, ut et concitarentur ad conuicia et concitati proderentur, accusauit per litteras amarissime congestis etiam probris et iudicatos hostis fame necauit, Neronem in insula Pontia, Drusum in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad uoluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missus laqueos et uncas ostentaret, Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum e culcita temptauerit mandere; amborum sic reliquias dispersas, ut uix quandoque colligi possent.

[55] Super ueteres amicos ac familiares uiginti sibi e numero principum ciuitatis depoposcerat uelut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium uix duos anne tres incolumis praestitit, ceteros alium alia de causa perculit, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum; quem ad summam potentiam non tam beniuolentia prouexerat, quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumueniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.

[56] Nihilo lenior in conuictores Graeculos, quibus uel maxime adquiescebat, Xenonem quendam exquisitius sermocinantem cum interrogasset, quaenam illa tam molesta dialectos esset, et ille respondisset Doridem, relegauit Cinariam, existimans exprobratum sibi ueterem secessum, quod Dorice Rhodii loquantur. Item cum soleret ex lectione cotidiana quaestiones super cenam proponere comperissetque Seleucum grammaticum a ministris suis perquirere, quos quoque tempore tractaret auctores, atque ita praeparatum uenire, primum a contubernio remouit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

[57] Saeua ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit; quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricae praeceptor et perspexisse primus sagaciter et assimilasse aptissime uisus est, subinde in obiurgando appellans eum phlŰn a•mati pefuramšnon, id est lutum a sanguine maceratum. Sed aliquanto magis in principe eluxit, etiam inter initia cum adhuc fauorem hominum moderationis simulatione captaret. Scurram, qui praetereunte funere clare mortuo mandaratum, ut nuntiaret Augusto nondum reddi legata quae plebei reliquisset, adtractum ad se recipere debitum ducique ad supplicium imperauit et patri suo uerum referre. Nec multo post in senatu Pompeio cuidam equiti R. quiddam perneganti, dum uincula minatur, affirmauit fore ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret, acerba cauillatione simul

hominis nomen incessens ueteremque partium fortunam.

[58] Sub idem tempus consulente praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi iuberet, exercendas esse leges respondit et atrocissime exercuit. statuae quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret; acta res in senatu et, quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo paulatim genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum seruum cecidisse, uestimenta mutasse, nummo uel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factumue eius existimatione aliqua laesisse. Perit denique et is, qui honorem in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est, quo decreti et Augusto olim erant.

[59] Multa praeterea specie grauitatis ac morum corrigendorum, sed et magis naturae optemperans, ita saeue et atrociter factitauit, ut nonnulli uersiculis quoque et praesentia exprobrarent et futura denuntiarent mala:

Asper et immitis, breuiter uis omnia dicam?
dispeream, si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques; quare? non sunt tibi milia centum;
omnia si quaeras, et Rhodus exilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit uinum, quia iam sitit iste cruorem:
tam bibit hunc auide, quam bibit ante merum.
Aspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Sullam
et Marium, si uis, aspice, sed reducem,
Nec non Antoni ciuilia bella mouentis
non semel infectas aspice caede manus,
Et dic: Roma perit! regnauit sanguine multo,
ad regnum quisquis uenit ab exilio.

Quae primo, quasi ab impatientibus remedi^[or]um ac non tam ex animi sententia quam bile et stomacho fingerentur, uolebat accipi dicebatque identidem: “Oderint, dum probent.” Dein uera plane certaue esse ipse fecit fidem.

[60] In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit piscatori, qui sibi secretum agentis grandem mullum inopinanter obtulerat, perfricari eodem pisce faciem iussit, territus quod is a tergo insulae per aspera et deuia erepsisset ad se; gratulanti autem inter poenam, quod non et lucustam, quam praegrandem ceperat, obtulisset, lucusta quoque lacerari os imperauit. Militem praetorianum ob subreptum e uiridiario pauonem capite puniit. In quodam itinere lectica, qua uehebatur, uepribus impedita exploratorem uiae, primarum cohortium

centurionem, stratum humi paene ad necem uerberauit.

[61] Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit numquam deficiente materia, cum primo matris, deinde nepotum et nurus, postremo Seiani familiares atque etiam notos persequeretur; post cuius interitum uel saeuissimus extitit. Quo maxime apparuit, non tam ipsum ab Seiano concitari solitum, quam Seianum quaerenti occasiones sumministrasse; etsi commentario, quem de uita sua summatim breuiterque composuit, ausus est scribere Seianum se punisse, quod comperisset furere aduersus liberos Germanici filii sui; quorum ipse alterum suspecto iam, alterum oppresso demum Seiano interemit. Singillatim crudeliter facta eius exequi longum est; genera, uelut exemplaria saeuitiae, enumerare sat erit. Nullus a poena hominum cessauit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer; animaduersum in quosdam ineunte anno nouo. Accusati damnatique multi cum liberis atque etiam a liberis suis. Interdictum ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent. Decreta accusatoribus praecipua praemia, nonnumquam et testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. omne crimen pro capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simpliciumque uerborum. obiectum est poetae, quod in tragoedia Agamemnonem probris laccessisset; obiectum et historico, quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset; animaduersum statim in auctores scriptaque abolita, quamuis probarentur ante aliquot annos etiam Augusto audiente recitata. Quibusdam custodiae traditis non modo studendi solacium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis et conloqui usus. Citati ad causam dicendam partim se domi uulnerauerunt certi damnationis et ad uexationem ignominiamque uitandam, partim in media curia uenenum hauserunt; et tamen conligatis uulneribus ac semianimes palpitantesque adhuc in carcerem rapti. Nemo punitorum non in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, uiginti uno die abiecti tractique, inter eos feminae et pueri. Immaturae puellae, quia more tradito nefas esset uirgines strangulari, uitatae prius a carnifice, dein strangulatae. Mori uolentibus uis adhibita uiuendi. Nam mortem adeo leue supplicium putabat, ut cum audisset unum e reis, Carnulum nomine, anticipasse eam, exclamauerit: “Carnulus me euasit.” Et in recognoscendis custodiis precanti cuidam poenae maturitatem respondit: “Nondum tecum in gratiam redii.” Annalibus suis uir consularis inseruit, frequenti quodam conuiuio, cui et ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum subito et clare a quodam nano astante mensae inter copreas, cur Paconius maiestatis reus tam diu uiueret, statim quidem petulantiam linguae obiurgasse, ceterum post paucos dies scripsisse senatui, ut de poena Paconi quam primum statueret.

[62] Auxit intenditque saeuitiam exacerbatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi. Quem cum morbo et intemperantia perisse existimaret, ut tandem ueneno interemptum fraude Liuillae uxoris atque Seiani cognouit, neque tormentis neque

supplicio cuiusquam pepercit, soli huic cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus et intentus, ut Rhodiensem hospitem, quem familiaribus litteris Romam euocarat, aduenisse sibi nuntiatum torqueri sine mora iusserit, quasi aliquis ex necessariis quaestioni adesset, deinde errore detecto et occidi, ne uulgaret iniuriam. Carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa et exquisita tormenta praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat, excipiente classiariorum manu et contis atque remis elidente cadauera, ne cui residui spiritus quicquam inesset. Excogitauerat autem inter genera cruciatus etiam, ut larga meri potione per fallaciam oneratos, repente ueretris deligatis, fidicularum simul urinaeque tormento distenderet. Quod nisi eum et mors praeuenisset et Thrasyllus consulto, ut aiunt, differre quaedam spe longioris uitae compulisset, plures aliquanto necaturus ac ne reliquis quidem nepotibus parsurus creditur, cum et Gaium suspectum haberet et Tiberium ut ex adulterio conceptum aspernaretur. Nec abhorret a uero; namque identidem felicem Priamum uocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.

[63] Quam inter haec non modo inuisus ac detestabilis, sed praetrepidus quoque atque etiam contumeliis obnoxius uixerit, multa indicia sunt. haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli uetuit. uicina uero urbi oracula etiam dis^sicere conatus est, sed maiestate Praenestinarum sortium territus destitit, cum obsignatas deuectasque Romam non repperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum. unum et alterum consulares oblati prouinciis non ausus a se dimittere usque eo detinuit, donec successores post aliquot annos praesentibus daret, cum interim manente officii titulo etiam delegaret plurima assidue, quae illi per legatos et adiutores suos exequenda curarent.

[64] Nurum ac nepotes numquam aliter post damnationem quam catenatos obsutaque lectica loco mouit, prohibitis per militem obuiis ac uiatoribus respicere usquam uel consistere.

[65] Seianum res nouas molientem, quamuis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim uideret, uix tandem et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subuertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo interuallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe affinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum inopinantem criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione, cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, mitterent alterum e consulibus, qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio perduceret. Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens Drusum nepotem, quem uinculis adhuc Romae continebat, solui, si res posceret, ducemque constitui praeceperat. Aptatis etiam nauibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur,

tolli procul, ut quidque factum foret, mandauerat. uerum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani nihilo securior aut constantior per nouem proximos menses non egressus est uilla, quae uocatur Ionis.

[66] Vrebant insuper anxiam mentem uaria undique conuicia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram uel per libellos in orchestra positos ingerente. Quibus quidem diuersissime adficiebatur, modo ut prae pudore ignota et celata cuncta cuperet, nonnumquam eadem contemneret et proferret ultro atque uulgaret. Quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est litteris parricidia et caedes et ignauiam et luxuriam obicientis monentisque, ut uoluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque ciuium odio quam primum satis faceret.

[67] Postremo semet ipse pertaesus, tali epistulae principio tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est: “Quid scribam uobis, p. c., aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaeque peius perdant quam cotidie perire sentio, si scio.” Existimant quidam praescisse haec eum peritia futurorum ac multo ante, quanta se quandoque acerbitas et infamia maneret, prospexisse; ideoque, ut imperium inierit, et patris patriae appellationem et ne in acta sua iuraretur obstinatissime recusasse, ne mox maiore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inueniretur. Quod sane ex oratione eius, quam de utraque re habuit, colligi potest; uel cum ait: similem se semper sui futurum nec umquam mutaturum mores suos, quam diu sanae mentis fuisset; sed exempli causa cauendum esse, ne se senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, quia aliquo casu mutari posset. Et rursus: “Si quando autem,” inquit, “de moribus meis deuotoque uobis animo dubitaueritis, — quod prius quam eueniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatae uestrae de me opinioni eripiat — nihil honoris adiciet mihi patria appellatio, uobis autem exprobrabit aut temeritatem delati mihi eius cognominis aut inconstantiam contrarii de me iudicii.”

[68] Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura quae iustam excederet; latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens; sinistra manu agiliore ac ualidiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri uel etiam adolescentis talitro uulneraret. Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium summissiore ut ceruicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo uidebatur; facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri et subiti tumores, cum praegrandibus oculis et qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris uiderent, sed ad breue et cum primum e somno patuissent; deinde rursum hebescebant. Incedebat ceruice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere uultu, plerumque tacitus, nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. Quae omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena et animaduertit Augustus in eo et excusare temptauit saepe apud senatum ac populum professus naturae uitia esse,

non animi. Ualitudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus paene toto prope inlaesa, quamuis a tricesimo aetatis anno arbitrato eam suo rexerit sine adiumento consilioque medicorum.

[69] Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicae plenusque persuasionis cuncta fato agi, tonitrua tamen praeter modum expauescebat et turbatiore caelo numquam non coronam lauream capite gestauit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis.

[70] Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit. In oratione Latina secutus est Coruini Messalam, quem senem adulescens obseruarat. Sed adfectione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura praestantior haberetur. Composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus “conquestio de morte L. Caesaris.” Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit; et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt. Maxime tamen curauit notitiam historiae fabularis usque ad ineptias atque derisum; nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur: “Quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter uirgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae.” Et quo primum die post excessum Augusti curiam intrauit, quasi pietati simul ac religioni satis facturus Minonis exemplo tunc quidem ac uino uerum sine tibicine supplicauit, ut ille olim in morte filii.

[71] Sermonem Graeco quamquam alioqui promptus et facilis, non tamen usque quaque usus est abstinuitque maxime in senatu; adeo quidem, ut monopolium nominaturus ueniam prius postularet, quod sibi uerbo peregrino utendum esset. Atque etiam cum in quodam decreto patrum *emblema* recitaretur, commutandam censuit uocem et pro peregrina nostratem requirendam aut, si non reperiretur, uel pluribus et per ambitum uerborum rem enuntiandam. Militem quoque Graece testimonium interrogatum nisi Latine respondere uetuit.

[72] Bis omnino toto secessus tempore Romam redire conatus, semel triremi usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subuectus est disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obuiam prodeuntis submoueret, iterum Appia usque ad septimum lapidem; sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit, primo incertum qua de causa, postea ostento territus. Erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco, quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus cum consumptum a formicis inuenisset, monitus est ut uim multitudinis cauere. rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturae in languorem incidit, quo paulum leuatus Cerceios pertendit. Ac ne quam suspicionem infirmitatis daret, castrensibus ludis non tantum interfuit, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum iaculis desuper petit;

statimque latere conuulso et, ut exaestuarat, afflatus aura in grauiorem recidit morbum. Sustentauit tamen aliquamdiu, quamuis Misenum usque deuectus nihil ex ordine cotidiano praetermitteret, ne conuiuia quidem aut ceteras uoluptates partim intemperantia partim dissimulatione. Nam Chariclen medicum, quod commeatu afuturus e conuiuio egrediens manum sibi osculandi causa apprehendisset, existimans temptatas ab eo uenas, remanere ac recumbere hortatus est cenamque protraxit. Nec abstinuit consuetudine quin tunc quoque instans in medio triclinio astante lictore singulos ualere dicentis appellaret.

[73] Interim cum in actis senatus legisset dimissos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos, de quibus strictim et nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se habitum fremens repetere Capreas quoquo modo destinauit, non temere quicquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Sed tempestatibus et ingrauescente ui morbi retentus paulo post obiit in uilla Lucullana octauo et septuagesimo aetatis anno, tertio et uicesimo imperii, XVII. Kal. Ap. Cn. Acerronio Proculo C. Pontio Nigr^[in]o cons. Sunt qui putent uenenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabificum; alii, in remissione fortuitae febris cibum desideranti negatum; nonnulli, puluinum iniectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti anulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit intellecta defectione exemptum anulum quasi alicui traditurum parumper tenuisse, dein rursus aptasse digito et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito uocatis ministris ac nemine respondente consurrexisse nec procul a lectulo deficientibus uiribus concidisse.

[74] Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiae, aduectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca templi noui poneretur, uiderat per quietem affirmantem sibi non posse se ab ipso dedicari. Et ante paucos quam obiret dies, turris Phari terrae motu Capreis concidit. Ac Miseni cinis e fauilla et carbonibus ad calficiendum triclinium inlatis, extinctus iam et diu frigidus, exarsit repente prima uespera atque in multam noctem pertinaciter luxit.

[75] Morte eius ita laetatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes pars: “Tiberium in Tiberim!” clamitarent, pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent, alii uncum et Gemonias cadaueri minarentur, exacerbati super memoriam pristinae crudelitatis etiam recenti atrocitate. Nam cum senatus consulto cautum esset, ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur, forte accidit ut quorundam supplicii dies is esset, quo nuntiatum de Tiberio erat. Hos implorantis hominum fidem, quia absente adhuc Gaio nemo extabat qui adiri interpellarique posset, custodes, ne quid aduersus constitutum facerent, strangulauerunt abieceruntque in Gemonias. Creuit igitur inuidia, quasi etiam post mortem tyranni saeuitia permanente. Corpus ut moueri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque

Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustilandum, Romam per milites deportatum est crematumque publico funere.

^[76] Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat, alterum sua, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo, obsignaueratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento heredes aequis partibus reliquit Gaium ex Germanico et Tiberium ex Druso nepotes substituitque in uicem; dedit et legata plerisque, inter quos uirginibus Vestalibus, sed et militibus uniuersis plebeiue Romanae uiritim atque etiam separatim uicorum magistris.

VITA GAI

[1] Germanicus, C. Caesaris pater, Drusi et minoris Antoniae filius, a Tiberio patruo adoptatus, quaesturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret et post eam consulatum statim gessit, missusque ad exercitum in Germaniam, excessu Augusti nuntiato, legiones universas imperatorem Tiberium pertinacissime recusantis et sibi summam rei p. deferentis incertum pietate an constantia maiore compescuit atque hoste mox devicto triumphavit. Consul deinde iterum creatus ac prius quam honorem iniret ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus, cum Armeniae regem devicisset, Cappadociam in provinciae formam redegisset, annum agens aetatis quartum et tricensimum diuturno morbo Antiochiae obiit, non sine veneni suspicione. Nam praeter livores, qui toto corpore erant, et spumas, quae per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cuius ea natura existimatur, ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat.

[2] Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi, ministerio et opera Cn. Pisonis, qui sub idem tempus Syriae praepositus, nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam aegrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus nullo adhibito modo adfecit; propter quae, ut Romam rediit, paene discerptus a populo, a senatu capitis damnatus est.

[3] Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens, benivolentiam singularem conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium. Formae minus congruebat gracilitas crurum, sed ea quoque paulatim repleta assidua equi vextatione post cibum. Hostem comminus saepe percussit. Oravit causas etiam triumphalis; atque inter cetera studiorum monimenta reliquit et comoedias Graecas. Domi forisque civilis, libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat. Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulcra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat. Caesarum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumultu humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus adgressus est. Obtrectatoribus etiam, qualescumque et quantacumque de causa nactus esset, lenis adeo et innoxius, ut Pisoni decreta sua rescindent, clientelas divexanti non prius suscensere in animum induxerit, quam veneficiis quoque et devotionibus impugnari se comperisset; ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus, quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret.

[4] Quarum virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, sic probatus et dilectus a suis, ut

Augustus – omitto enim necessitudines reliquas – diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dederit; sic vulgo favorabilis, ut plurimi tradant, quotiens aliquo adveniret vel sicunde discederet, prae turba occurrentium prosequentiumve nonnumquam eum discrimen vitae adisse, e Germania vero post compressam seditionem revertenti praetorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset, ut duae tantum modo exirent, populi autem Romani sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicesimum lapidem effudisse se.

[5] Tamen longe maiora et firmiora de eo iudicia in morte ac post mortem exstiterunt. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti, partus coniugum expositi. Quin et barbaros ferunt, quibus intestinum quibusque adversus nos bellum esset, velut in domestico communique maerore consensisse ad indutias; regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rasisse ad indicium maximi luctus; regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iusti^[6] instar est.

[6] Romae quidem, cum ad primam famam valitudinis attonita et maesta civitas sequentis nuntios opperiretur, et repente iam vesperi incertis auctoribus convaluisse tandem percrebuisse, passim cum luminibus et victimis in Capitolium concursus est ac paene revolsae templi fores, ne quid gestientis vota reddere moraretur, expergefactus e somno Tiberius gratulantium vocibus atque undique concinentium:

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Et ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solaciis ullis, non edictis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Auxit gloriam desideriumque defuncti et atrocitas insequentium temporum, cunctis nec temere opinantibus reverentia eius ac metu repressam Tiberi saevitiam, quae mox eruperit.

[7] Habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam, M. Agrippae et Iuliae filiam, et ex ea novem liberos tulit: quorum duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate, cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit, Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiensque introiret, exosculabatur; ceteri superstites patri fuerunt, tres sexus feminini, Agrippina, Drusilla, Livilla, continuo triennio natae; totidem mares, Nero et Drusus et C. Caesar. Neronem et Drusum senatus Tiberio criminante hostes iudicavit.

[8] C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit, Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes; addit etiam pro argumento aras ibi ostendi inscriptas ob Agrippinae

puerperium. Versiculi imperante mox eo divulgati apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis omen erat.

Ego in actis Anti editum invenio. Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem, ut ad laudes iuvenis gloriosique principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi sacra sumeret, abusumque audentius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus et ipse C. Caesar, de cuius amabili pueritia immaturoque obitu supra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio temporum. Nam qui res Augusti memoriae mandarunt, Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum consentiunt iam nato Gaio. Nec Plini opinionem inscriptio arae quicquam adiuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa sit, et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueros, sicut et pueros puellas dictarent. Exstat et Augusti epistula, ante paucos quam obiret menses ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Gaio hoc – neque enim quisquam iam alius infans nomine pari tunc supererat –: “puerum Gaium XV. Kal. Iun. si dii volent, ut ducerent Talarius et Asillius, heri cum iis constitui. Mitto praeterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret. Valebis, mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum.” Abunde parere arbitror non potuisse ibi nasci Gaium, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe sit. Versiculorum quoque fidem eadem haec elevat et eo facilius, quod ii sine auctore sunt. Sequenda est igitur, quae sola ^[auctor] restat et publici instrumenti auctoritas, praesertim cum Gaius Antium omnibus semper locis atque secessibus praelatum non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium imperii taedio urbis transferre eo destinasse.

^[9] Caligulae cognomen castrensi ioco traxit, quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur. Apud quos quantum praeterea per hanc nutrimentorum consuetudinem amore et gratia valuerit, maxime cognitum est, cum post excessum Augusti tumultuantis et in furorem usque praecipites solus haud dubie ex conspectu suo flexit. Non enim prius destiterunt, quam ablegari eum ob seditionis periculum et in proximam civitatem demandari animadvertissent; tunc demum ad paenitentiam versi reprobo ac retento vehiculo invidiam quae sibi fieret deprecari sunt.

^[10] Comitatus est patrem et Syriaca expeditione. Unde reversus primum in matris, deinde ea relegata in Liviae Augustae proaviae suae contubernio mansit; quam defunctam praetextatus etiam tunc pro rostris laudavit. Transitque ad

Antoniam aviam et undevicensimo aetatis anno accitus Capreas a Tiberio uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit barbamque posuit, sine ullo honore qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum eius. Hic omnibus insidiis temptatus elicientium cogentiumque se ad querelas nullam umquam occasionem dedit, perinde oblitterato suorum casu ac si nihil cuiquam accidisset, quae vero ipse pateretur incredibili dissimulatione transmittens tantique in avum et qui iuxta erant obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum nec servum meliorem ullum nec deteriore dominum fuisse.

^[11] Naturam tamen saevam atque probrosam ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat, quin et animadversionibus poenisque ad supplicium datorum cupidissime interesset et ganeas atque adulteria capillamento celatus et veste longa noctibus obiret ac scaenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret, facile id sane Tiberio patiente, si per has mansuefieri posset ferum eius ingenium. Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus perspexerat, ut aliquotiens praedicaret exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere et se natricem populo Romano, Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.

^[12] Non ita multo post Iuniam Claudillam M. Silani nobilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. Deinde augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, prius quam inauguraretur ad pontificatum traductus est insigni testimonio pietatis atque indolis, cum deserta desolataque reliquis subsidiis aula, Seiano hoste suspecto mox et oppresso, ad spem successionis paulatim admoveretur. Quam quo magis confirmaret, amissa Iunia ex partu Enniam Naeviam, Macronis uxorem, qui tum praetorianis cohortibus praeerat, sollicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus et matrimonium suum, si potitus imperio fuisset; deque ea re et iure iurando et chirographo cavit. Per hanc insinuat Macroni veneno Tiberium adgressus est, ut quidam opinantur, spirantique adhuc detrahi anulum et, quoniam suspicionem retinentis dabat, pulvinum iussit inici atque etiam fauces manu sua oppressit, liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acto. Nec abhorret a veritate, cum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea etsi non de perfecto, at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum; gloriatum enim assidue in commemoranda sua pietate, ad ulciscendam necem matris et fratrum introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberi^[1] dormientis et misericordia correptum abiecto ferro recessisse; nec illum, quanquam sensisset, aut inquirere quicquam aut exsequi ausum.

^[13] Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum, vel dicam hominum genus, voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximae parti provincialium ac militum, quod infantem plerique cognoverant, sed et universae plebi urbanae ob

memoriam Germanici patris miserationemque prope afflictæ domus. Itaque ut a Miseno movit quamvis lugentis habitu et funus Tiberi prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas ardentisque taedas densissimo et laetissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina “sidus” et “pullum” et “pupum” et “alumnum” appellantium.

[14] Ingressoque urbem, statim consensu senatus et irrumpentis in curiam turbae, inrita Tiberi voluntate, qui testamento alterum nepotem suum praetextatum adhuc coheredem ei dederat, ius arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est tanta publica laetitia, ut tribus proximis mensibus ac ne totis quidem supra centum sexaginta milia victimarum caesa tradantur. Cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniae insulas traiecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt, ne minimam quidem occasionem quoquam omittente in testificanda sollicitudine et cura de incolumitate eius. Ut vero in adversam valitudinem incidit, pernoctantibus cunctis circa Palatium, non defuerunt qui depugnatos se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent. Accessit ad immensum civium amorem notabilis etiam externorum favor. Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberi prae se ferens, amicitiam huius ultro petiit venitque ad colloquium legati consularis et transgressus Euphraten aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.

[15] Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis. Tiberio cum plurimis lacrimis pro contione laudato funeratoque amplissime, confestim Pandateriam et Pontias ad transferendos matris fratrisque cineres festinavit, tempestate turbida, quo magis pietas emineret, adiitque venerabundus ac per semet in urnas condidit; nec minore scaena Ostiam praefixo in biremis puppe vexillo et inde Romam Tiberi subvectos per splendidissimum quemque equestris ordinis medio ac frequenti die duobus ferculis Mausoleo intulit, inferiasque is annua religione publice instituit, et eo amplius matri circenses carpentumque quo in pompa traduceretur. At in memoriam patris Septembrem mensem Germanicum appellavit. Post haec Antoniae aviae, quidquid umquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatus consulto congessit; patrum Claudium, equitem R. ad id tempus, collegam sibi in consulatu assumpsit; fratrem Tiberium die virilis togae adoptavit appellavitque principem iuventutis. De sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adicerentur: “neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quam Gaium habeo et sorores eius”; item relationibus consulum: “quod bonum felixque sit C. Caesari sororibusque eius.”

Pari popularitate damnatos relegatosque restituit; criminum, si quae residua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit; commentarios ad matris

fratrumque suorum causas pertinentis, ne cui postmodum delatori aut testi maneret ullus metus, convectos in forum, et ante clare obtestatus deos neque legisse neque attigisse quicquam, concremavit; libellum de salute sua oblatum non recepit, contendens nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset, negavitque se delatoribus aures habere.

[16] Spintrias monstrosarum libidinum aegre ne profundo mergeret exoratus, urbe submovit. Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit, quando maxime sua interesset ut facta quaeque posteris tradantur. Rationes imperii ab Augusto proponi solitas sed a Tiberio intermissas publicavit. Magistratibus liberam iuris dictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit. Equites R. severe curioseque nec sine moderatione recognovit, palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus modo in recitatione praeteritis. Ut levior labor iudicantibus foret, ad quattuor prioris quintam decuriam addidit. Temptavit et comitiorum more revocato suffragia populo reddere. Legata ex testamento Tiberi quamquam abolito, sed et Iuliae Augustae, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide ac sine calumnia repraesentata persolvit. Ducentesimam auctionum Italiae remisit; multis incendiorum damna supplevit; ac si quibus regna restituit, adiecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et redditum medii temporis, ut Antiocho Commageno sestertium milies confiscatum. Quoque magis nullius non boni exempli fautor videretur, mulieri libertinae octingenta donavit, quod excruciatam gravissimis tormentis de scelere patroni reticuisset. Quas ob res inter reliquos honores decretus est ei clipeus aureus, quem quotannis certo die collegia sacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, senatu prosequente nobilesque pueris ac puellis carmine modulato laudes virtutum eius canentibus. Decretum autem ut dies, quo cepisset imperium, Parilia vocaretur, velut argumentum rursus conditae urbis.

[17] Consulatus quattuor gessit, primum ex Kal. Iul. per duos menses, secundum ex Kal. Ian. per XXX dies, tertium usque in Idus Ian., quartum usque septimum Idus easdem. Ex omnibus duos novissimos coniunxit. Tertium autem Luguduni iniit solus, non ut quidam opinantur superbia neglegentiae, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegam rescisse absens non potuerat. Congiarium populo bis dedit trecenos sestertios, totiens abundantissimum epulum senatui equestrique ordini, etiam coniugibus ac liberis utrorumque; posteriore epulo forensia insuper viris, feminis ac pueris fascias purpurae ac conchylii distribuit. Et ut laetitiam publicam in perpetuum quoque augeret, adiecit diem Saturnalibus appellavitque Iuvenalem.

[18] Munera gladiatoria partim in amphitheatro Tauri partim in Saeptis aliquot

edidit, quibus inseruit catervas Afrorum Campanorumque pugilum ex utraque regione electissimorum. Neque spectaculis semper ipse praesedit, sed interdum aut magistratibus aut amicis praesidendi munus iniunxit. Scaenicos ludos et assidue et varii generis ac multifariam fecit, quondam et nocturnos accensis tota urbe luminibus. Sparsit et missilia variarum rerum et panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit; qua epulatione equiti R. contra se hilarius avidiusque vescenti partes suas misit, sed et senatori ob eandem causam codicillos, quibus praetorem eum extra ordinem designabat. Edidit et circenses plurimos a mane ad vesperam interiecta modo Africanarum venatione modo Troiae decursione, et quosdam praecipuos, minio et chrysocolla constrato circo nec ullis nisi ex senatorio ordine aurigantibus. Commisit et subitos, cum e Gelotiana apparatus circi prospicientem pauci ex proximis Maenianis postulassent.

[19] Novum praeterea atque inauditum genus spectaculi excogitavit. Nam Baiarum medium intervallum ^[ad] Puteolanas moles, trium milium et sescentorum fere passuum spatium, ponte coniunxit contractis undique onerariis navibus et ordine duplici ad ancoras conlocatis superiectoque terreno ac directo in Appiae viae formam. Per hunc pontem ultro citro commeavit biduo continenti, primo die phalerato equo insignisque quercea corona et caetra et gladio aureaque chlamyde, postridie quadrigario habitu curriculoque biiugi famosorum equorum, prae se ferens Dareum puerum ex Parthorum obsidibus, comitante praetorianorum agmine et in essedis cohorte amicorum. Scio plerosque existimasse talem a Gaio pontem excogitatum aemulatione Xerxis, qui non sine admiratione aliquanto angustiores Hellespontum contabulaverit; alios, ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminebat, alicuius immensi operis fama territaret. Sed avum meum narrantem puer audiebam, causam operis ab interioribus aulicis proditam, quod Thrasyllus mathematicus anxio de successore Tiberio et in verum nepotem proniori affirmasset non magis Gaium imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum.

[20] Edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos et in Gallia Luguduni miscellos; sed hic certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorundem et laudes componere coactos; eos autem, qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.

[21] Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompei, absolvit. Incohavit autem aquae ductum regione Tiburti et amphitheatrum iuxta Saepta, quorum operum a successore eius Claudio alterum peractum, omissum alterum est. Syracusis conlapsa vetustate moenia deorumque aedes reffectae. Destinaverat et Sami Polycratis regiam restituere, Mileti Didymeum peragere, in

Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem repente immisso tribuno militum interemit, Silanum item socerum ad necem secandasque novacula fauces compulit, causatus in utroque, quod hic ingressum se turbatius mare non esset secutus ac spe occupandi urbem, si quid sibi per tempestates accideret, remansisset, ille antidotum oboluisset, quasi ad praecavenda venena sua sumptum, cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseae vitasset et molestiam navigandi, et Tiberius propter assiduam et ingravescentem tussim medicamento usus esset. Nam Claudium patrum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit.

[24] Cum omnibus sororibus suis consuetudinem stupri fecit plenoque convivio singulas infra se vicissim conlocabat uxore supra cubante. Ex iis Drusillam vitiasse virginem praetextatus adhuc creditur atque etiam in concubitu eius quondam deprehensus ab Antonia avia, apud quam simul educabantur; mox Lucio Cassio Longino consulari conlocatam abduxit et in modum iustae uxoris propalam habuit; heredem quoque bonorum atque imperii aeger instituit. Eadem defuncta iustitium indixit, in quo risisse lavisse cenasse cum parentibus aut coniuge liberisve capital fuit. Ac maeroris impatiens, cum repente noctu profugisset ab urbe transcucurrissetque Campaniam, Syracusas petit, rursusque inde propere rediit barba capilloque promisso; nec umquam postea quantiscumque de rebus, ne pro contione quidem populi aut apud milites, nisi per numen Drusillae deieravit. Reliquas sorores nec cupiditate tanta nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas saepe exoletis suis prostraverit; quo facilius eas in causa Aemili Lepidi condemnavit quasi adulteras et insidiarum adversus se conscias ei. Nec solum chirographa omnium requisita fraude ac stupro divulgavit, sed et tres gladios in necem suam praeparatos Marti Ultori addito elogio consecravat.

[25] Matrimonia contraxerit turpius an dimiserit an tenuerit, non est facile discernere. Liviam Orestillam C. Pisoni nubentem, cum ad officium et ipse venisset, ad se deduci imperavit intraque paucos dies repudiatam biennio post relegavit, quod repetisse usum prioris mariti tempore medio videbatur. Alii tradunt adhibitum cenae nuptiali mandasse ad Pisonem contra accumbentem: “Noli uxorem meam premere,” statimque e convivio abduxisse secum ac proximo die edixisse: matrimonium sibi repertum exemplo Romuli et Augusti.

Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio consulari exercitus regenti nuptam, facta mentione aviae eius ut quondam pulcherrimae, subito ex provincia evocavit ac perductam a marito coniunxit sibi brevique missam fecit interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuum coitu.

Caesoniam neque facie insigni neque aetate integra matremque iam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriae ac lasciviae perditae, et ardentius et constantius amavit, ut saepe chlamyde peltaque et galea ornatam ac iuxta adequitantem

militibus ostenderit, amicis vero etiam nudam. Uxorio nomine ^[non prius] dignatus est quam enixam, uno atque eodem die professus et maritum se eius et patrem infantis ex ea natae. Infantem autem, Iuliam Drusillam appellatam, per omnium dearum templa circumferens Minervae gremio imposuit alendamque et instituendam commendavit. Nec ullo firmiore indicio sui seminis esse credebat quam feritatis, quae illi quoque tanta iam tunc erat, ut infestis digitis ora et oculos simul ludentium infantium incesset.

^[26] Leve ac frigidum sit his addere, quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit, Ptolemaeum regis Iubae filium, consobrinum suum – erat enim et is M. Antoni ex Selene filia nepos – et in primis ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam, adiutores imperii; quibus omnibus pro necessitudinis iure proque meritorum gratia cruenta mors persoluta est.

Nihilo reverentior leniorve erga senatum, quosdam summis honoribus functos ad essedum sibi currere togatos per aliquot passuum milia et cenanti modo ad pluteum modo ad pedes stare succinctos linteo passus est; alios cum clam interemisset, citare nihilo minus ut vivos perseveravit, paucos post dies voluntaria morte perisse mentitus. Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate res p. Quaestorem suum in coniuratione nominatum flagellavit veste detracta subiectaque militum pedibus, quo firme verberaturi insisterent.

Simili superbia violentiaque ceteros tractavit ordines. Inquietatus fremitu gratuita in circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnis fustibus abegit; elisi per eum tumultum viginti amplius equites R., totidem matronae, super innumeram turbam ceteram. Scaenicis ludis, inter plebem et equitem causam discordiarum ferens, decimas maturius dabat, ut equestria ab infimo quoque occuparentur. Gladiatorio munere reductis interdum flagrantissimo sole velis emitte quemquam vetabat, remotoque ordinario apparatu tabidas feras, vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores, proque paegniariis patres familiarum notos in bonam partem sed insignis debilitate aliqua corporis subiciebat. Ac nonnumquam horreis praeclusis populo famem indixit.

^[27] Saevitiam ingenii per haec maxime ostendit. Cum ad saginam ferarum muneri praeparatarum carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis laniandos adnotavit, et custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantum modo intra porticum mediam, “a calvo ad calvum” duci imperavit. Votum exegit ab eo, qui pro salute sua gladiatoriam operam promiserat, spectavitque ferro dimicantem nec dimisit nisi victorem et post multas preces. Alterum, qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit, verbenatum infulatumque votum reposcentes per vicos agerent, quoad

praecipitaretur ex aggere. Multos honesti ordinis deformatos prius stigmatum notis ad metalla et munitiones viarum aut ad bestias condemnavit aut bestiarum more quadripedes cavea coercuit aut medios serra dissecuit, nec omnes gravibus ex causis, verum male de munere suo opinatos, vel quod numquam per genium suum deierassent. Parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogebat; quorum uni valitudinem excusanti lecticam misit, alium a spectaculo poenae epulis statim adhibuit atque omni comitate ad hilaritatem et iocos provocavit. Curatorem munerum ac venationum per continuos dies in conspectu suo catenis verberatum non prius occidit quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore. Atellanae poetam ob ambigui ioci versiculum media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit. Equitem R. obiectum feris, cum se innocentem proclamasset, reduxit abscisaque lingua rursus induxit.

[28] Revocatum quendam a vetere exilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesset, respondente eo per adulationem: “deos semper oravi ut, quod evenit, periret Tiberius et tu imperares,” opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas, qui universos contrucidarent. Cum discerpi senatorem concupisset, subornavit qui ingredientem curiam repente hostem publicum appellantes invaderent, graphisque confossum lacerandum ceteris traderent; nec ante satius est quam membra et artus et viscera hominis tracta per vicos atque ante se congesta vidisset.

[29] Immanissima facta augebat atrocitate verborum. Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat quam, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἀνὴρ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἀνδρείος, hoc est inverecundiam. Monenti Antoniae aviae tamquam parum esset non oboedire: “memento,” ait, “omnia mihi et in omnis licere.” Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum praemuniri medicamentis suspicabatur: “antidotum,” inquit, “adversus Caesarem?” Relegatis sororibus non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios minabatur. Praetorium virum ex secessu Anticyrae, quam valitudinis causa petierat, propagari sibi commeatum saepius desiderantem cum mandasset interimi, adiecit necessariam esse sanguinis missionem, cui tam diu non prodesset elleborum. Decimo quoque die numerum puniendorum ex custodia subscribens rationem se purgare dicebat. Gallis Graecisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis gloriabatur Gallograeciam se subegisse.

[30] Non temere in quemquam nisi crebris et minutis ictibus animadverti passus est, perpetuo notoque iam praecepto: “ita feri ut se mori sentiat.” Punito per errorem nominis alio quam quem destinaverat, ipsum quoque paria meruisse dixit. tragicum illud subinde iactabat:

Oderint, dum metuant.

Saepe in cunctos pariter senatores ut Seiani clientis, ut matris ac fratrum suorum delatores, invectus est prolatis libellis, quos crematos simulaverat,

defensaue Tiberi saevitia quasi necessaria, cum tot criminantibus credendum esset. Equestrem ordinem ut scaenae harenaeque devotum assidue proscidit. Infensus turbae faventi adversus studium suum exclamavit: “utinam p. R. unam cervicem haberet!” Cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, et qui postularent, Tetrinios esse ait. Retiari tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant; cum occidi iuberentur, unus resumpta fuscina omnes victores interemit: hanc ut crudelissimam caedem et deflevit edicto et eos, qui spectare sustinuissent, execratus est.

[31] Queri etiam palam de condicione temporum suorum solebat, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur; Augusti principatum clade Variana, Tiberi ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas memorabilem factum, suo oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum; atque identidem exercituum caedes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, hiatum aliquem terrae optabat.

[32] Animum quoque remittenti ludoque et epulis dedito eadem factorum dictorumque saevitia aderat. Saepe in conspectu prandentis vel comisantis seriae quaestiones per tormenta habebantur, miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat.

Puteolis dedicatione pontis, quem excogitatum ab eo significavimus, cum multos e litore invitasset ad se, repente omnis praecipitavit, quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes contis remisque detrusit in mare.

Romae publico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscisis atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, praecedente titulo qui causam poenae indicaret, per coetus epulantium circumduceretur.

Murmillonem e ludo rudibus secum battuentem et sponte prostratum confodit ferrea sica ac more victorum cum palma discucurrit.

Admota altaribus victima succinctus poparum habitu elato alte malleo cultrarium mactavit.

Lautiore convivio effusus subito in cachinnos consulibus, qui iuxta cubabant, quidnam rideret blande quaerentibus: “quid,” inquit, “nisi uno meo nutu iugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse?”

[33] Inter varios iocos, cum assistens simulacro Iovis Apellen tragoedum consulisset uter illi maior videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit conlaudans subinde vocem deprecantis quasi etiam in gemitu praedulcem.

Quotiens uxoris vel amicae collum exosculetur, addebat: “tam bona cervix simul ac iussero demetur.” Quin et subinde iactabat exquisitum se vel fidiculis de Caesonia sua, cur eam tanto opere diligeret.

[34] Nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia saevitiaque paene adversus omnis aevi hominum genus grassatus est. Statuas virorum inlustrum ab Augusto

ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint, vetuitque posthac viventium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni.

Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis, cur enim sibi non licere dicens, quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate quam constituebat eiecerit? Sed et Vergili ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae, alterum ut verbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat.

De iuris quoque consultis, quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe iactavit se mehercule effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter eum.

^[35] Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen.

Ptolemaeum, de quo rettuli, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit.

Pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat.

Erat Aesius Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem et speciem Colosseros dictus; hunc spectaculis detractum repente et in harenam deductum Thraeci et mox hoplomacho comparavit bisque victorem constringi sine mora iussit et pannis obsitum vikatim circumduci ac mulieribus ostendi, deinde iugulari.

Nullus denique tam abiectae condicionis tamque extremae sortis fuit, cuius non commodis obtrectaret. Nemoensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit.

Cum quodam die muneris essedario Porio post prosperam pugnam servum suum manumittenti studiosius plausum esset, ita proripuit se spectaculis, ut calcata lacinia togae praeceps per gradus iret, indignabundus et clamitans dominum gentium populum ex re levissima plus honoris gladiatori tribuentem quam consecratis principibus aut praesenti sibi.

^[36] Pudicitiae neque suae neque alienae pepercit. M. Lepidum, Mnesterem pantomimum, quosdam obsides dilexisse fertur commercio mutui stupri. Valerius Catullus, consulari familia iuvenis, stupratum a se ac latera sibi contubernio eius defessa etiam vociferatus est.

Super sororum incesta et notissimum prostitutae Pyrallidis amorem non temere ulla inlustriore femina abstinuit. Quas plerumque cum maritis ad cenam vocatas praeterque pedes suos transeuntis diligenter ac lente mercantium more considerabat, etiam faciem manu adlevans, si quae pudore submitterent; quotiens deinde libuisset egressus triclinio, cum maxime placitam sevocasset, paulo post recentibus adhuc lasciviae notis reversus vel laudabat palam vel vituperabat,

singula enumerans bona malave corporis atque concubitus. Quibusdam absentium maritorum nomine repudium ipse misit iussitque in acta ita referri.

[37] Nepotatus sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit, commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atque cenarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur, pretiosissima margarita aceto liquefacta sorberet, convivis ex auro panes et obsonia apponeret, aut frugi hominem esse oportere dictitans aut Caesarem. Quin et nummos non mediocris summae e fastigio basilicae Iuliae per aliquot dies sparsit in plebem. Fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum et porticum et tricliniorum laxitate magnaque etiam vitium et pomiferarum arborum varietate; quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret. In exstructionibus praetiorum atque villarum omni ratione posthabita nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur. Et iactae itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari et excisae rupes durissimi silicis et campi montibus aggere aequati et complanata fossuris montium iuga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum morae culpa capite lueretur.

Ac ne singula enumerem, immensas opes totumque illud Ti. Caesaris vices ac septies milies sestertium non toto vertente anno absumpsit.

[38] Exhaustus igitur atque egens ad rapinas convertit animum vario et exquisitissimo calumniarum et auctionum et vectigalium genere. Negabat iure civitatem Romanam usurpare eos, quorum maiores sibi posterisque eam impetrassent, nisi si filii essent, neque enim intellegi debere “posteris” ultra hunc gradum; prolataque Divorum Iuli et Augusti diplomata ut vetera et obsoleta deflabat. Arguebat et perperam editos census, quibus postea quacumque de causa quicquam incrementi accessisset.

Testamenta primipilariū, qui ab initio Tiberi principatus neque illum neque se heredem reliquissent, ut ingrata rescidit; item ceterorum ut irrita et vana, quoscumque quis diceret herede Caesare mori destinasse. Quo metu iniecto cum iam et ab ignotis inter familiares et a parentibus inter liberos palam heres nuncuparetur, derisores vocabat, quod post nuncupationem vivere perseverarent, et multis venenatas matteas misit. Cognoscebat autem de talibus causis, taxato prius modo summae ad quem conficiendum consideret, confecto demum excitabatur. Ac ne paululum quidem morae patiens super quadraginta reos quondam ex diversis criminibus una sententia condemnavit gloriatusque est expergefata e somno Caesonia quantum egisset, dum ea meridiaret.

Auctione proposita reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit ac venditavit, exquirens per se pretia et usque eo extendens, ut quidam immenso coacti quaedam emere ac bonis exuti venas sibi inciderent. Nota res est, Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante, monitum a Gaio praeconem ne praetorium

virum crebro capitis motu nutantem sibi praeteriret, nec licendi finem factum, quoad tredecim gladiatores sestertium nonagies ignoranti addicerentur.

[39] In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta et supellectilem et servos atque etiam libertos immensis pretiis vendidisset, invitatus lucro, quidquid instrumenti veteris aulae erat ab urbe repetiit, comprehensis ad deportandum meritoriis quoque vehiculis et pistrinensibus iumentis, adeo ut et panis Romae saepe deficeret et litigatorum plerique, quod occurrere absentes ad vadimonium non possent, causa caderent. Cui instrumento distrahendo nihil non fraudis ac lenocinii adhibuit, modo avaritiae singulos increpans et quod non puderet eos locupletiores esse quam se, modo paenitentiam simulans quod principalium rerum privatis copiam faceret. Compererat provincialem locupletem ducenta sestertia numerasse vocatoribus, ut per fallaciam convivio interponeretur, nec tulerat moleste tam magno aestimari honorem cenae suae; huic postero die sedenti in auctione misit, qui nescio quid frivoli ducentis milibus traderet diceretque cenaturum apud Caesarem vocatu ipsius.

[40] Vectigalia nova atque inaudita primum per publicanos, deinde, quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit, nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributum aliquid imponeret. Pro edulibus, quae tota urbe venirent, certum statumque exigebatur; pro litibus ac iudiciis ubicumque conceptis quadragesima summae, de qua litigaretur, nec sine poena, si quis composuisse vel donasse negotium convinceretur; ex gerulorum diurnis quaestibus pars octava; ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret; additumque ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico et quae meretricium quive lenocinium fecissent, nec non et matrimonia obnoxia essent.

[41] Eius modi vectigalibus indictis neque propositis, cum per ignorantiam scripturae multa commissa fierent, tandem flagitante populo proposuit quidem legem, sed et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret.

Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in Palatio constituit, districtisque et instructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus matronae ingenuique starent, misit circum fora et basilicas nomenclatores ad invitandos ad libidinem iuvenes senesque; praebita advenientibus pecunia faenebris appositique qui nomina palam subnotarent, quasi adiuvantium Caesaris reditus.

Ac ne ex lusu quidem aleae compendium spernens plus mendacio atque etiam periurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proximo conlusori demandata vice sua progressus in atrium domus, cum praetereuntis duos equites R. locupletis sine mora corripere confiscarique iussisset, exultans rediit gloriansque numquam se prosperiore alea usum.

[42] Filia vero nata paupertatem nec iam imperatoria modo sed et patria conquerens onera conlationes in alimonium ac dotem puellae recepit. Edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kal. Ian. ad captandas stipes, quas plenis ante eum manibus ac sinu omnis generis turba fundebat. Novissime contrectandae pecuniae cupidine incensus, saepe super immensos aureorum acervos patentissimo diffusos loco et nudis pedibus spatatus et toto corpore aliquamdiu volutatus est.

[43] Militiam resque bellicas semel attigit neque ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam processisset, admonitus de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat, expeditionis Germanicae impetum cepit; neque distulit, sed legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis commeatu quanto numquam antea, iter ingressus est confecitque modo tam festinanter et rapide, ut praetorianae cohortes contra morem signa iumentis imponere et ita subsequi cogerentur, interdum adeo segniter delicateque, ut octaphoro veheretur atque a propin quarum urbium plebe verri sibi vias et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret.

[44] Postquam castra attigit, ut se acrem ac severum ducem ostenderet, legatos, qui auxilia serius ex diversis locis adduxerant, cum ignominia dimisit; at in exercitu recensendo plerisque centurionum maturis iam et nonnullis ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademit, causatus senium cuiusque et imbecillitatem; ceterorum increpita cupiditate commoda emeritae militiae ad â€ sescentorumâ€ milium summam recidit.

Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto, quasi universa tradita insula, magnificas Romam litteras misit, monitis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent nec nisi in aede Martis ac frequente senatu consulibus traderent.

[45] Mox deficiente belli materia paucos de custodia Germanos traici oculique trans Rhenum iussit ac sibi post prandium quam tumultuosissime adesse hostem nuntiari. Quo facto proripuit se cum amicis et parte equitum praetorianorum in proximam silvam, truncatisque arboribus et in modum tropaeorum adornatis ad lumina reversus, eorum quidem qui secuti non essent timiditatem et ignaviam corripuit, comites autem et participes victoriae novo genere ac nomine coronarum donavit, quas distinctas solis ac lunae siderumque specie exploratorias appellavit.

Rursus obsides quosdam abductos e litterario ludo clamque praemissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insecutus veluti profugos ac reprehensos

Atque inter haec absentem senatum populumque gravissimo obiurgavit edicto, quod Caesare proeliante et tantis discriminibus obiecto tempestiva convivia, circum et theatra et amoenos secessus celebrarent.

[47] **Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi praeter captivos ac transfugas barbaros Galliarum quoque procerissimum quemque et, ut ipse dicebat, a**

[49] Aditus ergo in itinere a legatis amplissimi ordinis ut maturaret orantibus, quam maxima voce: “veniam,” inquit, “veniam, et hic mecum,” capulum gladii crebro verberans, quo cinctus erat. Edixit et reverti se, sed iis tantum qui optarent, equestri ordini et populo; nam se neque civem neque principem senatui amplius fore. Vetuit etiam quemquam senatorum sibi occurrere. Atque omisso vel dilato triumpho ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est; intraque quartum mensem periit, ingentia facinora ausus et aliquanto maiora moliens, siquidem proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandream commigrare interempto prius utriusque ordinis electissimo quoque. Quod ne cui dubium videatur, in secretis

eius reperti sunt duo libelli diverso titulo, alteri “gladius,” alteri “pugio” index erat; ambo nomina et notas continebant morti destinatorum. Inventa et arca ingens variorum venenorum plena, quibus mox a Claudio demersis infecta maria traduntur non sine piscium exitio, quos enectos aestus in proxima litora eiecit.

[50] Statura fuit eminenti, colore expallido, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro at circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cetera. Quare transeunte eo prospicere ex superiore parte aut omnino quacumque de causa capram nominare, criminis et exitiale habebatur. Vultum vero natura horridum ac taetrum etiam ex industria efferabat componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem.

Valitudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit. Puer comitali morbo vexatus, in adulescentia ita patiens laborum erat, ut tamen nonnumquam subita defectione ingredi, stare, colligere semet ac sufferre vix posset. Mentis valitudinem et ipse senserat ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur insomnio maxime; neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat ac ne iis quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus, ut qui inter ceteras pelagi quondam speciem conloquentem secum videre visus sit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliae cubandique taedio nunc toro residens, nunc per longissimas porticus vagus invocare identidem atque expectare lucem consuevit.

[51] Non inmerito mentis valitudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem vitia, summam confidentiam et contra nimium metum. Nam qui deos tanto opere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura conivere, caput obvolvere, at vero maiore proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat. Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisus multum locorum miraculis repente a Messana noctu profugit Aetnaei verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. Adversus barbaros quoque minacissimus, cum trans Rhenum inter angustias densumque agmen iter essedo faceret, dicente quodam non mediocre fore consternationem sicunde hostis appareat, equum ilico conscendit ac propere reversus ad pontes, ut eos calonibus et impedimentis stipatos repperit, impatiens morae per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est. Mox etiam audita rebellionem Germaniae fugam et subsidia fugae classes apparabat, uno solacio adquiescens transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas provincias, si victores Alpium iuga, ut Cimbri, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent; unde credo percussoribus eius postea consilium natum apud tumultuantes milites ementiendi, ipsum sibi manus intulisse nuntio malae pugnae perterritum.

[52] Vestitu calciatuque et cetero habitu neque patrio neque civili, ac ne virili quidem ac denique humano semper usus est. Saepe depictas gemmatasque

indutus paenulas, manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit; aliquando sericatus et cycladatus; ac modo in crepidis vel coturnis, modo in speculatoria caliga, nonnumquam socco muliebri; plerumque vero aurea barba, fulmen tenens aut fuscina aut caduceum deorum insignia, atque etiam Veneris cultu conspectus est. Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem assidue gestavit, interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum e conditorio eius.

[53] Ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus, utique si perorandum in aliquem esset. Irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant, pronuntiatio quoque et vox, ut neque eodem loci prae ardore consisteret et exaudiretur a procul stantibus. Peroraturus stricturum se lucubrationis suae telum minabatur, lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem “commissiones meras” componere et “harenam esse sine calce” diceret. Solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere et magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat, vel onerare sententia sua quemque vel sublevare, equestri quoque ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta.

[54] Sed et aliorum generum artes studiosissime et diversissimas exercuit. Thraex et auriga, idem cantor atque saltator, battuebat pugnatoriis armis, aurigabat exstructo plurifariam circo; canendi ac saltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem spectaculis temperaret quo minus et tragoedo pronuntianti concineret et gestum histrionis quasi laudans vel corrigens palam effingeret. Nec alia de causa videtur eo die, quo periit, pervigilium indixisse quam ut initium in scaenam prodeundi licentia temporis auspicaretur. Saltabat autem nonnumquam etiam noctu; et quondam tres consulares secunda vigilia in Palatium accitos multaque et extrema metuentis super pulpitem conlocavit, deinde repente magno tibiarum et scabellorum crepitu cum palla tunicaque talari prosiluit ac desaltato cantico abiit. Atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natum nesciit.

[55] Quorum vero studio teneretur, omnibus ad insaniam favit. Mnesterem pantomimum etiam inter spectacula osculabatur, ac si qui saltante eo vel leviter obstreperet, detrahi iussum manu sua flagellabat.

Equiti R. tumultuanti per centurionem denuntiavit, abiret sine mora Ostiam perferretque ad Ptolemaeum regem in Mauretiam codicillos suos; quorum exemplum erat: “ei quem istoc misi, neque boni quicquam neque mali feceris.”

Thraeces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus praeposuit. Murmillonum armaturas recidit. Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio, venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo Columbinum appellavit; sic certe inter alia venena scriptum ab eo repertum est.

Prasinae factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cenaret in stabulo assidue et

maneret, agitatori Eutycho comisatione quadam in apophoretis vicies sestertium contulit. Incitato equo, cuius causa pridie circenses, ne inquietaretur, vicinia silentium per milites indicare solebat, praeter equile marmoreum et praesaepe eburneum praeterque purpurea tegumenta ac monilia e gemmis domum etiam et familiam et supellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine eius invitati acciperentur; consulatum quoque traditur destinasse.

^[56] Ita bacchantem atque grassantem non defuit plerisque animus adoriri. Sed una atque altera conspiratione detecta, aliis per inopiam occasionis cunctantibus, duo consilium communicaverunt perfeceruntque, non sine conscientia potentissimorum libertorum praefectorumque praetori; quod ipsi quoque etsi falso in quadam coniuratione quasi participes nominati, suspectos tamen se et invisos sentiebant. Nam et statim seductis magnam fecit invidiam destricto gladio affirmans sponte se periturum, si et illis morte dignus videretur, nec cessavit ex eo criminari alterum alteri atque inter se omnis committere.

Cum placuisset Palatinis ludis spectaculo egressum meridie adgredi, primas sibi partes Cassius Chaerea tribunus cohortis praetoriae depoposcit, quem Gaius seniore iam et mollem et effeminatum denotare omni probro consuerat et modo signum petenti “Priapum” aut “Venerem” dare, modo ex aliqua causa agenti gratias osculandam manum offerre formatam commotamque in obscaenum modum.

^[57] Futurae caedis multa prodigia exstiterunt. Olympiae simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit, ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi.

Capitolium Capuae Id. Mart. de caelo tactum est, item Romae cella Palatini atriensis. Nec defuerunt qui coniectarent altero ostento periculum a custodibus domino portendi, altero caedem rursus insignem, qualis eodem die facta quondam fuisset.

Consulenti quoque de genitura sua Sulla mathematicus certissimam necem appropinquare affirmavit. Monuerunt et Fortunae Antiatinae, ut a Cassio caveret; qua causa ille Cassium Longinum Asiae tum proconsulem occidendum delegaverat, inmemor Chaeream Cassium nominari.

Pridie quam periret, somniavit consistere se in caelo iuxta solium Iovis impulsamque ab eo dextri pedis pollice et in terras praecipitatum.

Prodigiorum loco habita sunt etiam, quae forte illo ipso die paulo prius acciderant. Sacrificans respersus est phoenicopteri sanguine; et pantomimus Mnester tragoediam saltavit, quam olim Neoptolemus tragoedus ludis, quibus rex Macedonum Philippus occisus est, egerat; et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo auctor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim

experimentum artis darent, cruore scaena abundavit. Parabatur et in noctem spectaculum, quo argumenta inferorum per Aegyptios et Aethiopas explicarentur.

[58] VIII. Kal. Febr. hora fere septima cunctatus an ad prandium surgeret marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere, tandem suadentibus amicis egressus est. Cum in crypta, per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scaena operas evocati praepararentur, ut eos inspiceret hortareturque restitit, ac nisi princeps gregis algere se diceret, redire ac repraesentare spectaculum voluit. Duplex dehinc fama est: alii tradunt adloquenti pueros a tergo Chaeream cervicem gladio caesim graviter percussisse praemissa voce: “hoc age!” Dehinc Cornelium Sabinum, alterum e coniuratis, tribunum ex adverso traiecisse pectus; alii Sabinum summoti per conscios centuriones turba signum more militiae petisse et Gaio “Iovem” dante Chaeream exclamasse: “accipe ratum!” Respicientique maxillam ictu discidisce. Iacentem contractisque membris clamitantem se vivere ceteri vulneribus triginta confecerunt; nam signum erat omnium: “repete!” Quidam etiam per obscaena ferrum adegerunt. Ad primum tumultum lecticari cum asscribis in auxilium accucurrerunt, mox Germani corporis custodes, ac nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam etiam senatores innoxios interemerunt.

[59] Vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo. Cadaver eius clam in hortos Lamianos asportatum et tumultuario rogo semiambustum levi caespite obrutum est, postea per sorores ab exilio reversas erutum et crematum sepultumque. Satis constat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos; in ea quoque domo, in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem sine aliquo terrore transactam, donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit. Perit una et uxor Caesonia gladio a centurione confossa et filia parieti inlisa.

[60] Conditionem temporum illorum etiam per haec aestimare quivis possit. Nam neque caede vulgata statim creditum est, fuitque suspicio ab ipso Gaio famam caedis simulatam et emissam, ut eo pacto hominum erga se mentes deprehenderet; neque coniurati cuiquam imperium destinaverunt; et senatus in asserenda libertate adeo consensit, ut consules primo non in curiam, quia Iulia vocabatur, sed in Capitolium convocarent, quidam vero sententiae loco abolendam Caesarum memoriam ac diruenda templa censuerint. Observatum autem notatumque est in primis Caesares omnes, quibus Gai praenomen fuerit, ferro perisse, iam inde ab eo, qui Cinnanis temporibus sit occisus.

VITA DIVI CLAVDI

[1] Patrem Claudii Caesaris Drusum, olim Decimum mox Neronem praenomine, Livia, cum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit, fuitque suspicio ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus:

Tois eutuchousi kai trimena paidia.

Is Drusus in quaesturae praeturaeque honore dux Raetici, deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septemtrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit transque Rhenum fossas navi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur. Hostem etiam frequenter caesum ac penitus in intimas solitudines actum non prius destitit insequi, quam species barbarae mulieris humana amplior victorem tendere ultra sermone Latino prohibuisset. Quas ob res ovandi ius et triumphalia ornamenta percepit; ac post praeturam confestim inito consulatu atque expeditione repetita supremum diem morbo obiit in aestivis castris, quae ex eo Scelerata sunt appellata. Corpus eius per municipiorum coloniarumque primores suscipientibus obviis scribarum decuriis ad urbem devectum sepultumque est in campo Martio. Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent. Praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis via Appia decrevit et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque eius. Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi; nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus; nec dissimulasse umquam pristinum se rei p. statum, quandoque posset, restitutum. Vnde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum Augusto revocatumque ex provincia et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis ne praetermitterem rettuli, quam quia verum aut veri simile putem, cum Augustus tanto opere et vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est, et defunctum ita pro contione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, similes ei Caesares suos facerent sibi tam honestum quandoque exitum darent quam illi dedissent. Nec contentus elogium tumulo eius versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitae memoriam prosa oratione composuit. Ex Antonia minore complures quidem liberos tulit, verum tres omnino reliquit: Germanicum, Livillam, Claudium.

[2] Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio Fabio Africano cons. Kal. Aug. Luguduni eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est, appellatusque Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Mox fratre maiore in Iuliam familiam adoptato Germanici

cognomen assumpsit. Infans autem relictus a patre ac per omne fere pueritiae atque adulescentiae tempus variis et tenacibus morbis conflictatus est, adeo ut animo simul et corpore hebetato ne progressa quidem aetate ulli publico privatoque muneri habilis existimaretur. Diu atque etiam post tutelam receptam alieni arbitrii et sub paedagogo fuit; quem barbarum et olim superiumentarium ex industria sibi appositum, ut se quibuscumque de causis quam saevissime coaceret, ipse quodam libello conqueritur. Ob hanc eandem valitudinem et gladiatorio munere, quod simul cum fratre memoriae patris edebat, palliolatus novo more praesedit; et togae virilis die circa mediam noctem sine sollemni officio lectica in Capitolium latus est.

[3] Disciplinis tamen liberalibus ab aetate prima non mediocrem operam dedit ac saepe experimenta cuiusque etiam publicavit. Verum ne sic quidem quicquam dignitatis assequi aut spem de se commodiorem in posterum facere potuit. Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum incohatum; ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiozem aiebat filio suo Claudio. Avia Augusta pro despectissimo semper habuit, non affari nisi rarissime, non monere nisi acerbo et brevi scripto aut per internuntios solita. Soror Livilla cum audisset quandoque imperaturum, tam iniquam et tam indignam sortem p. R. palam et clare detestata est. Nam avunculus maior Augustus quid de eo in utramque partem opinatus sit, quo certius cognoscatur, capita ex ipsius epistulis posui.

[4] “Collocutus sum cum Tiberio, ut mandasti, mea Livia, quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus. Consentit autem uterque nostrum, semel nobis esse statvendum, quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam si est artius, ut ita dicam, holocleros, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos et gradus producendus sit, per quos frater eius productus sit? Sin autem *elattosthai* sentimus eum et *beblaphthai kai eis ten tou somatos kai eis ten tes psyches artioteta*, praebenda materia deridendi et illum et nos non est hominibus *ta toiauta skoptein kai mykterizein eiiothosin*. Nam semper aestuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabimus, *me proupokeimenou hemin* posse arbitremur eum gerere honores necne. In praesentia tamen quibus de rebus consulis, curare eum ludis Martialibus triclinium sacerdotum non displicet nobis, si est passurus se ab Silvani filio homine sibi affini admoneri, ne quid faciat quod conspici et derideri possit. Spectare eum circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis; expositus enim in fronte prima spectaculorum conspicietur. In Albanum montem ire eum non placet nobis aut esse Romae Latinarum diebus. Cur enim non praeficitur urbi, si potest sequi fratrem suum in montem? Habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias, quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui, ne semper inter spem et metum fluctuemur. Licebit autem, si voles, Antoniae quoque

nostrae des hanc partem epistulae huius legendam.” Rursus alteris litteris: “Tiberium adulescentem ego vero, dum to aberis, cotidie invitabo ad cenam, ne solus cenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro. Qui vellem diligentius et minus *meteoros* deligeret sibi aliquem, cuius motum et habitum et incessum imitaretur. Misellus *atychei* nam *en tois spoudaiois* ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet *he tes psyches autou eugeneia*. Item tertiis litteris: “Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantern potuisse, peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam *asaphos* loquatur, qui possit cum declamat *saphos* dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video.” Nec dubium est, quid post haec Augustus constituerit, et reliquerit eum nullo praeter auguralis sacerdotii honore impertitum ac ne heredem quidem nisi inter tertios ac paene extraneos e parte sexta nuncuparet, legato quoque non amplius quam octingentorum sestertiorum prosecutus.

[5] Tiberius patruus petenti honores consularia ornamenta detulit; sed instantius legitimos flagitanti id solum codicillis rescripsit, quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia et Sigillaria misisse ei. Tunc demum abiecta spe dignitatis ad otium concessit, modo in hortis et suburbana domo, modo in Campaniae seccssu delitescens, atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit, cum interim, quanquam hoc modo agenti, numquam aut officium hominum aut reverentia publice defuit.

[6] Equester ordo bis patronum cum perferendae pro se legationis elegit, semel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti umeris suis ab consulibus exposceret, iterum cum oppressum Seianum apud eosdem gratularetur; quin et spectaculis adveniēti assurgere et lacernas deponere solebat. Senatus quoque, ut ad numerum sodalium Augustalium sorte ductorum extra ordinem adiceretur, censuit et mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur, dicendaeque inter consulares sententiae ius esset. Quod decretum abolitum est, excusante Tiberio imbecillitatem eius ac damnum liberalitate sua resarsurum pollicente. Qui tamen moriens et in tertiis heredibus eum ex parte tertia nuncupatum, legato etiam circa sestertium vices prosecutus, commendavit insuper exercitibus ac senatni populoque R. inter ceteras necessitudines nominatim.

[7] Sub Gaio demum fratris filio secundam existimationem circa initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente honores auspicatus consulatum gessit una per duos menses, evenitque ut primitus ingredienti cum fascibus Forum praetervolans aquila dexteriore umero consideret. Sortitus est et de altero consulatu in quartum annum; praeseditque nonnumquam spectaculis in Gai vicem, adclamante populo: “Feliciter” partim “patruo imperatoris” partim “Germanici fratri!”

[8] Nec eo minus contumeliis obnoxius vixit. Nam et si paulo serius ad

praedictam cenae horam occurrisset, non nisi aegre et circuito demum triclinio recipiebatur, et quotiens post cibum addormisceret, quod ei fere accidebat, olearum aut palmularum ossibus incessebatur, interdum ferula flagrove velut per ludum excitabatur a copreis. Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induci, ut repente exergefactus faciem sibimet confricaret.

[9] Sed ne discriminibus quidem caruit. Primum in ipso consulatu, quod Neronis et Drusi fratrum Caesaris statuas segnius locandas ponendasque curasset, paene honore summotus est; deinde extraneo vel etiam domesticorum aliquo deferente assidue varieque inquietatus. Cum vero detecta esset Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio, missus in Germaniam inter legatos ad gratulandum etiam vitae periculum adiit, indignante ac fremente Gaio patrum potissimum ad se missum quasi ad puerum regendum, adeo ut non defuerint, qui traderent praecipitatum quoque in flumen, sic ut vestitus advenerat. Atque ex eo numquam non in senatu novissimum consularium sententiam dixit, ignominiae causa post omnis interrogatus. Etiam cognitio falsi testamenti recepta est, in quo et ipse signaverat. Postremo sestertium octogies pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere, ad eas rei familiaris angustias decidit, ut cum obligatam aerario fidem liberare non posset, in vacuum lege praediatrica venalis pependerit sub edicto praefectorum.

[10] Per haec ac talia maxima aetatis parte transacta quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. Exclusus inter ceteros ab insidiatoribus Gai, cum quasi secretum eo desiderante turbam submoverent, in diaetam, cui nomen est Hermaeum, recesserat; neque multo post rumore caedis exterritus prorepsit ad solarium proximum interque praetenta foribus uela se abdidit. Latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles, animadversis pedibus, studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, agnovit extractumque et prae metu ad genua sibi accidens imperatorem salutavit. Hinc ad alios commilitones fluctuantis nec quicquam adhuc quam frementis perduxit. Ab his lecticae impositus et, quia sui diffugerant vicissim succollantibus in castra delatus est tristis ac trepidus, miserante obvia turba quasi ad poenam raperetur insons. Receptus intra uallum inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia. Nam consules cum senatu et cohortibus urbanis forum Capitoliumque occupaverant asserturi communem libertatem; accitusque et ipse per tr. pl. in curiam ad suadenda quae viderentur, vi se et necessitate teneri respondit. Verum postero die et senatu segniore in exequendis conatibus per taedium ac dissensionem diversa consentium et multitudine, quae circumstabat, unum rectorem iam et nominatim exposcente, armatos pro contione iurare in nomen suum passus est promisitque singulis quina dena sestertia, primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus.

[11] Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando rei p. statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere. Omnium itaque factorum dictorumque in eo veniam et oblivionem in perpetuum sanxit ac praestitit, tribunis modo ac centurionibus paucis e coniuratorum in Gaium numero interemptis, exempli simul causa et quod suam quoque caedem depoposcisse cognoverat. Conversus hinc ad officia pietatis ius iurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum. Aviae Liviae diuinos honores et circensi pompa currum elephantorum Augustino similem decernenda curavit; parentibus inferias publicas, et hoc amplius patri circenses annuos natali die, matri carpentum, quo per circum duceretur, et cognomen Augustae ab viva recusatum. At in fratris memoriam per omnem occasionem celebratam comoediam quoque Graecam Neapolitano certamine docuit ac de sententia iudicum coronavit. Ne Marcum quidem Antonium inhonoratum ac sine grata mentione transmisit, testatus quondam per edictum, tanto impensius petere se ut natalem patris Drusi celebrarent, quod idem esset et aui sui Antoni. Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum, peregit. Gai quoque etsi acta omnia rescidit, diem tamen necis, quamvis exordium principatus sui, vetuit inter festos referri.

[12] At in semet augendo parcus atque civilis praenomine Imperatoris abstinuit, nimios honores recusavit, sponsalia filiae natalemque geniti nepotis silentio ac tantum domestica religione transegit. Neminem exulum nisi ex senatus auctoritate restituit. ut sibi in curiam praefectum praetori tribunosque militum secum inducere liceret utque rata essent quae procuratores sui in iudicando statuerent, precario exegit. Ius nundinarum in privata praedia a consulibus petit. Cognitionibus magistratuum ut unus e consiliariis frequenter interfuit; eosdem spectacula edentis surgens et ipse cum cetera turba voce ac manu veneratus est. Tribunis plebis adeuntibus se pro tribunali excusavit, quod propter angustias non posset audire eos nisi stantes. Quare in brevi spatio tantum amoris fauorisque collegit, ut cum profectum eum Ostiam perisse ex insidiis nuntiatum esset, magna consternatione populus et militem quasi proditorem et senatum quasi parricidam diris execrationibus incessere non ante destiterit, quam unus atque alter et mox plures a magistratibus in rostra producti saluum et appropinquare confirmarent.

[13] Nec tamen expers insidiarum usque quaque permansit, sed et a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello infestatus est. E plebe homo nocte media iuxta cubiculum eius cum pugione deprehensus est; reperti et equestris ordinis duo in publico cum dolone ac venatorio cultro praestolantes, alter ut egressum theatro, alter ut sacrificantem apud Martis aedem adoreretur. Conspirauerunt autem ad res novas Gallus Asinius et Statilius Corvinus, Pollionis ac Messalae

oratorum nepotes, assumptis compluribus libertis ipsius atque servis. Bellum civile movit Furius Camillus Scribonianus Delmatiae legatus; verum intra quintum diem oppressus est legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere casu quodam ac diuinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa conuelli moverique potuerunt.

^[14] Consulatus super pristinum quattuor gessit; ex quibus duos primos iunctim, sequentis per interuallum quarto quemque anno, semenstrem novissimum, bimenstris ceteros, tertium autem novo circa principem exemplo in locum demortui suffectus. Ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus, nonnumquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis. Nec semper praescripta legum secutus duritiam lenitatemue multarum ex bono et aequo, perinde ut adficeretur, moderatus est; nam et iis, qui apud privatos iudices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones et in maiore fraude convictos legitimam poenam supergressus ad bestias condemnavit.

^[15] In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspectus et sagax, interdum inconsultus ac praeceps, nonnumquam friuolus amentique similis. Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret, eum, qui dissimulata vacatione quam beneficio liberorum habebat responderat, ut cupidum iudicandi dimisit; alium interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite negantemque cognitionis rem sed ordinari iuris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam aequus iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset. Feminam non agnoscentem filium suum dubia utrimque argumentorum fide ad confessionem compulit indicto matrimonio iuvenis. Absentibus secundum praesentes facillime dabat, nullo dilectu culpane quis an aliqua necessitate cessasset. Proclamante quodam praecidendas falsario manus, carnificem statim acciri cum machaera mensaque lanionia flagitavit. Peregrinitatis reum orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret, quasi aequitatem integram ostentans, mutare habitum saepius et prout accusaretur defendereturue, iussit. De quodam etiam negotio ita ex tabella pronuntiasse creditur, secundum eos se sentire, qui vera proposuissent. Propter quae usque eo eviluit, ut passim ac propalam contemptui esset. Excusans quidam testem e provincia ab eo vocatum negavit praesto esse posse dissimulata diu causa; ac post longas demum interrogationes: “Mortuus est,” inquit, “puto, licuit.” Alius gratias agens quod reum defendi pateretur, adiecit: “Et tamen fieri solet.” Illud quoque a maioribus natu audiebam, adeo causidicos patientia eius solitos abuti, ut discedentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso detinerent. Ac ne cui haec mira sint, litigatori Graeculo vox in altercatione excidit: *kai su geron ei kai moros*. Equitem

quidem Romanum obscaenitatis in feminas reum, sed falso et ab impotentibus inimicis conficto crimine, satis constat, cum scorta meritoria citari adversus se et audiri pro testimonio videret, graphium et libellos, quos tenebat in manu, ita cum magna stultitiae et saevitiae exprobratione iecisse in faciem eius, ut genam non leviter perstrinxerit.

[16] Gessit et censuram intermissam diu post Plancum Paulumque censores, sed hanc quoque inaequabiliter varioque et animo et eventu. Recognitione equitum iuvenem probri plenum, sed quem pater probatissimum sibi affirmabat, sine ignominia dimisit, habere dicens censorem suum; alium corruptelis adulteriisque famosum nihil amplius quam monuit, ut aut parcius aetatulae indulgeret aut certe cautius; addiditque: “quare enim ego scio, quam amicam habeas?” Et cum orantibus familiaribus dempsisset cuidam appositam notam: “litura tamen,” inquit, “extet.” Splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo iudicum erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumque quis posset, ac sine patrono rationem vitae passus est reddere. Notavitque multos, et quosdam inopinantis et ex causa novi generis, quod se inscio ac sine commeatu Italia excessissent; qvendam vero et quod comes regis in provincia fuisset, referens, maiorum temporibus Rabirio Postumo Ptolemaeum Alexandriam crediti servandi causa secuto crimen maiestatis apud iudices motum. Plures notare conatus, magna inquisitorum neglegentia sed suo maiore dedecore, innoxios fere repperit, quibuscumque caelibatum aut orbitatem aut egestatem obiceret, maritos, patres, opulentos se probantibus; eo quidem, qui sibimet vim ferro intulisse arguebatur, inlaesum corpus veste deposita ostentante. Fuerunt et illa in censura eius notabilia, quod essedum argenteum sumptuose fabricatum ac venale ad Sigillaria redimi concidique coram imperavit; quodque uno die XX edicta proposuit, inter quae duo, quorum altero admonebat, ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur; altero, nihil aequae facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum.

[17] Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit eamque modicam. Cum decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus leviolem maiestati principali titulum arbitraretur velletque iusti triumpho decus, unde acquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque temptatam ulli post Divum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas. Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis paene demersus est, prope Liguriam iuxtaque Stoechadas insulas. Quare a Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto inde transmisit ac sine ullo proelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit triumphavitque maximo apparatu. Ad cuius spectaculum commeare in urbem

non solum praesidibus provinciarum permisit, verum etiam exulibus quibusdam; atque inter hostilia spolia naualem coronam fastigio Palatinae domus iuxta civicam fixit, traieci et quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Currum eius Messalina uxor carpento secuta est; secuti et triumphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed ceteri pedibus et in praetexta, M. Crassus Frugi equo phalerato et in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteraverat.

[18] Urbis annonaeque curam sollicitissime semper egit. Cum Aemiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit ac positus ante se cum pecunia fiscis ad subveniendum hortatus est, repraesentans pro opera dignam cuique mercedem. Artiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turba conviciisque et simul fragminibus panis ita infestatus, ut aegre nec nisi postico euadere in Palatium valuerit, nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam tempore hiberno commeatus. Nam et negotiatoribus certa lucra proposuit suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset, et naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro condicione cuiusque:

[19] civi vacationem legis Papiae Poppaeae, Latino ius Quiritium, feminis ius IIII liberorum; quae constituta hodieque servantur.

[20] Opera magna potius necessaria quam multa perfecit, sed uel praecipua: ductum aquarum a Gaio incohatum, item emissarium Fucini lacus portumque Ostiensem, quanquam sciret ex iis alterum ab Augusto precantibus assidue Marsis negatum, alterum a Diuo Iulio saepius destinatum ac propter difficultatem omissum. Claudiae aquae gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caeruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudigno nomen est, simulque riuum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit diuisitque in plurimos et ornatissimos lacus. Fucinum adgressus est non minus compendii spe quam gloriae, cum quidam privato sumptu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi siccati agri concederentur. Per tria autem passuum milia partim effosso monte partim exciso canalem absoluit aegre et post undecim annos, quamvis continuis XXX hominum milibus sine intermissione operantibus. Portum Ostiae extruxit circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio et ad introitum profundo iam solo mole obiecta; quam quo stabilius fundaret, navem ante demersit, qua magnus obeliscus ex Aegypto fverat aduectus, congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrem in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent.

[21] Congiaria populo saepius distribuit. Spectacula quoque complura et magnifica edidit, non usitata modo ac solitis locis, sed et commenticia et ex antiquitate repetita, et ubi praeterea nemo ante eum. Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restitverat, e tribunali posito in orchestra

commisit, cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset perque mediam caueam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset. Fecit et saeculares, quasi anticipatos ab Augusto nec legitimo tempori reservatos, quamvis ipse in historiis suis prodat, intermissos eos Augustum multo post diligentissime annorum ratione subducta in ordinem redegissem. Quare vox praeconis irrisa est inuitantis more sollemni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset, cum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur. Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit, nonnumquam interiecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero maximo marmoreis carceribus aurisque metis, quae utraque et tofina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculpto propria senatoribus constituit loca promiscue spectare solitis; ac super quadrigarum certamina Troiae lusum exhibuit et Africanas, conficiente turma equitum praetorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsoque praefecto; praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Gladiatoria munera plurifariam ac multiplicita exhibuit: anniversarium in castris praetorianis sine venatione apparatuque, iustum atque legitimum in Saepthis; ibidem extraordinarium et breve dierumque paucorum, quodque appellare coepit “sportulam,” quia primum daturus edixerat, velut ad subitam condictamque cenulam inuitare se populum. Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret ac saepe hortando rogandoque ad hilaritatem homines provocaret, dominos identidem appellans, immixtis interdum frigidis et arcessitis iocis; qualis est ut cum Palumbum postulantibus daturum se promisit, si captus esset. Illud plane quantumvis salubriter et in tempore: cum essedario, pro quo quattuor filii deprecabantur, magno omnium fauore indulsisset rudem, tabulam ilico misit admonens populum, quanto opere liberos suscipere deberet, quos videret et gladiatori praesidio gratiaeque esse. Edidit et in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam et deditionem Britanniae regum praeseditque paludatus. Quin et emissurus Fucinum lacum naumachiam ante commisit. Sed cum proclamantibus naumachiariis: “Have imperator, morituri te salutant!” Respondisset: “Aut non,” neque post hanc vocem quasi venia data quisquam dimicare vellet, diu cunctatus an omnes igni ferroque absumeret, tandem e sede sua prosiluit ac per ambitum lacus non sine foeda vacillatione discurrens partim minando partim adhortando ad pugnam compulit. Hoc spectaculo classis Sicula et Rhodia concurrerunt, duodenarum triremium singulae, exciente bucina Tritone argenteo, qui e medio lacu per machinam emerserat.

[22] Quaedam circa caerimonias civilemque et militarem morem, item circa

omnium ordinum statum domi forisque aut correxit aut exoleta revocavit aut etiam noua instituit. In cooptandis per collegia sacerdotibus neminem nisi iuratus nominavit; observavitque sedulo, ut quotiens terra in urbe movisset, ferias advocata contione praetor indiceret, utque dira aue in Capitolio visa obsecratio haberetur, eamque ipse iure maximi pontificis pro rostris populo praeiret summotaque operariorum seruorumque turba.

[23] Rerum actum diuisum antea in hibernos aestiuosque menses coniunxit. Iuris dictionem de fidei commissis quotannis et tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam in perpetuum atque etiam per provincias potestatibus demandavit. Capiti Papiae Poppaeae legis a Tiberio Caesare, quasi sexagenarii generare non possent, addito obrogavit. Sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a consulibus darentur, utque ii, quibus a magistratibus provinciae interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia summoventur. Ipse quosdam novo exemplo relegavit, ut ultra lapidem tertium vetaret egredi ab urbe. De maiore negotio acturus in curia medius inter consulum sellas tribunicio subsellio sedebat. Commeatus a senatu peti solitos benefici sui fecit.

[24] Ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit. Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus equestrem quoque ademit. Latum clauum, quamuis initio affirmasset non lecturum se senatorem nisi civis R. abnepotem, etiam libertini filio tribuit, sed sub condicione si prius ab equite R. adoptatus esset; ac sic quoque reprehensionem uerens, et Appium Caecum censorem, generis sui proauctorem, libertinorum filios in senatum adlegisse docuit, ignarus temporibus Appi et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos, qui manu emitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos. Collegio quaestorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorium munus iniunxit detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia curam aerari Saturni reddidit, quam medio tempore praetores aut, uti nunc, praetura functi sustinverant. Triumphalia ornamenta Silano, filiae suae sponso, nondum puberi dedit, maioribus vero natu tam multis tamque facile, ut epistula communi legionum nomine extiterit petentium, ut legatis consularibus simul cum exercitu et triumphalia darentur, ne causam belli quoquo modo quaererent. Aulo Plautio etiam ouationem decreuit ingressoque urbem obviam progressus et in Capitolium eunti et inde rursus reuertenti latus texit. Gabinio Secundo Cauchis gente Germanica superatis cognomen Cauchius usurpare concessit.

[25] Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret; stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod vocatur “supra numerum,” quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur. Milites domus senatorias salutandi causa ingredi etiam patrum decreto prohibuit. Libertinos, qui se pro equitibus R. agerent, publicavit, ingratos et de quibus patroni quererentur revocavit in seruitutem advocatisque eorum negavit se adversus libertos ipsorum

ius dicturum. Cum quidam aegra et adfecta mancipia in insulam Aesculapi taedio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in dicionem domini, si conualuissent; quod si quis necare quem mallet quam exponere, caedis crimine teneri. Viatores ne per Italiae oppida nisi aut pedibus aut sella aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto. Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit. Peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina dum taxat gentilicia. Civitatem R. usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit. provincias Achaïam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit, Rhodiis ob paenitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Iliensibus quasi Romanae gentis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit recitata vetere epistula Graeca senatus populiue R. Seleuco regi amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes praestitisset. Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit. Germanorum legatis in orchestra sedere permisit, simplicitate eorum et fiducia commotus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animaduertissent Parthos et Armenios sedentis in senatu, ad eadem loca sponte transierant, nihilo deteriore virtutem aut condicionem suam praedicantes. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam penitus abolevit; contra sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est, templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum ut ex aerario pop. R. reficeretur, auctor fuit. Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere fetialium praefatione adhibita. Sed et haec et cetera totumque adeo ex parte magna principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administravit, talis ubique plerumque, qualem esse eum aut expediret illis aut liberet.

[26] Sponsas admodum adulescens duas habuit: Aemiliam Lepidam Augusti proneptem, item Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes eius Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit, posteriorem ipso die, qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valitudine amisit. Uxores deinde duxit Plautiam Vrgulanillam triumphali et mox Aeliam Paetinam consulari patre. Cum utraque diuortium fecit, sed cum Paetina ex levibus offensis, cum Vrgulanilla ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem. Post has Valeriam Messalinam, Barbati Messalae consobrini sui filiam, in matrimonium accepit. Quam cum comperisset super cetera flagitia atque dedecora C. Silio etiam nupsisse dote inter auspices consignata, supplicio adfecit confirmavitque pro contione apud praetorianos, quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent, permansurum se in caelibatu, ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum confodi manibus ipsorum. Nec durare valuit quin de condicionibus

continuo tractaret, etiam de Paetinae, quam olim exegerat, deque Lolliae Paulinae, quae C. Caesari nupta fuerat. Verum inlecebris Agrippinae, Germanici fratris sui filiae, per ius osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu qui censerent, cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi rei p. maxime interesset, dandamque ceteris veniam talium coniugiorum, quae ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die confecit nuptias, non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam et altero primipilari, cuius nuptiarum officium et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.

[27] Liberos ex tribus uxoribus tulit: ex Vrgulanilla Drusum et Claudiam, ex Paetina Antoniam, ex Messalina Octaviam et quem primo Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit. Drusum prope iam puberem amisit piro per lusum in sublime iactato et hiatu oris excepto strangulatum, cum ei ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset. Quo magis miror fuisse qui traderent fraude a Seiano necatum. Claudiam ex liberto suo Botere conceptam, quamvis ante quintum mensem diuortii natam aliquae coeptam, exponi tamen ad matris ianuam et nudam iussit abici. Antoniam Cn. Pompeio Magno, deinde Fausto Sullae, nobilissimis iuvenibus, Octaviam Neroni priuigno suo collocavit, Silano ante desponsam. Britannicum vicesimo imperii die inque secundo consulatu, natum sibi paruulum etiam tum, et militi pro contione manibus suis gestans et plebi per spectacula gremio aut ante se retinens assidue commendabat faustisque omnibus cum adclamantium turba prosequabatur. E generis Neronem adoptavit, Pompeium atque Silanum non recusavit modo, sed et interemit.

[28] Libertorum praecipue suspexit Posiden spadonem, quem etiam Britannico triumpho inter militares viros hasta pura donavit; nec minus Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit, trium reginarum maritum; et Harpocran, cui lectica per urbem vehendi spectaculaque publice edendi ius tribuit; ac super hos Polybium ab studiis, qui saepe inter duos consules ambulabat; sed ante omnis Narcissum ab epistulis et Pallantem a rationibus, quos decreto quoque senatus non praemiis modo ingentibus, sed et quaestoriis praetoriisque ornamentis honorari libens passus est; tantum praeterea acquirere et rapere, ut querente eo quondam de fisci exiguitate non absurde dictum sit, abundaturum, si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.

[29] His, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non principem, sed ministrum egit, compendio cuiusque horum vel etiam studio aut libidine honores exercitus impunitas supplicia largitus est, et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus. Ac ne singillatim minora quoque enumerem, revocatas liberalitates eius, iudicia rescissa, suppositos aut etiam palam immutatos datorum officiorum codicillos: Appium Silanum consocerum suum Iuliasque, alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici

filiam, crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data occidit, item Cn. Pompeium maioris filiae virum et L. Silanum minoris sponsum. Ex quibus Pompeius in concubitu dilecti adulescentuli confossus est, Silanus abdicare se praetura ante IIII. Kal. Ian. Morique initio anni coactus die ipso Claudii et Agrippinae nuptiarum. In quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites R. tanta facilitate animaduertit, ut, cum de nece consularis viri renuntiante centurione factum esse quod imperasset, negaret quicquam se imperasse, nihilo minus rem comprobaret, affirmantibus libertis officio milites functos, quod ad ultionem imperatoris ultro procucurrissent. Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus, quasi de industria simularentur ad auertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur.

[30] Auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei, verum stanti uel sedenti ac praecipue quiescenti, nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat et specie canitieque pulchra, opimis ceruicibus; ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant: risus indecens, ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus, praeterea linguae titubantia caputque cum semper tum in quantulocumque actu vel maxime tremulum.

[31] valitudine sicut olim graui, ita princeps prospera usus est excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.

[32] convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua ac fere patentissimis locis, ut plerumque sesceni simul discumberent. Convivatus est et super emissarium Fucini lacus ac paene summersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset. Adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes uescerentur. Convivae, qui pridie scyphum aureum subripuisse existimabatur, revocato in diem posterum calicem fictilem apposuit. Dicitur etiam meditatus edictum, quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi, cum periclitatum quendam prae pudore ex continentia repperisset.

[33] Cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus, cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro ictusque nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis aede Saliis apparabatur, deserto tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes unaque decubuit. Nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens, et ut statim supino ac per somnum hianti pinna in os inderetur ad exonerandum stomachum. Somni brevissimi erat. Nam ante mediam noctem plerumque vigilabat, ut tamen interdum nonnumquam in iure dicendo obdormisceret vixque ab advocatis de industria vocem augentibus excitaretur. Libidinis in feminas profusissimae, marum omnino experts. Aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque

emisit, solitus etiam in gestatione ludere, ita essedo alueoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur.

[34] saevum et sanguinarium natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. Tormenta quaestionum poenasque parricidarum repraesentabat exigebatque coram. Cum spectare antiqui moris supplicium Tiburi concupisset et deligatis ad palum noxiis carnifex deesset, accitum ab urbe vesperam usque opperiri perseveravit. Qvocumque gladiatorio munere, vel suo vel alieno, etiam forte prolapsos iugulari iubebat, maxime retiarios, ut expirantium facies videret. Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidisset, cultellos sibi paruulos ex utroque ferro in usum fieri sine mora iussit. Bestiaris meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet et meridie dimisso ad prandium populo persederet praeterque destinatos etiam levi subitaque de causa quosdam committeret, de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero, si automatum vel pegma vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset. Induxit et unum ex nomenclatoribus suis, sic ut erat togatus.

[35] Sed nihil aequae quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. Primis imperii diebus quanquam, ut diximus, iactator civilitatis, neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent militesque vice ministrorum fungerentur, neque aegrum quemquam visitavit nisi explorato prius cubiculo culcitisque et stragulis praetemptatis et excussis. Reliquo autem tempore saluatoribus scrutatores semper apposuit, et quidem omnibus et acerbissimos. Sero enim ac vix remisit, ne feminae praetextatique pueri et puellae contrectarentur et ne cuius comiti aut librario calamariae et graphiariae thecae adimerentur. Motu civili cum eum Camillus, non dubitans etiam citra bellum posse terreri, contumeliosa et minaci et contumaci epistula cedere imperio iuberet vitamque otiosam in privata re agere, dubitavit adhibitis principibus viris an optemperaret.

[36] Quasdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium temptaverit. Quodam, ut supra rettuli, cum ferro circa sacrificantem se deprehenso, senatum per praecones propere convocavit lacrimisque et vociferatione miseratus est condicionem suam, cui nihil tuti usquam esset, ac diu publico abstinuit. Messalinae quoque amorem flagrantissimum non tam indignitate contumeliarum quam periculi metu abiecit, cum adultero Silio adquiri imperium credidisset; quo tempore foedum in modum trepidus ad castra confugit, nihil tota via quam essetne sibi saluum imperium requirens.

[37] Nulla adeo suspicio, nullus auctor tam levis extitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo iniecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur. Vnus ex litigatoribus seducto in salutatione affirmavit, vidisse se per quietem occidi eum a quodam; dein paulo post, quasi percussorem agnosceret, libellum tradentem adversarium suum demonstravit: confestimque is pro deprenso ad poenam raptus

est. Pari modo oppressum ferunt Appium Silanum: quem cum Messalina et Narcissus conspirassent perdere, diuisis partibus alter ante lucem similis attonito patroni cubiculum inrupit, affirmans somniasse se uim ei ab Appio inlatam; altera in admirationem formata sibi quoque eandem speciem aliquot iam noctibus obversari rettulit; nec multo post ex composito inrumpere Appius nuntiat, cui pridie ad id temporis ut adesset praeceptum erat, quasi plane repraesentaretur somnii fides, arcessi statim ac mori iussus est. Nec dubitavit postero die Claudius ordinem rei gestae perferre ad senatum ac liberto gratias agere, quod pro salute sua etiam dormiens excubaret.

[38] Irae atque iracundiae conscius sibi, utramque excusavit edicto distinxitque, pollicitus alteram quidem brevem et innoxiam, alteram non iniustam fore. Ostiensibus, quia sibi subeunti Tiberim scaphas obviam non miserint, graviter correptis eaque cum inuidia, ut in ordinem se coactum conscriberet, repente tantum non satis facientis modo veniam dedit. Quosdam in publico parum tempestiue adeuntis manu sua reppulit. Item scribam quaestorium itemque praetura functum senatorem inauditos et innoxios relegavit, quod ille adversus privatum se intemperantius affuisset, hic in aedilitate inquilinos praediorum suorum contra vetitum cocta vendentes multasset vilicumque intervenientem flagellasset. Qua de causa etiam coercionem popinarum aedilibus ademit. Ac ne stultitiam quidem suam reticuit simulatamque a se ex industria sub Gaio, quod aliter euasurus perventurusque ad susceptam stationem non fuerit, quibusdam oratiunculis testatus est; nec tamen persuasit, cum intra breve tempus liber editus sit, cui index erat *moron epanastasis*, argumentum autem stultitiam neminem fingere.

[39] Inter cetera in eo mirati sunt homines et oblivionem et inconsiderantiam, vel ut Graece dicam, *meteorian* et *ablepsian*. Occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, cur domina non veniret requisivit. Multos ex iis, quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die et in consilium et ad aleae lusum admoneri iussit et, quasi morarentur, ut somniculosos per nuntium increpuit. Ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem, non cessavit omni oratione filiam et alumnam et in gremio suo natam atque educatam praedicare. Adsciturus in nomen Neronem, quasi parum reprehenderetur, quod adulto iam filio priuignum adoptaret, identidem divulgavit neminem umquam per adoptionem familiae Claudiae insertum.

[40] Sermonis vero rerumque tantam saepe negligentiam ostendit, ut nec quis nec inter quos, quoue tempore ac loco uerba faceret, scire aut cogitare existimaretur. Cum de laniis ac vinariis ageretur, exclamavit in curia: “rogo vos, quis potest sine offula vivere?” Descripsitque abundantiam veterum tabernarum, unde solitus esset uinum olim et ipse petere. De quaesturae quodam candidato inter causas suffragationis suae posuit, quod pater eius frigidam aegro sibi

tempestiue dedisset. Inducta teste in senatu: “haec,” inquit, “matris meae liberta et ornatrix fuit, sed me patronum semper existimavit; hoc ideo dixi, quod quidam sunt adhuc in domo mea, qui me patronum non putant.” Sed et pro tribunali Ostiensibus quiddam publice orantibus cum excanduisset, nihil habere se vociferatus est, quare eos demereatur; si quem alium, et se liberum esse. Nam illa eius cotidiana et plane omnium horarum et momentorum erant: “quid, ego tibi Telegenius videor?” et: *lalei kai me thiggane*, multaque talia etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

[41] Historiam in adulescentia hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio vero Flauo etiam adiuuante, scribere adgressus est. Et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, aegre perlegit refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. Nam cum initio recitationis defractis compluribus subsellis obesitate cuiusdam risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex interuallo subinde facti reminisceretur cachinnosque revocaret. In principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. Initium autem sumpsit historiae post caedem Caesaris dictatoris, sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora coepitque a pace civili, cum sentiret neque libere neque uere sibi de superioribus tradendi potestatem relictam, correptus saepe et a matre et ab avia. Prioris materiae duo volumina, posterioris unum et quadraginta reliquit. Composuit et “de vita sua” octo volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter; item “Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asini Galli libros” satis eruditam. novas etiam commentus est litteras tres ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum.

[42] Nec minore cura Graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus. Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti: “cum utroque,” inquit, “sermone nostro sis paratus”; et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, gratam sibi provinciam ait communium studiorum commercio; ac saepe in senatu legis perpetua oratione respondit. Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus. Quotiens quidem hostem vel insidiatorem ultus esset, excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti non temere aliud dedit quam:

Aner apomynasthai, hote tis proteros chalepenie.

Denique et Graecas scripsit historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniacon octo. Quarum causa veteri Alexandriae Musio additum ex ipsius nomine novum; institutumque ut quotannis in altero Tyrrhenicon libri, in altero Carchedoniacon diebus statutis velut in auditorio recitarentur toti a singulis per vices.

[43] Sub exitu vitae signa quaedam nec obscura paenitentis de matrimonio Agrippinae deque Neronis adoptione dederat, siquidem commemorantibus libertis ac laudantibus cognitionem, qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnarat, sibi quoque in fatis esse iactavit omnia impudica, sed non impunita matrimonia; et subinde obvium sibi Britannicum artius complexus hortatus est, ut cresceret rationemque a se omnium factorum acciperet; Graeca insuper voce prosecutus: *ho trosas iasetai*. Cumque impubi teneroque adhuc, quando statura permetteret, togam dare destinasset, adiecit: “Ut tandem populus R. verum Caesarem habeat.”

[44] Non multoque post testamentum etiam conscripsit ac signis omnium magistratuum obsignavit. Prius igitur quam ultra progredieretur, praeventus est ab Agrippina, quam praeter haec conscientia quoque nec minus delatores multorum criminum arguebant. Et veneno quidem occisum convenit; ubi autem et per quem dato, discrepat. Quidam tradunt epulanti in arce cum sacerdotibus per Halotum spadonem praegustatorem; alii domestico convivio per ipsam Agrippinam, quae boletum medicatum avidissimo ciborum talium optulerat. Etiam de subsequenteribus diversa fama est. Multi statim hausto veneno obmutuisse aiunt excruciatumque doloribus nocte tota defecisse prope lucem. Nonnulli inter initia consopitum, deinde cibo affluente euomuisse omnia, repetitumque toxico, incertum pultine addito, cum velut exhaustum refici cibo oporteret, an immisso per clystera^[m], ut quasi abundantia laboranti etiam hoc genere egestionis subveniretur.

[45] Mors eius celata est, donec circa successorem omnia ordinarentur. Itaque et quasi pro aegro adhuc vota suscepta sunt et inducti per simulationem comoedi, qui velut desiderantem oblectarent. Excessit III. Id. Octob. Asinio Marcello Acilio Auiola coss. sexagesimo quarto aetatis, imperii quarto decimo anno, funeratusque est sollemni principum pompa et in numerum deorum relatus; quem honorem a Nerone destitutum abolitumque recepit mox per Vespasianum.

[46] Praesagia mortis eius praecipua fuerunt: exortus crinitae stellae, quam cometen vocant, tactumque de caelo monumentum Drusi patris, et quod eodem anno ex omnium magistratuum genere plerique mortem obierant. Sed nec ipse ignorasse aut dissimulasse ultima vitae suae tempora videtur, aliquot quidem argumentis. Nam et cum consules designaret, neminem ultra mensem quo obiit designavit, et in senatu, cui novissime interfuit, multum ad concordiam liberos suos cohortatus, utriusque aetatem suppliciter patribus commendavit, et in ultima cognitione pro tribunali accessisse ad finem mortalitatis, quanquam abominantibus qui audiebant, semel atque iterum pronuntiavit.

VITA NERONIS

I. Ex gente Domitia duae familiae claruerunt, Calvinorum et Aenobarborum. Aenobarbi auctorem originis itemque cognominis habent L. Domitium, cui rure quondam revertenti iuvenes gemini augustiore forma ex occurso imperasse traduntur, nuntiaret senatui ac populo victoriam, de qua incertum adhuc erat; atque in fidem maiestatis adeo permulsisse malas, ut e nigro rutilum aerique similem capillum redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris eius, ac magna pars rutila barba fuerunt. Functi autem consulatibus septem, triumpho censuraque duplici et inter patricios adlecti perseveraverunt omnes in eodem cognomine. Ac ne praenomina quidem ulla praeterquam Gnaei et Luci usurparunt, eaque ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes per singulas. Nam primum secundumque ac tertium Ahenobarborum Lucios, sequentis rursus tres ex ordine Gnaeos accepimus, reliquos non nisi vicissim tum Lucos tum Gnaeos. Pluris e familia cognosci referre arbitror, quo facilius appareat ita degenerasse a suorum virtutibus Nero, ut tamen vitia cuiusque quasi tradita et ingentia rettulerit.

II. Ut igitur paulo altius repetam, atavus eius Cn. Domitius in tribunatu pontificibus offensior, quod alium quam se in patris sui locum cooptassent, ius sacerdotum subrogandorum a collegiis ad populum transtulit, at in consulatu Allobrogibus Arvernisque superatis elephanto per provinciam vectus est turba militum quasi inter sollemnia triumphi prosequente. In hunc dixit Licinius Crassus orator non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam habret, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset. Huius filius praetor C. Caesarem abeuntem consulatu, quem adversus auspicia legesque gessisse existimabatur, ad disquisitionem senatus vocavit; mox consul imperatorem ab exercitibus Gallicis retrahere temptavit successorque ei per factionem nominatus principio civilis belli ad Corfinium captus est. Unde dimissus Massiliensis obsidione laborantis cum adventu suo confirmasset, repente destituit acieque demum Pharsalica occubuit; vir neque satis constans et ingenio truci in desperatione rerum mortem timore appetitam ita expavit, ut haustum venenum paenitentia evomuerit medicumque manumiserit, quod sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperassent. Consultante autem Cn. Pompeio de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus solus censuit hostium numero habendos.

III. Reliquit filium omnibus gentis soae procul dubio praeferendum. Is inter conscios Caesarianae necis quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia, cum ad Cassium Brutumque se propinqua sibi cognatione iunctos contulisset, post utriusque interitum classem olim commissam retinuit, auxit etiam, nec nisi partibus ubique profligatis M. Antonio sponte et ingentis meriti loco tradidit.

Solusque omnium ex iis, qui pari lege damnati erant, restitutus in patriam amplissimos honores percucurrit, ac subinde redintegrata dissensione civili, eidem Antonio legatus, delatam sibi summam imperii ab iis, quos Cleopatrae pudebat, neque suscipere neque recusare fidenter propter subitam valitudinem ausus, transiit ad Augustum et in diebus paucis obiit, nonnulla et ipse infamia aspersus. Nam Antonius eum desiderio amicae Serviliae Naidis transfugisse iactavit.

IV. Ex hoc Domitius nascitur, quem emptorem familiae pecuniaeque in testamento Augusti fuisse mox vulgo notatum est, non minus aurigandi arte in adulescentia clarus quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello. Verum arrogans, profusus, immitis censorem L. Plancum via sibi decedere aedilis coegit; praeturae consulatusque honore equites R. matronasque ad agendum mimum produxit in scaenam. Venationes et in Circo et in omnibus urbis regionibus dedit munus etiam gladiatorium, sed tanta saevitia, ut necesse fuerit Augusto quam frustra monitum edicto coercere.

V. Ex Antonia maiore patrem Neronis procreavit omni parte vitae detestabilem, siquidem comes ad Orientem C. Caesaris iuvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potare quantum iuebatur recusaret, dimissus e cohorte amicorum nihilo modetius vixit; sed et in viae Appiae vico repente puerum citatis iumentis haud ignarus obrivit et Romae medio Foro cuidam equiti Romano liberius iurganti oculum eruit; perfidiae vero tantae, ut non modo argentarios pretiis rerum coemptarum, sed et in praetura mercede palmarum aurigarios fraudaverit, notatus ob haec et sororis ioco, querentibus dominis factionum repraesentanda praemia in posterum sanxit. Maiestatis quoque et adulteriorum incestique cum sorore Lepida sub excessu Tiberi reus, mutatione temporum evasit decessitque Pyrgis morbo aquae intercutis, sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina Germanico genita.

VI. Nero natus est Anti post VIII. mensem quam Tiberius excessit, XVIII. Kal. Ian. tantum quod exoriente sole, paene ut radiis prius quam terra contingeretur. De genitura eius statim multa et formidulosa multis coniectantibus praesagio fuit etiam Domiti patris vox, inter gratulationes amicorum negantis quicquam ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse. Eiusdem futurae infelicitates signum evidens die lustrico exstitit; nam C. Caesar, rogante sorore ut infanti quod vellet nomen daret, intuens Claudium paruum suum, a quo mox principe Nero adoptatus est, eius se dixit dare, neque ipse serio sed per iocum et aspernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulae erat. Trimulus patrem amisit; cuius ex parte tertia heres, ne hanc quidem integram cepit correptis per coheredem gaium universis bonis. Et subinde matre etiam relegata paene inops atque egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus est sub

duobus paedagogis saltatore atque tonsore. Verum Claudio imperium adepto non solum paternas opes recipiavit, sed et Crispi Passini vitrici sui hereditate ditatus est. Gratia quidem et potentia revocatae restituataeque matris usque eo floruit, ut emanaret in vulgus missos a Messalina uxore Claudii, Qui eum meridianem, quasi Britannici aemulum, strangularent. Additum fabulae eosdem dracone e pulvino se proferente contreritos refigisse. Quae fabula exorta est deprensus in lecto eius circum cervicalia serpentis exuviis; quas tamen aureae armillae ex voluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gestavit aliquamdiu ac taedio tandem maternaeque memoriae abiicit rursusque extremis suis rebus frustra requisiit.

VII. Tener adhuc necdum matura pueritia circensibus ludis Troiam constantissime favorabiliterque lusit. Undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus. Ferunt Senecam proxima nocte visum sibi per quietem C. Caesari praecipere, et fidem somnio Nero brevi fecit prodita immanitate naturae quibus primum potuit experimentis. Namque Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem Ahenobarbum ex consuetudine salutasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est. Amitam autem Lepidam ream testimoni coram afflixit gratificans matri, a qua rea premebatur. Deductus in Forum tiro populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit indictaque decursione praetorianis scutum sua manu praetulit; exin patri gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Graece verba fecit. Auspicatus est et iuris dictionem praefectus urbi sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis non tralaticias, ut assolet, et brevis, sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus, quamvis interdictum a Claudio esset. Nec multo post duxit uxorem Octaviam ediditque pro Claudio salute circenses et venationem.

VIII. Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad excubitores, cum ob totius diei diritatem non aliud auspicandi tempus accommodatius videretur; proque Palati gradibus imperator consalutatus lectica in castra et inde raptim appellatis militibus in curiam delatus est discessitque iam vesperi, ex immensis, quibus cumulabatur, honoribus tantum patris patriae nomine recusato propter aetatem.

IX. Orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit et consecravit. Memoriae Domiti patris honores maximos habuit. Matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit. Primo etiam imperii die signum excubanti tribuno dedit “optimam matrem” ac deinceps eiusdem saepe lectica per publicum simul vectus est. Antium coloniam deduxit ascriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilariis; ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.

X. Atque ut certiolem adhuc indolem ostenderet, ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se professus, neque liberalitatis neque clementiae, ne comitatis quidem ex hibendae ullam occasionem omisit. Graviores vectigalia aut abolevit aut minuit. Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit. Divisis populo viritim quadringenis nummis senatorum nobilissimo cuique, sed a re familiari destituto annua salaria et quibusdam quingena constituit item praetorianis cohortibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum. Et cum de supplicio cuiusdam capite damnati ut ex more subscriberet admoneretur: “quam vellem, “ inquit, “nescire litteras”. Omnes ordines subinde ac memoriter salutavit. Agenti senatui gratias respondit: “Cum meruero”. Ad campestris exercitationes suas admisit et plebem declamavitque saepius publicae; recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatrum, tanta universorum laetitia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.

XI. Spectaculorum plurima et varia genera edidit: iuvenales, circenses, scaenicos ludos, gladiatorium munus. Iuvenalibus senes quoque consulares anusque matronas recepit ad lusum. Circensibus loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit commisitque etiam camelorum quadrigas. Ludis, quos pro aeternitate imperii susceptos appellari “maximos” voluit, ex utroque ordine et sexu plerique ludicras partes sustinuerunt; notissimus eques R. elephanto supersidens per catadromum decucurrit; inducta Afrani togata, quae Incendium inscribitur, concessumque ut scaenici ardentis domus suppellectilem diriperent ac sibi haberent; sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies: singula cotidie milia avium cuiusque generis, multiplex penus, tesserae frumentariae, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmae, margaritae, tabulae pictae, mancipia, iumenta atque etiam mansuetae ferae, novissimae naves, insulae, agri.

XII. Hos ludos spectavit e proscaeni fastigio. Munere, quod in amphitheatro ligneo regione Martii campi intra anni spatium fabricato dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem. Exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores sescentosque equites Romanos et quosdam fortunae atque existimationis integrae, ex isdem ordinibus confectores quoque ferarum et varia harenae ministeria. Exhibuit et naumachiam marina aqua innantibus beluis; item pyrrichas quasdam e numero epheborum, quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanae singulis optulit. Inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt; Icarus primo statim conatu iuxta cubiculum eius decidit ipsumque cruore respersit. Nam perraro praesidere, ceterum accubans, parvis primum foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaperto spectare consueverat.

3. Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco

triplex, musicum gymnicum equestre, quod appellavit Neronia; dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui quoque et equiti oleum praebuit. Magistros toto certamini praeposuit consulares sorte, sede praetorum. Deinde in orchestram senatumque descendit et orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit, citharae autem a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit ferrique ad Augusti statuum iussit. Gymnico, quod in Saepis edebat, inter buthysiae apparatus barbam primam posuit conditamque in auream pyxidem et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam Capitolio consecravit. Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines Vestales, quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

XIII. Non immerito inter spectacula ad eo edita et Tiridatis in urbem introitum rettulerim. Quem Armeniae regem magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum, cum destinato per edictum die ostensurus populo propter nubilum distulisset, produxit quo opportunissime potuit, dispositis circa Fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud rostra triumphantis habitu inter signa militaria atque vexilla. Et primo per devexum pulpitem subeuntem admisit ad genua adlevatumque dextra exosculatus est, dein precanti tiara deducta diadema inposuit, verba supplicis interpretata praetorio viro multitudini pronuntiante; perductum inde in theatrum ac rursus supplicantem iuxta se latere dextro conlocavit. Ob quae imperator consalutatus, laurea in Capitolium lata, Ianum geminum clausit, tamquam nullo residuo bello.

XIV. Consulatus quattuor gessit: primum bimenstem, secundum et novissimum semenstres, tertium quadrimenstem; medios duos continuavit, reliquos inter annua spatia variavit.

XV. In iuris dictione postulatoribus nisi sequenti die ac per libellos non temere respondit. Cognoscendi morem eum tenuit, ut continuis actionibus omissis singillatim quaeque per vices ageret. Quotiens autem ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quicquam neque propalam deliberabat, sed et conscriptas ab uno quoque sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset perinde atque pluribus idem videretur pronuntiabat.

2. In curiam libertinorum filios diu non admisit; admissis a prioribus principibus honores denegavit. Candidatos, qui supra numerum essent, in solacium dilationis ac morae legionibus praeposuit. Consulatum in senos plerumque menses dedit. Defunctoque circa Kal. Ian. altero e consulibus neminem substituit improbens exemplum vetus Canini Rebili uno die consulis. Triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit nec utique de causa militari. De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas praeterito quaestoris

officio per consulem plerumque recitabat.

XVI. Formam aedificiorum urbis novam excogitavit et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumptu suo extruxit. Destinavit etiam Ostia tenuis moenia promovere atque inde fossa mare veteri urbi inducere.

2. Multa sub eo et animadversa severe et coercita nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus; publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae; interdictum ne quid in propinis cocti praeter legumina aut holera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonii genus proponeretur; afflictis suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae; vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per iocum ius erat; pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatae.

XVII. Adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur; cautum ut testamentis primae duae cerae testatorum modo nomine inscripto vacuae signaturis ostenderentur, ac ne qui alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi ascriberet; item ut litigatores pro patrociniis certam iustamque mercedem, pro subsellis nullam omnino darent praebente aerario gratuita; utque rerum actu ab aerario causae ad Forum ac recipiendos transferrentur et ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.

XVIII. Augendi propagandique imperii neque voluntate ulla neque spe motus umquam, etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit, nec nisi verecundia, ne obtrectare parentis gloriae videretur, destitit. Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium defuncto Cottio in provinciae formam redegit.

XIX. Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit, Alexandrinam et Achaicam; sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit turbatus religione simul ac periculo. Nam cum circumitis templis in aede Vestae resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhaesit, dein tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset. In Achaia Isthmum perfodere adgressus praetorianos pro contione ad incohandum opus cohortatus est tubaeque signo dato primus rastello humum effodit et corbulae congestam umeris extulit. Parabat et ad Caspiae portas expeditionem conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalanga appellabat.

3. Haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non mediocri laude digna in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus eius, de quibus dehinc dicam.

XX. Inter ceteras disciplinas pueritiae tempore imbutus et musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnium citharoedum vigentem tunc praeter alios arcessiit diebusque continuis post cenam canenti in multam noctem assidens paulatim et ipse meditari exercerique coepit neque eorum quicquam omittere, quae generis eius artifices vel conservandae vocis causa vel augendae factitarent; sed et plumbeam chartam supinus pectore sustinere et clystere vomituque purgari et abstinere pomis cibisque officientibus; donec blandiente profectu, quamquam exiguae vocis et fuscae, prodire in scaenam concupiit, subinde inter familiares Graecum proverbium iactans occultae musicae nullum esse respectum. Et prodit Neapoli primum ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomon. Ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies; sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balineis in theatrum transiit mediaque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus, si paulum subbibisset, aliquid se sufferti tinnituum Graeco sermone promisit. Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit. Neque eo segnius adolescentulos equestris ordinis et quinque amplius milia e plebe robustissimae iuventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones plausuum genera condiscerent — bombos et imbrices et testas vocabant — operamque navarent cantanti sibi, insignes pinguissima coma et excellentissimo cultu, puris ac sine anulo laevis, quorum duces quadringena milia sestertia merebant.

XXI. Cum magni aestimaret cantare etiam Romae, Neroneum agona ante praestitutam diem revocavit flagitantibusque cunctis caelestem vocem respondit quidem in hortis se copiam volentibus facturum, sed adiuvanti vulgi preces etiam statione militum, quae tunc excubabat, repraesentaturum se pollicitus estlibens; ac sine mora nomen suum in albo profitentium citharoedorum iussit ascribi sorticulaque in urnam cum ceteris demissa intravit ordine suo, simul praefecti praetorii citharam sustinentes, post tribuni militum iuxtaque amicorum intimi. Utque constitit, peracto principio, Niobam se cantaturum per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit et in horam fere decimam perseveravit coronamque eam et reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentemque distulit, ut saepius canendi occasio esset. Quod cum tardum videretur, non cessavit identidem se publicare. Dubitavit etiam an privatis spectaculis operam inter scaenios daret quodam praetorum sestertium decies offerente. Tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus heroum deorumque, item heroidum ac dearum, personis effectis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. Inter cetera cantavit Canacen parturientem, Oresten matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatum, Herculem insanum. In qua fabula fama est tiruculum militem positum ad custodiam aditus,

cum eum ornari ac vinciri catenis, sicut argumentum postulabat, videret, accurrisse ferendae opis gratia.

XXII. Equorum studio vel praecipue ab ineunte aetate flagravat plurimusque illi sermo, quanquam vetaretur, de circensibus erat; et quondam tractum prasinum agitatore inter condiscipulos querens, obiurgante paedagogo, de Hectore se loqui ementitus est. Sed cum inter initia imperii eburneis quadrigis cotidie in abaco luderet, ad omnis etiam minimos circenses e secessu commeabat, primo clam, deinde propalam, ut nemini dubium esset eo die utique affuturum. Neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliari; quare spectaculum multiplicatis missibus in serum protrahebatur, ne dominis quidem iam factionum dignantibus nisi ad totius diei cursum greges ducere. Mox et ipse aurigare atque etiam spectari saepius voluit positoque in hortis inter servitia et sordidam plebem rudimento universorum se oculis in Circo Maximo praebuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam unde magistratus solent. Nec contentus harum artium experimenta Romae dedisse, Achaïam, ut diximus, petit hinc maxime motus. Instituerant civitates, apud quas musici agones edi solent, omnes citharoedorum coronas ad ipsum mittere. Eas adeo grate recipiebat, ut legatos, qui pertulissent, non modo primos admitteret, sed etiam familiaribus epulis interponeret. A quibusdam ex his rogatus ut cantaret super cenam, expectusque effusius, solos scire audire Graecos solosque se et studiis suis dignos ait. Nec profectione dilata, ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Cassii cantare auspicatus certamina deinceps obiit omnia.

XXIII. Nam et quae diversissimorum temporum sunt, cogi in unum annum, quibusdam etiam iteratis, iussit et Olympiae quoque praeter consuetudinem musicum agona commisit. Ac ne quid circa haec occupatum avocaret detineretve, cum praesentia eius urbicas res egere a liberto Helio admoneretur, rescripsit his verbis: *“Quamvis nunc tuum consilium sit et votum celeriter reverti me, tamen suadere et optare potius debes, ut Nerone dignus revertar.”* Cantante eo ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum est. Itaque et enixae quaedam in spectaculis dicuntur et multi taedio audiendi laudandique clausis oppidorum portis aut furtim desiluisse de muro aut morte simulata funere elati. Quam autem trepide anxieque certaverit, quanta adversariorum aemulatione, quo metu iudicum, vix credi potest. Adversarios, quasi plane condicionis eiusdem, observare, captare, infamare secreto, nonnumquam ex occurso maledictis incessere ac, si arte praecellerent, conrumpere etiam solebat. Iudices autem prius quam inciperet reverentissime adloquebatur, omnia se facienda fecisse, sed eventum in manu esse Fortunae; illos ut sapientis et doctos viros fortuita debere excludere; atque, ut auderet hortantibus, aequiore animo recordebat, ac ne sic quidem sine sollicitudine, taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam pro tristitia et

malignitate arguens suspectosque sibi dicens.

XXIV. In certando vero ita legi oboediebat, ut numquam exscreare ausus sudorem quoque frontis brachio detegeret; atque etiam in tragico quodam actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumpsisset, pavidus et metuens ne ob delictum certamine summo veretur, non aliter confirmatus est quam adiurante hypocrita non animadversum id inter exultationes succlamationesque populi. Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat; qua de causa et praeconio ubique contendit. Ac ne cuius alterius hieronicarum memoria aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti et unco trahi abicique in latrinas omnium statuas et imagines imperavit. Aurigavit quoque plurifariam, Olympiis vero etiam decemiugem, quamvis id ipsum in rege Mithradate carmine quodam suo reprehendisset; sed excussus curru ac rursus repositus, cum perdurare non posset, destitit ante decursum; neque eo setius coronatus est. Decedens deinde provinciam universam libertate donavit simulque iudices civitate Romana et pecunia grandi. Quae beneficia e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipse voce pronuntiavit.

XXV. Reversus e Graecia Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam; sed et Romam eo curru, quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde coronamque capite gerens Olympiacam, dextra manu Pythiam, praeunte pompa ceterarum cum titulis, ubi et quos cantionum quoque fabularum argumento vicisset; sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumpho eius clamitantibus. Dehinc diruto Circi Maximi arcu per Velabrum Forumque Palatium et Apollinem petit. Incedenti passim victimae caesae sparso per vias identidem croco ingestaeque aves ac lemnisci et bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit, item statuas suas citharoedico habitu, qua nota etiam nummum percussit. Ac post haec tantum a remittendo laxandoque studio, ut conservandae vocis gratia neque milites umquam, nisi abens aut alio verba pronuntiante, appellaret neque quicquam serio iocove egerit, nisi astante phonasco, qui moneret parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret; multisque vel amicitiam suam optulerit vel simultatem indixerit, prout quisque se magis parciusve laudasset.

XXVI. Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, credulitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte et velut iuvenili errore exercuit, sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret naturae illa vitia, non aetatis esse. Post crepusculum statim adrepto pilleo vel galero popinas inibat circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus nec sine pernicie tamen, siquidem redeuntis a cena verberare ac repugnantes vunerare cloacisque demergere assuerat, tenebras etiam effingere et expilare. Quintana domi constituta ubi partae et ad licitationem dividendae praedae

pretium absumeretur. Ac saepe in eius modi rixis oculorum et vitae periculum adiit, a quodam latriclavio, cuius uxorem adtrectaverat, prope ad necem caesus. Quare numquam postea publico se illud horae sine tribunis commisit et occulte subsequentibus. Interdiu quoque clam gestoraria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat. Et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.

XXVII. Paulatim vero invalescentibus vitiis iocularia et latebras omisit nullaque dissimulandi cura ad maiora palam erupit. Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protraherebat, refotus saepius calidis piscinis ac tempore aestivo navatis; cenitabatque nonnumquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa vel Martio campo vel Circo Maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria. Quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baianum sinum praeternavigaret, dispositae per litora et ripas diversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganea et matronarum institorio copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. Indicebat et familiaribus cenas, quorum uni mitellita quadragies sestertium constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.

XXVIII. Super ingenuorum paedagogia et nuptarum concubinitus Vestali virgini Rubriae vim intulit. Acten libertam paulum afuit quin iusto sibi matrimonio coniungeret, summissis consularibus viris qui regio genere ortam peierarent. Puerum Sporum exsectis testibus etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus cum dote et flammeo per sollemnia nuptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se pro uxore habuit; exstatque cuiusdam non inscitus iocus bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sporum, Augustarum ornamentis excultum lecticaque vectum, et circa conventus mercatusque Graeciae ac mox Romae circa Sigillaria comitatus est identidem exosculans. Nam matris concubinitum appetisse et ab obtrectatoribus eius, ne ferox atque impotens mulier et hoc genere gratiae praevaleret, deterritum nemo dubitavit, utique postquam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinae simillimam, inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam quotiens lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinum incestu ac maculis vestis proditum affirmant.

XXIX. Suam quidem pudicitiam usque adeo prostituit, ut contaminatis paene omnibus membris novissime quasi genus lusus excogitaret, quo ferae pelle contactus emitteretur e cavea virorumque ac feminarum ad stipitem deligatorum inguina invaderet et, cum affatim desaevisset, conficeretur a Doryphoro liberto; cui etiam, sicut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupsit, voces quoque et heulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus. Ex nonnullis comperi persuasissimum habuisse eum neminem hominem pudicum aut ulla corporis parte purum esse, verum

plerosque dissimulare vitium et callide optegere; ideoque professis apud se obscaenitatem cetera quoque concessisse delicta.

XXX. Divitiarum et pecuniae fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem, sordidos ac deparcos esse quibus impensarum ratio constaret, praelautos vereque magnificos, qui abuterentur ac perderent. Laudabat mirabaturque avunculum Gaium nullo magis nomine, quam quod ingentis a Tiberio relictas opes in brevi spatio prodegisset. 2 Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum milia diurna erogavit, abeuntique super sestertium milies contulit. Menecraten citharoedum et Spiculum murmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibusque donavit. Cercopithecum Panerodem faeneratorem et urbanis rusticisque praediis locupletatum prope regio extulit funere. 3 Nullam vestem bis induit. Quadringenis in punctum sestertiis aleam lusit. Piscatus est rete aurato et purpura coccoque funibus nexis. Numquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatis mulionibus, armillata phalerataque Mazacum turba atque cursorum.

XXXI. Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque auream nominavit. De cuius spatio atque cultu suffecerit haec rettulisse. Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo colossus CXX pedum staret ipsius effigie; tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. 2 In ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distincta gemmis unionumque conchis erant; cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur; balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis. Eius modi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse. 3 Praeterea incohabat piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum contextam porticibusque conclusam, quo quidquid totis Baiis calidarum aquarum esset converteretur; fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis per centum sexaginta milia, latitudinis, qua contrariae quinqueremes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia quod ubique esset custodiae in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos non nisi ad opus damnari praeceperat. 4 Ad hunc impendiorum furorem, super fiduciam imperii, etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est ex indicio equitis R. pro comperto pollicentis thesauros antiquissimae gazae, quos Dido regina fugiens Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis specubus abditos

ac posse erui parvula molientium opera.

XXXII. Verum ut spes fefellit, destitutus atque ita iam exhaustus et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset, calumniis rapinisque intendit animum. Ante omnia instituit, ut e libertorum defunctorum bonis pro semisse dextans ei cogeretur, qui sine probabili causa eo nomine essent, quo fuissent ullae familiae quas ipse contingeret deinde, ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent, ac ne impune esset studiosis iuris, qui scripsissent vel dictassent ea tunc ut lege maiestatis facta dictaque omnia, quibus modo delator non deesset, tenerentur. Revocavit et praemia coronarum, quae umquam sibi civitates in certaminibus detulissent. Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summisissetque qui nundinarum die pauculas unicas venderet, praeclusit cunctos negotiatores. Quin etiam inter canendum animadversum matronam in spectaculis vetita purpura cultam demonstrasse procuratoribus suis dicitur detractamque ilico non veste modo sed et bonis exuit. Nulli delegavit officium ut non adiaceret: “Scis quid mihi opus sit, “ et: “Hoc agamus, ne quis quicquam habeat.” Ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit simulacraque ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit, in iis Penatium deorum, quae mox Galba restituit.

XXXIII. Parricidia et caedes a Claudio exorsus est, cuius necis etsi non auctor, at conscius fuit, neque dissimulanter, ut qui boletos, in quo cibi genere venenum is acceperat, quasi deorum cibum posthac proverbio Graeco conlaudare sit solitus. Certe omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum insectatus est, modo stultitiae, modo saevitise arguens; nam et morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur multaue decreta et constituta, ut insipientis atque deliri, pro irritis habuit; denique bustum eius consaepiri nisi humili levique maceria neglexit. Britannicum non minus aemulatione vocis, quae illi iucundior suppetebat, quam metu ne quandoque apud hominum gratiam paterna memoria praevaleret, veneno adgressus est. Quod acceptum a quadam Lucusta, venenariorum indice, cum opinione tardius cederet ventre modo Britannici moto, accersitam mulierem sua manu verberavit arguens pro veneno remedium dedisse, excusantique minus datum ad occultandam facinoris invidiam: “Sane” inquit, “legem Iuliam timeo,” coegitque se coram in cubiculo quam posset velocissimum ac praesentaneum coquere. Deinde in haedo expertus, postquam is quinque horas protraxit, iterum ac saepius recoctum porcello obiecit; quo statim exanimato inferri in triclinium darique cenanti secum Britannico imperavit. Et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere. Lucustae pro navata opera impunitatem praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit.

XXXIV. Matrem facta dictaque sua exquirentem acerbius et corrigentem hactenus primo gravabatur, ut invidia identidem oneraret quasi cessurus imperio Rhodumque abiturus, mox et honore omni et potestate privavit abductaque militum et Germanorum statione contubernio quoque ac Palatio expulit; neque in divexanda quicquam pensi habuit, summissis qui et Romae morantem litibus et in secessu quiescentem per convicia et iocos terra marique praetervehentes inquietarent. Verum minis eius ac violentia territus perdere statuit; et cum ter veneno temptasset sentiretque antidotis praemunitam, lacunaria, quae noctu super dormientem laxata machina deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per conscios parum celato solutilem navem, cuius vel naufragio vel camarae ruina periret, commentus est atque ita reconciliatione simulata iucundissimis litteris Baias evocavit ad sollemnia Quinquatruum simul celebranda; datoque negotio trierarchis, qui liburnicam qua advecta erat velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium repetentique Baulos in locum corrupti navigii machinosum illud optulit, hilare prosecutus atque in digressu papillas quoque exosculatus. Reliquum temporis cum magna trepidatione vigilavit opperiens coeptorum exitum. Sed ut diversa omnia nandoque evasisse eam comperit, inops consilii L. Agermum libertum eius salvam et incolumem cum gaudio nuntiantem, abiecto clam iuxta pugione ut percussorem sibi subornatum arripi constringique iussit, matrem occidi, quasi deprehensum crimen voluntaria morte vitasset. Adduntur his atrociora nec incertis auctoribus: ad visendum interfectae cadaver accurrisse, contrectasse membra, alia vituperasse, sitique interim oborta bibisse. Neque tamen conscientiam sceleris, quamquam et militum et senatus populi gratulationibus confirmarentur, aut statim aut umquam postea ferre potuit, saepe confessus exagitari se materna specie verberibusque Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus. Quin et facto per Magos sacro evocare Manes et exorare temptavit. Peregrinatione quidem Graeciae et Eleusinis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est. Iunxit parricido matris amitae necem. Quam cum ex duritie alvi cubantem visitaret, et illa tractans lanuginem eius, ut assolet, iam grandis natu per blanditias forte dixisset: “Simul hac excepero, mori volo, “ conversus ad proximos confestim se positurum velu irridens ait, praecepitque medicis ut largius purgarent aegram; necdum defunctae bona invasit suppresso testamento, ne quid abscederet.

XXXV. Uxores praeter Octaviam duas postea duxit, Poppaeam Sabinam quaestorio patre natam et equiti Romano antea nuptam, deinde Statiliam Messalinam Tauri bis consulis ac triumphalis abneptem. Qua ut poteretur, virum eius Atticum Vestinum consulem in honore ipso trucidavit. Octaviae consuetudinem cito aspernatus corripientibus amicis sufficere illi debere respondit uxoria ornamenta. 2 Eandem mox saepe frustra strangulare meditatus

dimisit ut sterilem, sed improbane divortium populo nec parcente conviciis etiam relegavit, denique occidit sub crimine adulteriorum adeo impudenti falsoque, ut in quaestione pernegantibus cunctis Anicetum paedagogum suum indicem subiecerit, qui fingeret et dolo stupratam a se fateretur. 3 Poppaeam duodecimo die post divortium Octaviae in matrimonium acceptam dilexit unice; et tamen ipsam quoque ictu calcis occidit, quod se ex aurigatione sero reversum gravida et aegra conviciis inceserat. Ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam amisitque admodum infantem. 4 Nullum adeo necessitudinis genus est, quod non scelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudi filiam, recusantem post Poppaeam mortem nuptias suas quasi molitricem novarum rerum interemit; similiter ceteros aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos; in quibus Aulum Plautium iuvenem, quem cum ante mortem per vim conspurcasset: 'Eat nunc' inquit 'mater mea et successorem meum osculetur' iactans dilectum ab ea et ad spem imperii impulsus. 5 Privignum Rufrium Crispinum Poppaea natum impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus et imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piscaretur, servis ipsius demandavit. Tuscum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Aegypti balineis in adventum suum exstructis lavisset. Senecam praeceptorem ad necem compulit, quamvis saepe com meatum petenti bonisque cedenti persancte iurasset suspectum se frustra periturumque potius quam nociturum ei. Burro praefecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus toxicum misit. Libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis mox dominationis suae fautores atque rectores, veneno partim cibis, partim potionibus indito intercepit.

XXXVI. Nec minore saevitia foris et in externos grassatus est. Stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri coeperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Balbillo astrologo didicit, solere reges talia ostenta caede aliqua illustri expiare atque a semet in capita procerum depellere, nobilissimo cuique exitium destinavit; enimvero multo magis et quasi per iustam causam duabus coniurationibus provulgatis, quarum prior maiorque Pisoniana Romae, posterior Vinicianae Beneventi conflata atque detecta est. 2 Coniurati et vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam, cum quidam ultro crimen faterentur, nonnulli etiam imputarent, tamquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere dedecorato flagitiis omnibus. Damnatorum liberi urbe pulsus enectique veneno aut fame; constat quosdam cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos, alios diurnum victum prohibitos quaerere.

XXXVII. Nullus posthac adhibitus dilectus aut modus interimendi quoscumque libuisset quacumque de causa. Sed ne de pluribus referam, Salvidieno Orfito obiectum est, quod tabernae tres de domo sua circa Forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset, Cassio Longiniorum consulto ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassi percussoris Caesaris imagines

retinuisset, Paeto Thraseae tristior et paedagogi vultus. 2 Mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dabat; ac ne quid morae interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes continuo curarent; ita enim vocabatur venas mortis gratia incidere. Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Aegypti generis crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumendosque obicere. 3 Elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus negavit quemquam principum scisse, quid sibi liceret, multasque nec dubias significationes saepe iecit, ne reliquis quidem se parsurum senatoribus, eumque ordinem sublaturum quandoque e re publica ac provincias et exercitus equiti Romano ac libertis permissurum. Certe neque adveniens neque proficiscens quemquam osculo impertiit ac ne resalutatione quidem; et in auspicando opere Isthmi magna frequentia clare, ut sibi ac populo Romano bene res verteret, optavit dissimulata senatus mentione.

XXXVIII. Sed nec populo aut moenibus patriae pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi: “Emou thanontos gaia meichthetw pyri” “Immo”, inquit, “emou zwntos,” planeque ita fecit. Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificorum et angustis flexuris vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios eius cum stuppa taedaeque in praediis suis deprehensos non attigerint, et quaedam horrea circum domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint quod saxeo muro constructa erant. Per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est ad monumentorum bustorumque deversoria plebe compulsa. Tunc praeter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae dedicataeque, et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Maecenantina prospectans laetusque “flammae”, ut aiebat, “pulchritudine” Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posse praedae et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et rudum gratuitam egestiopenem nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit, conlationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhaustis.

XXXIX. Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis probrisque quaedam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum milia in rationem Libitinae venerunt; clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt; ignominia ad Orientem legionibus in Armenia sub iugum missis aegreque Syria retenta. Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuerit nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacerassent exstitisse. Multa Graece Latineque proscripta aut vulgata sunt, sicut illa “Nerwn Oresths

Alkmewn mhtroktonos.”

“Neopshfon; Nerwn idian mhtera apekteine”
Quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem ?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Pacan, ille Hecatebeletes.

Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.

Sed neque auctores requisivit et quosdam per indicem delatos ad senatum
adfici graviore poena prohibuit. Transeuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico
clara voce corripuerat, quod Naupli mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male
disponeret; et Datus Atellanarum histrio in cantico quodam

“ugiae pater, ygiae mhter”

Ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudii
Agrippinaeque significans, et novissima clausula

Orcus vobis ducit pedes

senatum gestu notarat. Histriionem et philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam
urbe Italiaeque summovit, vel contemptu omnis infimiae vel ne fatendo dolorem
irritaret ingenia.

XL. Talem principem paulo minus quattuordecim annos perpessus terrarum
orbis tandem destituit, initium facientibus Gallis duce Iulio Vindice, Qui tum
eam provinciam pro praetore optinebat. Praedictum a mathematicis Neroni olim
erat fore ut quandoque destitueretur; unde illa vox eius celeberrima:”To texnion
hmas diatrefei”, quo maiore scilicet venia meditaretur citharoedicam artem,
principi sibi gratam, privato necessariam. Spoponderant tamen quidam destituto
Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hieroslymorum, plures
omnis pristinae fortunae restituionem. Cui spei pronior, Britannia Armeniaque
amissa ac rursus utraque recepta, derfunctum se fatalibus malis existimabat. Ut
vero consul Delphis Apolline septuagensimum ac tertium annum cavendum
sibi audivit, quasi eo Galbea, tanta fiducia non modo senectam sed etiam
perpetuam singularemque concepit felicitatem, ut amissis naufragio pretioissimis
rebus non dubitaverit inter suos dicere pisces eas sibi relatores. Neapoli de motu
Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat, adeoque lente et secure tulit
ut gaudens etiam suspicionem praeberet tamquam occasione nata spolindarum
iure balli opulentissimarum provinciarum; statimque in gymnasium progressus

certantis athletas effusissimo studio spectavit. Cenaе quoque tempore interpellatus tumultuosioribus litteris hactenus excanduit, ut malum iis qui descissent minaretur. Denique per octo continuos dies non rescribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut praecipere conatus rem silentio obliteravit.

XLI. Edictis tandem Vindicis contumeliosis et frequentibus permotus senaum epistula in ultionem sui rei publicae adhortatus est, excusato languore faucium, propter quem non adesset. Nihil autem aequè doluit, quam ut malum se citharoedum increpitum ac pro Nerone Ahenobarbum appellatum; et nomen quidem gentile, quod sibi per contumeliam exprobaretur, resumpturum se professus est deposito adoptivo, cetera convicia, ut falsa, non alio argumento refellebat, quam quod etiam inscitia sibi tanto opere elaboratae perfectaeque a se artis obiceretur, singulos subinde rogans, nossentne quemquam praestantiorē. Sed urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis Romam praetrepidus rediit; leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum adnotasset insculptum monumento militem Gallum ab equite R. oppressum trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exsiluit gaudio caelumque adoravit. Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu aut populo coram apellito quosdam e primoribus viris evocavit transactaque raptim consultatione reliquam diei partem per organa hydraulica novi et ignotis generis circumduxit, ostendensque singula, de ratione et difficultate cuiusque disserens, iam se etiam prolaturum omnia in theatrum affirmavit, si per Vindicem liceat.

XLII. Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, conlapsus animoque male facto diu sine voce et prope intermortuus iacuit, utque resipuit, veste discissa, capite converberato, actum de se pronuntiavit consolantique nutriculae et aliis quoque iam principibus similia accidisse memoranti, se vero praeter ceteros inaudita et incognita pati respondit, qui summum imperium vivus amitteret. Nec eo setius quicquam ex consuetudine luxus atque desidiae omisit et inminuit quin immo cum prosperi quiddam ex provinciis nuntiatum esset, super abundantissimum cenam iocularia in defectionis duces carmina lasciveque modulata, quae vulgo notuerunt, etiam gesticulatus est; ac spectaculis theatri clam inlatus cuidam scaenico placenti nuntium misit abuti eum occupationibus suis.

XLIII. Initio statim tumultus multa et inmania, verum non abhorrentia a natura sua creditur destinasse; successores percussoresque summittere exercitus et provincias regentibus, quasi conspiratis idemque et unum sentientibus; quidquid ubique exsulum, quidquid in urbe hominum Gallicanorum esset contrucidare, illos ne desciscentibus adgregarentur, hos ut conscios popularium suorum atque fautores; Gallias exercitibus diripiendas permittere; senatum universum veneno per convivia necare; urbem incendere feris in populum immissis, quo difficilius defenderentur. Sed absteritus non tam paenitentia quam perficiendi desperatione

credensque expeditionem necessariam, consules ante tempus privavit honore atque in utriusque locum solus iniit consulatum, quasi fatale esset non posse Gallias debellari nisi a consule. Ac susceptis fascibus cum post epulas triclinio digrederetur, innixus umeris familiarium affirmavit, simul ac primum provinciam attigisset, inermem se in conspectum exercituum proditurum nec quicquam aliud quam fleturum, revocatisque ad paenitentiam defectoribus insequenti die laetum inter laetos cantaturum epinicia, quae iam nunc sibi componi oporteret.

XLIV. In praeparanda expeditione primam curam habuit deligendi vehicula portandis scaenicis organis concubinasque, quas secum educeret, tondendi ad virilem modum et securibus peltisque Amazonicis instruendi. Mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit ac nullo idoneo respondente certum dominis servorum numerum indixit; nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis, recepit. Partem etiam census omnes ordines conferre iussit et insuper inquilinos privatarum aedium atque insularum pensionem annuam repraesentare fisco; exegitque, ingenti fastidio et acerbitate nummum asperum argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam, ut plerique omnem collationem palam recusarent, consensu flagitantes a delatoribus potius revocanda praemia quaecumque cepissent.

XLV. Ex annonae quoque caritate lucranti adcrevit invidia; nam et forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandrina navis nuntiaretur pulverem luctatoribus aulicis advexisse. Quare omnium in se odio incitato nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret. Statuae eius a vertice cirrus appositus est cum inscriptione Graeca; nunc demum agona esse, et traderet tandem. Altrius collo aszkosz praeligatus simulque titulus: "Ego egi quod potui. Sed tu cullum meruisti." Ascriptum et columnis, etiam Gallos eum cantando excitasse. Iam noctibus iurga cum servis plerique simulantes crebro Vindicem poscebant.

XLVI. Terrebatur ad hoc evidentibus portentibus somniorum et auspiorum et omnium, cum veteribus tum novis. Numquam antea somniare solitus occisa demum matre vidit per quietem navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum trahique se ab Octavia uxore in artissimas tenebras et modo pinnatarum formicarum multitudine oppleri, modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri acerbique progressu; asturconem, quo maxime laetabatur, posteriore corporis parte in simiae speciem transfiguratum ac tantum capite integro hinnitus edere canoros. De Mausoleo, sponte foribus patefactis, exaudia vox est nomine eum cientis. Kal. Ian. exornati Lares in ipso sacrificii apparatu conciderunt; auspicanti Sporus anulum muneri optulit, cuius gemmae scalptura erat Proserpinae raptus; votorum nuncupatione, magna iam ordinum frequentia, vix repertae Capitolii claves. Cum ex oratione eius, qua in Vindicem perorabat,

recitaretur in senatu daturos poenas sceleratos ac brevi dignum exitum facturos, conclamatum est ab universis :”Tu facies, Auguste. “ Observatum etiam fuerat novissimam fabulam cantasse eum publice Oedipodem exsulem atque in hoc desisse versu:

Thanein m’ anwge syggamos mhthr, pathr.

XLVII. Nuntiata interim etiam ceterorum exercituum defectione litteras prandendi sibi redditas concerpserit, mensam subvertit, duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homericos a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo inlisis ac sumpto a Lucusta veneno et in auream pyxidem condito transiit in hortos Servilianos, ubi praemissis libertorum fidissimis Ostiam ad classem praeparandam tribunos centurionesque praetorii de fugae societate temptavit. 2 Sed partim tergiversantibus, partim aperte detrectantibus, uno vero etiam proclamante: “Usque adeone mori miserum est?” varie agitavit, Parthosne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum proque rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione veniam praeteritorum precaretur, ac ni flexisset animos, vel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret. Inventus est postea in scrinio eius hac de re sermo formatus; sed deterritum putant, ne prius quam in Forum perveniret discerneretur.

3 Sic cogitatione in posterum diem dilata ad mediam fere noctem excitatus, ut comperit stationem militum recessisse, prosiluit e lecto misitque circum amicos, et quia nihil a quoquam renuntiabatur, ipse cum paucis hospitia singulorum adiit. Verum clausis omnium foribus, respondente nullo, in cubiculum rediit, unde iam et custodes diffugerant, direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide veneni; ac statim Spiculum murmillonem vel quemlibet alium percussorem, cuius manu periret, requisivit et nemine reperto “Ergo ego” inquit “nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum?” procurritque, quasi praecipitaturus se in Tiberim.

XLVIII. Sed revocato rursus impetu aliquid secretioribus latebrae ad colligendum animum desideravit, et offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum miliarum, ut erat nudo pede atque tunicatus, paenulam obsoleti coloris superinduit adopertoque capite et ante faciem optento sudario equum inscendit, quattuor solis comitantibus, inter quos et Sporus erat. 2 Statimque tremore terrae et fulgure adverso pavefactus audiit e proximis castris clamorem militum et sibi adversa et Galbae prospera ominantium, etiam ex obviis viatoribus quendam dicentem: ‘Hi Neronem persequuntur’, alium sciscitantem: ‘Ecquid in urbe novi de nerone?’ Equo autem ex odore abiecti in via cadaveris consernato detecta facie agnitus est a quodam missicio praetoriano et salutatus. 3 Ut ad deverticulum ventum est, dimissis

equis inter fruticeta ac vepres per harundineti semitam aegre nec nisi strata sub pedibus veste ad aversum villae parietem evasit. Ibi hortante eodem Phaotne, ut interim in specum egestae harenae concederet, negavit se vivum sub terram iturum, ac parumper commoratus, dum clandestinus ad villam introitus pararetur, aquam ex subiecta lacuna poturus manu hausit et ‘Haec est’ inquit, ‘Neronis decocta.’ 4 Dein divolsa sentibus paenula traiectos surculos rasisit, atque ita quadripes per angustias effossae cavernae receptus in proximam cellam decubuit super lectum modica culcita, vetere pallio strato, instructum; fameque et iterum siti interpellante panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquae autem tepidae aliquantum bibit.

XLIX. Tunc uno quoque hinc inde instante ut quam primum se impendentibus contumeliis eriperet, scrobem coram fieri imperavit dimensus ad corporis sui modulum, componique simul, si qua invenirentur, frustra marmoris et aquam simul ac ligna conferri curando mox cadaveri, flens ad singula atque identidem dictitans: ‘Qualis artifex pereo!’. 2 Inter moras perlatus a cursore Phaonti codicillos praecepit legitque se hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri, ut puniatur more maiorum, interrogavitque, quale id genus esset poenae; et cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi, conterritus duos pugiones, quos secum extulerat, arripuit temptataque utriusque acie rursus condidit, causatus nondum adesse fatalem horam. 3 Ac modo Sporum hortabatur, ut lamentari ac plangere inciperet, modo orabat, ut se aliquis ad mortem capessendam exemplo iuvaret; interdum segnitiam suam his verbis increpabat: ‘Vivo deformiter, turpiter - ou prepei Nerwni, ou prepei - nhfein dei en tois toioutois - age egeire seauton’. Iamque equites appropinquabant, quibus praeceptum erat, ut vivum eum adtraherent. Quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus: ‘Ippwn m’ wkupodwn amfi ktupos ouata ballei’ ferrum iugulo adegit iuvante Epaphrodito a libellis. 4 Semianimisque adhuc irrumpenti centurioni et paenula ad vulnus adposita in auxilium se venisse simulanti non aliud respondit quam ‘Sero’ et ‘Haec est fides’. atque in ea voce defecit, exstantibus rigentibusque oculis usque ad horrorem formidinemque visentium. Nihil prius aut magis a comitibus exegerat quam ne potestas cuiquam capitis sui fieret, sed ut quoquo modo totus cremaretur. Permisit hoc Icelus, Galbae libertus, non multo ante vinculis exsolutus, in quae primo tumultu coniectus fuerat.

L. Funeratus est impensa ducentorum milium, stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus Kal. Ian. fuerat. Reliquias Egloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monimento condiderunt quod prospicitur e campo Martio impositum colli Hortulorum. In eo monimento solium porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumsaepum est lapide Thasio.

LI. Statura fuit prope iusta, corpore maculoso et fetido, subflavo capillo, vultu

pulchro magis quam venusto, oculis caesis et hebetioribus, cervice obesa, ventre proiecto, gracillimis cruribus, valitudine prospera; nam qui luxuriae immoderatissimae esset, ter omnino per quattuordecim annos languit, atque ita ut neque vino neque consuetudine reliqua abstineret; circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut comam semper in gradus formatam peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem summiserit ac plerumque synthesium indutus ligato circum collum sudario in publicum sine cinctu et discalciatus.

LII. Liberalis disciplinas omnis fere puer attigit. Sed a philosophia eum mater avertit monens imperaturo contrariam esse; a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret. Itaque ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit. Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum duibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis, ut facile appareret non tralatos aut dictante aliquo exceptos, sed plane quasi a cogitante atque generante exaratos; ita multa et deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant. Habuit et pingendi fingendique non mediocre studium.

LIII. Maxime autem popularitate efferebatur, omnium aemulus, qui quoquo modo animum vulgi moverent. Exiit opinio post scaenicas coronas proximo lustro descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas; nam et luctabatur assidue nec aliter certamina gymnica tota Graecia spectaverat quam brabeutarum more in stadio humi assidens ac, si qua paria longius recessissent, in medium rnanibus suis protrahens. Destinaverat etiam, quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando aequiperare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis facta; praeparatumque leonem aiunt, quem vel clava vel brachiorum nexibus in amphitheatri harena spectante populo nudus elideret.

LIV. Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium ac novissimo die histrionem saltaturumque Vergili Turnum. Et sunt qui tradant Paridem histrionem occisum ab eo quasi gravem adversarium.

LV. Erat illi aeternitatis perpetuaeque famae cupido, sed inconsulta. Ideoque multis rebus ac locis vetere appellatione detracta novam indixit ex suo nomine, mensem quoque Aprilem Neroneum appellavit; destinaverat et Romam Neropolim nuncupare.

LVI. Religionum usque quaque contemptor, praeter unius Deae Syriae, hanc mox ita sprexit, Ut urina contaminaret, alia superstitione captus inqua sola pertinacissime haesit, siquidem imagunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum a pebeio quodam et ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim coniuratione pro summo numine trinisque in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit volebatque credi monitione cius futura praenoscere. Ante paucos quam periret

menses attendit et extispicio nec umquam litavit.

LVII. Obiit tricensimo et secundo aetatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat, tantumque gaudium publice praebuit, ut plebs pilleata tota urbe discurreret. Et tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis aestivisque floribus tumulum eius ornarent ac modo imagines praetextatas in rostris profferrent, modo edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quin etiam Vologaesus Parthorum rex missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate hoc etiam magno opere oravit, ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Denique cum post viginti annos adulescente me exstisset condicionis incertae qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam favorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adiutus et vix redditus sit.

VITA GALBAE

I. Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit; quod futurum, compluribus quidem signis, sed vel evidentissimis duobus apparuit. Liviae, olim post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum revisendi, praetervolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles provenit, ut hodieque ea uilla ad Gallinas vocetur, tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mox triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pangere; et observatum est, sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid ibi gallinarum erat interiit; ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede, capita omnibus simul statuīs deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est.

II. Neroni Galba successit nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum, sed haud dubie nobilissimus magnaue et vetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis pronepotem se Quinti Catuli Capitolini semper ascripserit, imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit, quo paternam originem ad Iovem, maternam ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret.

III. Imagines et elogia universi generis exsequi longum est: familiae breviter attingam. Qui prius Sulpiciorum cognomen Galbae tulit, cur aut unde traxerit, ambigitur. Quidam putant, quod oppidum Hispaniae frustra diu oppugnatum inlitis demum galbano facibus succenderit; alii; quod in diuturna valitudine galbeo, id est remediis lana involutis, assidue uteretur: nonnulli, quod praepinguis fuerit visus, quem galbam Galli vocent; vel contra, quod tam exilis, quam sunt animalia quae in aesculis nascuntur appellanturque galbae. Familiam illustravit Seruius Galba consularis, temporum suorum et eloquentissimus, quem tradunt Hispaniam ex praetura optinentem, triginta Lusitanorum milibus perfidia trucidatis, Viriatiini belli causam exstitisse. Eius nepos ob repulsa consulatus infensus Iulio Caesari, cuius legatus in Gallia fuerat, conspiravit cum Cassio et Bruto, propter quod Pedia lege damnatus est. Ab hoc sunt imperatoris Galbae avus ac pater: avus clarior studiis quam dignitate (non enim egressus praeturae gradum) multiplicem nec incuriosam historiam edidit; pater consulatu functus, quamquam brevi corpore, atque etiam gibber, modicaeque in dicendo facultatis, causas industrie actitavit. Vxores habuit Mummiam Achaïam, neptem Catuli proneptemque L. Mummi, qui Corinthum excidit; item Liviam Ocellinam ditem admodum et pulchram, a qua tamen nobilitatis causa appetitus ultro existimatur, et aliquando enixius post quam subinde instantis vitium corporis secreto posita

veste detexit, ne quasi ignaram fallere videretur. Ex Achaica liberos Gaium et Servium procreavit, quorum maior Gaius attritis facultatibus urbe cessit, prohibitusque a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum voluntaria morte obiit.

IV. Ser. Galba imperator M. Valerio Messala Cn. Lentulo cons. natus est VIII. Kal. Ian. in villa colli superposita prope Tarracinam, sinistrorsus Fundos potentibus, adoptatusque a noverca sua Livia nomen et Ocellae cognomen assumptis, mutato praenomine; nam Lucium mox pro Servio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit. Constat Augustum puero adhuc, salutanti se inter aequales, apprehensa buccula dixisse: Kai sy teknon tes arches hemon paratroxei. Sed et Tiberius, cum comperisset imperaturum eum, verum in senecta, "Vivat sane," ait, "quando id ad nos nihil pertinet." Avo quoque eius fulgur procuranti, cum exta de manibus aquila rapuisset et in frugiferam quercum contulisset, responsum est, summum sed serum imperium portendi familiae; et ille irridens, "Sane," inquit, "cum mula pepererit." Nihil aequae postea Galbam temptantem res novas confirmavit quam mulae partus, ceterisque ut obscaenum ostentum abhorrentibus, solus pro laetissimo accepit memor sacrificii dictique avi. Sumpta virili toga, somniavit Fortunam dicentem, stare se ante fores defessam, et nisi ocius reciperetur, cuicumque obvio praedae futuram. Vtque evigilavit, aperto atrio simulacrum aeneum deae cubitali maius iuxta limen invenit, idque gremio suo Tusculum, ubi aestivare consuevit, avexit et in parte aedium consecrato menstruis deinceps supplicationibus et pervigilio anniversario coluit.

Quamquam autem nondum aetate constanti veterem civitatis exoletumque morem ac tantum in domo sua haerentem obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti servique bis die frequentes adessent ac mane salvere, vesperi valere sibi singuli diceret.

V. Inter liberales disciplinas attendit et iuri. Dedit et matrimonio operam; verum, amissa uxore Lepida duobusque ex ea filiis, remansit in caelibatu, neque sollicitari ulla condicione amplius potuit, ne Agrippinae quidem, viduae morte Domitii, quae maritum quoque adhuc necdum caelibem Galbam adeo omnibus sollicitaverat modis, ut conventu matronarum correpta iurgio atque etiam manu pulsata sit a matre Lepidae. Observavit ante omnis Liviam Augustam, cuius et vivae gratia plurimum valuit et mortuae testamento paene ditatus est; sestertium namque quingentis cum praecipuum inter legatarios habuisset, quia notata non perscripta erat summa, herede Tiberio legatum ad quingenta revocante, ne haec quidem accepit.

VI. Honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis praetor commissione ludorum Floralium novum spectaculi genus elephantos funambulos edidit; exim provinciae Aquitaniae anno fere praefuit; mox consulatum per sex menses

ordinarium gessit, evenitque ut in eo ipse L. Domitio patri Neronis, ipsi Salvius Otho pater Othonis succederet, velut praesagium insequentis casus, quo medius inter utriusque filios extitit imperator. A Gaio Caesare in locum Gaetulici substitutus, postridie quam ad legionis venit, sollemni forte spectaculo plaudentes inibuit, data tessera, ut manus paenula continerent; statimque per castra iactatum est:

disce miles militare. Galban est, non Gaetulicus!

Pari severitate interdixit commeatus peti. Veteranum ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroboravit, maturesque barbaris, qui iam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, praesenti quoque Gaio talem et se et exercitum approbavit, ut inter innumeras contractasque ex omnibus provinciis copias neque testimonium neque praemia ampliora ulli perciperent; ipse maxime insignis, quod campestem decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum imperatori per viginti passuum milia cucurrit.

VII. Caede Gaii nuntiata multis ad occasionem stimulantibus quietem praetulit. Per hoc gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum, tantae dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei valitudo nec adeo gravis incidisset, dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicae dies. Africam pro consule biennio optinuit extra sortem electus ad ordinandam provinciam et intestina dissensione et barbarorum tumultu inquietam; ordinavitque magna severitatis ac iustitiae cura, etiam in parvulis rebus. Militi, qui per expeditionem artissima annona residuum cibarium tritici modium centum denariis vendidisse arguebatur, vetuit, simul atque indigere cibo coepisset, a quoquam opem ferri; et is fame extabuit. At in iure dicendo cum de proprietate iumenti quaereretur, levibus utrimque argumentis et testibus ideoque difficili coniectura veritatis, ita decrevit ut ad lacum, ubi adaquari solebat, duceretur capite involuto atque ibidem revelato, eius esset, ad quem sponte se a potu recepisset.

VIII. Ob res et tunc in Africa et olim in Germania gestas ornamenta triumphalia accepit et sacerdotium triplex, inter quindecimviros sodalesque Titios item Augustales cooptatus; atque ex eo tempore prope ad medium Neronis principatum in secessum plurimum vixit (ne ad gestandum quidem umquam iter ingressus quam ut secum vehiculo proximo decies sestertium in auro efferret), donec in oppido Fundis moranti Hispania Tarraconensis oblata est. Acciditque ut, cum provinciam ingressus sacrificaret, intra aedem publicam puero e ministris acerram tenenti capillus repente toto capite canesceret, nec defuerunt qui interpretarentur significari rerum mutationem successurumque iuveni senem, hoc est ipsum Neroni. Non multo post in Cantabriae lacum fulmen decidit, repertaeque sunt duodecim secures, haud ambiguum summae imperii signum.

IX. Per octo annos varie et inaequabiliter provinciam rexit, primo acer et vehemens et in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus. Nam et nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaeque eius adfixit, et tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, veneno necasset, cruce adfecit; implorantique leges et civem Romanum se testificanti, quasi solacio et honore aliquo poenam levaturus, mutari multoque praeter ceteras altiore et dealbatam statui crucem iussit. Paulatim in desidiam segnitiemque conversus est, ne quid materiae praeberet Neroni, et ut dicere solebat, quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur.

Carthagine nova conventum agens tumultuari Gallias comperit legato Aquitaniae auxilia implorante; supervenerunt et Vindicis litterae hortantis, ut humano generi assertorem ducemque se accommodaret. Nec diu cunctatus, condicionem partim metu, partim spe recepit; nam et mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprenderat, et confirmabatur cum secundissimis auspiciis et omnibus virginis honestae vaticinatione, tanto magis quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos Iovis Cluniae ex penetrali somnio monitus eruerat ante ducentos annos similiter a fatidica puella pronuntiata. Quorum carminum sententia erat, oriturum quandoque ex Hispania principem dominumque rerum.

X. Igitur cum quasi manumissioni vacaturus conscendisset tribunal, propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus et astante nobili puero, quem exulantem e proxima Balneari insula ob id ipsum acciverat, deploravit temporum statum, consalutatusque imperator legatum se senatus ac populi R. professus est. Dein iustitio indicto, e plebe quidem provinciae legiones et auxilia conscriptis super exercitum veterem unius legionis duarumque alarum et cohortium trium; at primoribus prudentia atque aetate praestantibus velut instar senatus, ad quod de maiore re quotiens opus esset referretur, instituit. Delegit et equestris ordinis iuvenes, qui manente anulorum aureorum usu evocati appellarentur, excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent. Etiam per provincias edicta dimisit, auctor singulis universisque conspirandi simul, et ut qua posset quisque opera communem causam iuvarent.

Per idem fere tempus in munitione oppidi, quod sedem bello delegerat, repertus est anulus opere antiquo, sculptura gemmae Victoriam cum tropaeo exprimente; ac subinde Alexandrina navis Dertosam appulit armis onusta, sine gubernatore, sine nauta ac vectore ullo, ut nemini dubium esset, iustum piumque et faventibus diis bellum suscipi; cum repente ex inopinato prope cuncta turbata sunt. Alarum altera castris appropinquantem paenitentiam mutati sacramenti destituere conata est aegreque retenta in officio, et servi, per angiportum in balneas transeuntem paene interemerunt; nisi cohortantibus in vicem ne

occasionem omitterent, interrogatisque de qua occasione loquerentur, expressa cruciatu confessio esset.

XI. Accessit in tanta discrimina mors Vindicis, qua maxime consternatus destitutoque similis non multo afuit quin vitae renuntiaret. Sed supervenientibus ab urbe nuntiis ut occisum Neronem cunctosque in verba sua iurasse cognovit, deposita legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem, iterque ingressus est paludatus ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus; nec prius usum togae recipiavit quam oppressis qui novas res moliebantur, praefecto praetorii Nymphidio Sabino Romae, in Germania Fonteio Capitone, in Africa Clodio Macro legatis.

XII. Praecesserat de eo fama saevitiae simul atque avaritiae, quod civitates Hispaniarum Galliarumque, quae cunctantius sibi accesserant, gravioribus tributis, quasdam etiam murorum destructione punisset et praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis adfecisset cum coniugibus ac liberis; quodque oblatam Tarraconensibus e vetere templo Iovis coronam auream librarum quindecim conflasset ac tres uncias, quae ponderi deerant, iussisset exigi. Ea fama et confirmata et aucta est, ut primum urbem introiit. Nam cum classarios, quos Nero ex remigibus iustos milites fecerat, redire ad pristinum statum cogeret, recusantis atque insuper aquilam et signa pertinacius flagitantis non modo immisso equite disiecit, sed decimavit etiam. Item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit ac sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, proniorem. Illa quoque verene an falso per ludibrium iactabantur, adposita lautiore cena ingemuisse eum, et ordinario quidem dispensatori breviarium rationum offerenti paropsidem leguminis pro sedulitate ac diligentia porrexisse, Cano autem choraulae mire placenti denarios quinque donasse prolatos manu sua e peculiaribus oculis suis.

XIII. Quare adventus eius non perinde gratus fuit, inde proximo spectaculo apparuit, siquidem Atellanis notissimum canticum exorsis:

venit Onesimus a villa cuncti simul spectatores consentiente voce reliquam partem rettulerunt ac saepius versu repetito egerunt.

XIV. Maiore adeo et favore et auctoritate adeptus est quam gessit imperium, quamquam multa documenta egregii principis daret; sed nequaquam tam grata erant, invisae quae secus fierent. Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una et intra palatium habitantis nec umquam non adhaerentis paedagogos vulgo vocabant. Ii erant T. Vinus legatus eius in Hispania, cupiditatis immensae; Cornelius Laco ex assessore praefectus praetorii, arrogantia socordiaque intolerabilis; libertus Icelus, paulo ante anulis aureis et Marciani cognomine ornatus ac iam summae equestris gradus candidatus. His diverso vitiorum genere grassantibus adeo se abutendum permisit et tradidit, ut vix sibi ipse constaret, modo acerbior

parciorque, modo remissior ac negligentior quam conveniret principi electo atque illud aetatis.

Quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros suspicione minima inauditos condemnavit. Civitatem R. raro dedit, iura trium liberorum vix uni atque alteri, ac ne his quidem nisi ad certum praefinitumque tempus. Iudicibus sextam decuriam adici precantibus non modo negavit, sed et concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hieme initioque anni ad indicandum evocarentur, eripuit.

XV. Existimabatur etiam senatoria et equestria officia biennii spatio determinaturus, nec daturus nisi invitis ac recusantibus. Liberalitates Neronis, non plus decimis concessis, per quinquaginta equites R. ea condicione revocandas curavit exigendasque, ut et si quid scaenici aut xystici donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emptoribus, quando illi pretio absumpto solvere nequirent. At contra nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio addici aut donari gratia passus est, vectigalia immunitates, poenas innocentium impunitates noxiorum. Quin etiam, populo R. deposcente suppliciorum Haloti et Tigellini solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis vel maleficientissimos incolumes praestitit atque insuper Halotum procuracione amplissima ornavit, pro Tigellino etiam saevitiae populum edicto increpuit.

XVI. Per haec prope universis ordinibus offensis vel praecipua flagrabat invidia apud milites. Nam cum in verba eius absentis iurantibus donativum grandius solito praepositi pronuntiassent, neque ratam rem habuit et subinde iactavit legere se militem, non emere consuesse; atque eo quidem nomine omnis, qui ubique erant, exacerbavit. Ceterum praetorianos etiam metu et indignitate commovit, removens subinde plerosque ut suspectos et Nymphidi socios. Sed maxime fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus, fraudari se praemiis navatae adversus Gallus et Vindicem operae. Ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi Kal. Ian. adigi sacramento nisi in nomen senatus recusarunt statimque legationem ad praetorianos cum mandatis destinaverunt: displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum; eligerent ipsi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent.

XVII. Quod ut nuntiatum est, despectui esse non tam senectam suam quam orbitatem ratus, Pisonem Frugi Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque iuvenem ac sibi olim probatissimum testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum repente e media salutantium turba adprehendit filiumque appellans perduxit in castra ac pro contione adoptavit, ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta. Quo faciliorem occasionem M. Salvio Othoni praebuit perficiendi conata intra sextum adoptionis diem.

XVIII. Magna et assidua monstra iam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis evenit, portenderant. Cum per omne iter dextra sinistraque oppidatim victimae caederentur, taurus securis ictu consternatus rupto vinculo essedum eius invasit

elatisque pedibus totum cruore perfudit; ac descendente speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit. Urbem quoque et deinde Palatium ingressum excepit terrae tremor et assimilis quidam mugitui sonus. Secuta sunt aliquando manifestiora. Monile, margaritis gemmisque consertum, ad ornandam Fortunam suam Tusculanam ex omni gaza secreverat; id repente quasi augustiore dignius loco Capitolinae Veneri dedicavit ac proxima nocte somniavit specie Fortunae querentis fraudatam se dono destinato, minantisque erepturam et ipsam quae dedisset. Cumque exterritus luce prima ad expiandum somnium, praemissis qui rem divinam appararent, Tusculum excucurrisset, nihil invenit praeter tepidam in ara favillam atratumque iuxta senem in catino vitreo tus tenentem et in calice fictili merum. Observatum etiam est kal. Ian. sacrificanti coronam de capite excidisse, auspicanti pullos avolasse; adoptionis die neque milites adlocuturo castrensem sellam de more positam pro tribunali oblitis ministris, et in senatu curulem perverse collocatam.

XIX.. Prius vero quam occideretur sacrificate mane haruspex identidem monuit, caveret periculum, non longe percussores abesse. Haud multo post cognoscit teneri castra ab Othone, ac plerisque ut eodem quam primum pergeret suadentibus (posse enim auctoritate et praesentia praevalere) nihil amplius quam contineret se statuit et legionariorum firmare praesidiis, qui multifariam diverseque tendebant. Lorica tamen induit linteam, quamquam haud dissimulans parum adversum tot mucrones profuturam. Sed extractus rumoribus falsis, quos conspirati, ut eum in publicum elicerent, de industria dissiparant, paucis temere affirmantibus transactum negotium, oppressos, qui tumultuarentur, advenire frequentis ceteros gratulabundos et in omne obsequium paratos; iis ut occurreret prodiit, tanta fiducia ut militi cuidam occisum a se Othonem glorianti, Quo auctore? responderit; atque in forum usque processit. Ibi equites, quibus mandata caedes erat, cum per publicum dimota paganorum turba equos adegissent, viso procul eo parumper restiterunt; dein rursum incitati desertum a suis contrucidarunt.

XX. Sunt qui tradant, ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum: Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum, et vos mei! donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt, optulisse ultro iugulum et ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum. Illud mirum admodum fuerit, neque praesentium quemquam opem imperatori ferre conatum et omnes qui arcesserentur sprevisse nuntium, excepta Germanicianorum vexillatione. Ii ob recens meritum, quod se aegros et invalidos magnopere fovisset, in auxilium advolaverunt, sed serius, itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati. Iugulatus est ad lacum Curti ac relictum ita uti erat, donec gregarius miles a frumentatione rediens abiecto onere caput ei amputavit; et quoniam capillo arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit,

mox inserto per os pollice ad Othonem detulit. Ille lixis calonibusque donavit, qui hasta suffixum non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt adclamantes identidem: “Galba Cupido, fruaris aetate tua,” maxime irritati ad talem iocorum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in vulgus, laudanti cuidam formam suam ut adhuc floridam et vegetam respondisse eum: eti moi menos empedon estin.

Ab is Patrobii Neroniani libertus centum aureis redemptum eo loco, ubi iussu Galbae animadversum in patronum suum fuerat, abiecit. Sero tandem dispensator Argivus et hoc et ceterum truncum in privatis eius hortis Aurelia via sepulturae dedit.

XXI. Statura fuit iusta, capite praecalvo, oculis caeruleis, adunco naso, manibus pedibusque articulari morbo distortissimis, ut neque calceum perpeti nec libellos evolvere aut tenere omnino valeret. Excreverat etiam in dexteriore latere eius caro praependebatque adeo ut aegre fascia substringeretur.

XXII. Cibi plurimi traditur, quem tempore hiberno etiam ante lucem capere consuerat, inter cenam vero usque eo abundantis, ut congestas super manus reliquias circumferri iuberet spargique ad pedes stantibus. Libidinis in mares pronior et eos non nisi praeduros exoletosque: ferebant in Hispania Icelum e veteribus concubinis de Neronis exitu nuntiantem non modo artissimis osculis palam exceptum ab eo, sed ut sine mora velleretur oratum atque seductum.

XXIII. Periit tertio et septuagesimo aetatis anno, imperii mense septimo. Senatus, ut primum licitum est, statum ei decreverat rostratae columnae superstantem in parte fori, qua trucidatus est; sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Iudaeam submisisse opinatus.

VITA OTHONIS

I. Maiores Othonis orti sunt oppidio Ferentio, familia vetere et honorata atque ex principibus Etruriae. Avus M. Salvius Otho, patre equite R., matre humili incertum an ingenua, per gratiam Liviae Augustae, in cuius domo creverat, senator est factus nec praeturae gradum excessit.

Pater L. Otho, materno genere praeclaro multarumque et magnarum propinquitatum, tam carus tamque non absimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores, proconsulatum Africae et extraordinaria imperia severissime administravit. Ausus etiam est in Illyrico milites quosdam, quod motu Camilli ex paenitentia praepositos suos quasi defectionis adversus Claudium auctores occiderant, capite punire et quidem ante principia se coram, quamvis ob id ipsum promotos in ampliorem gradum a Claudio sciret. Quo facto sicut gloriam auxit, ita gratiam minuit; quam tamen mature recipere detecta equitis R. fraude, quem prodentibus servis necem Claudio parere compererat. Namque et senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, persecutus est eum et Claudius adlectum inter patricios, conlaudans amplissimis verbis, hoc quoque adiecit: Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem. Ex Albia Terentia splendida femina duos filios tulit, L. Titianum et minorem M. cognominem sibi; tulit et filiam, quam vixdum nubilem Druso Germanici filio despondit.

II. Otho imperator III. Kal. Mai. natus est Camillo Arruntio, Domitio Ahenobarbo cons. A prima adulescentia prodigus ac procax, adeo ut saepe flagris obiurgaretur a patre, ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus atque invalidum quemque obviorum vel potulentum corripere ac distento sago impositum in sublime iactare. Post patris deinde mortem libertinam aulicam gratiosam, quo efficacius coleret, etiam diligere simulavit quamvis anum ac paene decrepitam: per hanc insinuatus Neroni, facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentia morum, ut vero quidam tradunt, et consuetudine mutui stupri. Ac tantum potentia valuit, ut damnatum repetundis consularem virum, ingens praemium pactus, prius quam plene restitutionem ei impetrasset non dubitaret in senatum ad agendas gratias introducere.

III. Omnium autem consiliorum secretorumque particeps die, quem necandae matri Nero destinarat, ad avertendas suspicionem cenam utrique exquisitissimae comitatis dedit; item Poppaeam Sabinam tunc adhuc amicam eius, abductam

marito demandatamque interim sibi, nuptiarum specie recepit, nec corrupisset contentus, adeo dilexit ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem aequo tulerit animo. Creditur certe non modo missos ad arcessendam astantem miscentemque frustra minas et preces ac depositum reposcentem. Quare diducto matrimonio, sepositus est per causam legationis in Lusitaniam. Id satis visum, ne poena acrior mimum omnem divulgaret, qui tamen sic quoque hoc disticho enotuit:

Cur Otho mentito sit, quaeritis, exul honore?

Vxoris moechus coeperat esse suae.

Provinciam administravit quaestorius per decem annos, moderatione atque abstinencia singulari.

IV. Vt tandem occasio ultionis data est, conatibus Galbae primus accessit: eodemque momento et ipse spem imperii cepit magnam quidem et ex condicione temporum, sed aliquando maiorem ex affirmatione Seleuci mathematici. Qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperaturum quoque brevi repromittens. Nullo igitur officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso, quotiens cena principem acciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritim dividebat, nec minus alium alia via militum demerebatur. Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti, adhibitus arbiter, totum agrum redemit emancipavitque; ut iam vix ullus esset, qui non et sentiret et praedicaret solum successionem imperii dignum.

V. Speraverat autem fore ut adoptaretur a Galba, idque in dies expectabat. Sed postquam Pisone praelato spe decidit, ad vim conversus est instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat, nisi principem se stare non posse nihilque referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditoribus caderet. Ante paucos dies servo Caesaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium expresserat; hoc subsidium tanti coepti fuit. Ac primo quinque speculatoribus commissa res est, deinde decem aliis, quos singulis binos produxerant; omnibus dena sestertia repraesentata et quinquagena promissa. Per hos sollicitati reliqui, nec adeo multi, haud dubia fiducia, in ipso negotio pluris adfuturos.

VI. Tulerat animus post adoptionem statim castra occupare cenantemque in Palatio Galbam adgredi, sed obstitit respectus cohortis, quae tunc excubabat, ne oneraretur invidia, quod eiusdem statione et Gaius fuerat occisus et desertus Nero. Medium quoque tempus religio et Seleucus exemit.

Ergo destinata die praemonitis consciis ut se in foro sub aede Saturni ad miliarium aureum opperiretur, mane Galbam salutavit, utque consueverat osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit audivitque praedicta haruspis. Deinde

liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi venalem domum inspecturus abscessit, proripuitque se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum. Alii febrem simulasse aiunt eamque excusationem proximis mandasse, si quaereretur. Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in castra contendit, ac deficientibus lecticariis cum descendisset cursumque cepisset, laxato calceo restitit, donec omissa mora succollatus et a praesente comitatu imperator consalutatus, inter faustas adclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit, obvio quoque non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret adhaerente. Ibi missis qui Galbam et Pisonem trucidarent, ad conciliandos pollicitationibus militum animos nihil magis pro contione testatus est, quam id demum se habiturum, quod sibi illi reliquissent.

VII. Dein vergente iam die ingressus senatum, positaque brevi ratione quasi raptus de publico et suscipere imperium vi coactus gesturumque communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petit. Ac super ceteras gratulantium adulantiumque blanditias ab infima plebe appellatus Nero nullum indicium recusantis dedit, immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistulis suis ad quosdam provinciarum praesides Neronis cognomen adiecit. Certe et imagines statuasque eius reponi passus est et procuratores atque libertos ad eadem officia revocavit, nec quicquam prius pro potestate subscripsit quam quingenties sestertium ad peragendam Auream domum.

Dicitur ea nocte per quietem pavefactum gemitus maximos edidisse repertusque a concursantibus humi ante lectum iacens per omnia piaculorum genera Manes Galbae, a quo deturbari expellique se viderat, propitiare temptasse; postridie quoque in augurando tempestate orta graviter prolapsus identidem obmurmurasse: *Ti gar moi kai makrois aulois?*

VIII. Sub idem vero tempus Germaniciani exercitus in Vitellii verba iurarat. Quod ut comperit, auctor senatui fuit mittendae legationis, quae doceret electum iam principem, quietem et concordiam suaderet; et tamen per internuntios ac litteras consortem imperii generumque se Vitellio optulit. Verum haud dubio bello, iamque ducibus et copiis quas Vitellius praemiserat appropinquantibus, animum fidemque erga se praetorianorum paene internecone amplissimi ordinis expertus est. Placuerat per classarios arma transferri remittique navibus; ea cum in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quidam suspicati tumultum excitaverunt; ac repente omnes nullo certo duce in Palatium cucurrerunt caedem senatus flagitantes, repulsisque tribunorum, qui inhibere temptabat, nonnullis et occisis, sic ut erant cruenti, ubinam imperator esset requirentes perruperunt in triclinium usque nec nisi viso destiterunt.

Expeditionem autem impigre atque etiam praepropere inchoavit, nulla ne religionum quidem cura, sed et motis necdum conditis ancilibus, (quod

antiquitus infaustum habetur) et die, quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt, praeterea adversissimis auspiciis. Nam et victima Diti patri caesa litavit, cum tali sacrificio contraria exta potiora sint, et primo egressu inundationibus Tiberis retardatus, ad vicensimum etiam lapidem ruina aedificiorum praecusam viam offendit.

IX. Simili temeritate, quamvis dubium nemini esset quin trahi bellum oporteret quando et fame et angustiis locorum urgeretur hostis, quam primum tamen decertare statuit, sive impatiens longioris sollicitudinis speransque ante Vitelli adventum profligari plurimum posse, sive impar militum ardori pugnam deposcentium. Nec ulli pugnae affuit substitique Brixelli. Et tribus quidem verum mediocribus proeliis apud Alpes circaque Placentiam et ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est, vicit; novissimo maximoque apud Betriacum fraude superatus est, cum, spe conloquii facta, quasi ad condicionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improvise atque in ipsa consalutatione dimicandum fuisset. Ac statim moriendi impetum cepit, ut multi nec frustra opinantur, magis pudore ne tanto rerum hominumque periculo dominationem sibi asserere perseveraret, quam desperatione ulla aut diffidentia copiarum; quippe residuis integrisque etiam nunc quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, et supervenientibus aliis e Dalmatia Pannoniaque et Moesia, ne victis quidem adeo afflictis ut non in ultionem ignominiae quidvis discriminis ultro et vel solae subirent.

X. Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavus. Is mox referre crebro solebat, Othonem etiam privatum usque adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassii Brutique exitu cohorrerit; nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi confideret sine bello rem transigi posse; tunc ac despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum, qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret nec cuiquam fidem faceret ac nunc mendaci nunc timoris, quasi fugisset, ex acie argueretur, gladio ante pedes eius incubuerit. Hoc viso proclamasse cum aiebat, non amplius se in periculum talis tamque bene meritos coniecturum.

Fratrem igitur fratrisque filium et singulos amicorum cohortatus, ut sibi quisque pro facultate consuleret, ab amplexu et osculo suo dimisit omnis, secretoque capto binos codicillos exaravit, ad sororem consolatorios, et ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destinarat, commendans reliquias suas et memoriam. Quicquid deinde epistularum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxae apud victorem forent, concremavit. Divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia praesenti.

XI. Atque ita paratus intentusque iam morti, tumultu inter moras exorto ut eos, qui discedere et abire coeptabant, corripere quasi desertores detinerique sensit, “Adiciamus,” inquit, “vitae et hanc noctem!” (his ipsis totidemque verbis) vetuitque vim cuiquam fieri; et in serum usque patente cubiculo, si quid adire

vellet, potestatem sui praeuit. Post hoc sedata siti gelidae aquae potione, arripuit duos pugiones et explorata utriusque acie, cum alterum pulvino subdidisset, foribus adopertis artissimo somno quieuit. Et circa lucem demum expergefactus, uno se traiecit ictu infra laevam papillam irrumpentibusque ad primum gemitum modo celans modo detegens plagam, exanimatus est et celeriter (nam ita praeceperat) funeratus, tricensimo et octavo aetatis anno et nonagesimo quinto imperii die.

XII. Tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corporis aut habitus competit. Fuisse enim et modicae staturae et male pedatus scambusque traditur, munditiarum vero paene muliebrium, vulso corpore, galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et adnexo, ut nemo dinosceret; quin et faciem cotidie rasitare ac pane madido linere consuetum, idque instituisse a prima lanugine, ne barbatus umquam esset; sacra etiam Isidis saepe in lintea religiosaque veste propalam celebrasse. Per quae factum putem, ut mors eius minime congruens vitae maiore miraculo fuerit. Multi praesentium militum cum plurimo fletu manus ac pedes iacentis exosculati, fortissimum virum, unicum imperatorem praedicantes, ibidem statim nec procul a rogo vim suae vitae attulerunt; multi et absentium accepto nuntio prae dolore armis inter se ad internecionem concurrerunt. Denique magna pars hominum incolumem gravissime detestata mortuum laudibus tulit, ut vulgo iactatum sit etiam, Galbam ab eo non tam dominandi quam rei p. ac libertatis restituendae causa interemptum.

VITA VETELLII

I. Vitelliorum originem alii aliam et quidem diversissimam tradunt, partim veterem et nobilem, partim vero novam et obscuram atque etiam sordidam; quod ego per adulescentes obrectatoresque imperatoris Vitellii evenisse opinarer, nisi aliquanto prius de familiae condicione variatum esset. Exstat Q. Elogi ad Quintum Vitellium Divi Augusti quaestorem libellus, quo continetur, Vitellios Fauno Aboriginum rege et Vitellia, quae multis locis pro numine coleretur, ortos toto Latio imperasse; horum residuam stirpem ex Sabinis transisse Romam atque inter patricios adlectam; indicia stirpis mansisse diu viam Vitelliam ab Ianiculo ad mare usque, item coloniam eiusdem nominis, quam gentili copia adversus Aequiculos tutandam olim depoposcissent; tempore deinde Samnitici belli praesidio in Apuliam misso quosdam ex Vitellis subsedis Nuceriae, eorumque progeniem longo post intervallo repetisse urbem atque ordinem senatorium.

II. Contra plures auctorem generis libertinum prodiderunt, Cassius Severus nec minus alii eundem et sutorem veteramentarium, cuius filius sectionibus et cognituris uberius compendium nactus, ex muliere vulgari, Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercentis filia, equitem R. genuerit. Sed quod discrepat, sit in medio. Ceterum P. Vitellius domo Nuceria, sive ille stirpis antiquae sive pudendis parentibus atque avis, eques certe R. et rerum Augusti procurator, quattuor filios amplissimae dignitatis cognomines ac tantum praenominibus distinctos reliquit, Aulum Quintum Publium Lucium. Aulus in consulatu obiit, quem cum Domitio Neronis Caesaris patre inierat, praelautus alioqui famosusque cenarum magnificentia. Quintus caruit ordine, cum auctore Tiberio secerni minus idoneos senatores removerique placuisset. Publius, Germanici comes, Cn. Pisonem inimicum et interfectorem eius accusavit condemnavitque, ac post praeturae honorem inter Seiani conscios arreptus et in custodiam fratri datus scalpro librario venas sibi incidit, nec tam mortis paenitentia quam suorum obtestatione obligari curarique se passus in eadem custodia morbo periit. Lucius ex consulatu Syriae praepositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus non modo ad conloquium suum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit. Mox cum Claudio principe duos insuper ordinarios consulatus censuramque gessit. Curam quoque imperii sustinuit, absente eo expeditione Britannica; vir innocens et industrius, sed amore libertinae perinfamis, cuius etiam salivis melle commixtis, ne clam quidem aut raro sed cotidie ac palam, arterias et fauces pro remedio fovebat. Idem miri in adulando genii, prius C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Claudium uxoribus libertisque

addictum ne qua non arte demereretur, pro maximo numere a Messalina petit, ut sibi pedes praeberet excalciandos; detractumque socculum dextrum inter togam tunicasque gestavit assidue, nonnumquam osculabundus. Narcissi quoque et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit. Huius et illa vox est: Saepe facias, cum Saeculares ludos edenti Claudio gratularetur.

III. Decessit paralyti altero die quam correptus est, duobus filiis superstitibus, quos ex Sextilia probatissima nec ignobili femina editos consules vidit, et quidem eodem ambos totoque anno, cum maiori minor in sex menses successisset. Defunctum senatus publico funere honoravit, item statum pro rostris cum hac inscriptione: PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM.

IV. A. Vitellius L. filius imperator natus est VIII. Kal. Oct., vel ut quidam VII. Id. Sept., Druso Caesare Norbano Flacco cons. Genituram eius praedictam a mathematicis ita parentes exhorruerunt, ut pater magno opere semper contenderit ne qua ei provincia vivo se committeretur, mater et missum ad legiones et appellatum imperatorem pro afficto statim lamentata sit. Pueritiam primamque adolescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, et ipse perpetuo spintriae cognomine notatus existimatusque corporis gratia initium et causa incrementorum patri fuisse; sequenti quoque aetate omnibus probris contaminatus, praecipuum in aula locum tenuit, Gaio per aurigandi, Claudio per aleae studium familiaris, sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior, cum propter eadem haec, tum peculiari merito, quod praesidens certamini Neroneo cupientem inter citharoedos contendere nec quamvis flagitantibus cunctis promittere audentem ideoque egressum theatro revocaverat, quasi perseverantis populi legatione suspecta, exorandumque praebuerat.

V. Trium itaque principium indulgentia non solum honoribus verum et sacerdotiis amplissimis auctus, proconsulatum Africae post haec curamque operum publicorum administravit et voluntate dispari et existimatione. In provincia singularem innocentiam praestitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitisset; at in urbano officio dona atque ornamenta templorum subripuisse et commutasse quaedam ferebatur, proque auro et argento stagnum et aurichalcum supposuisse.

VI. Vxorem habuit Petroniam consularis viri filiam, et ex ea filium Petroniarum captum altero oculo. Hunc heredem a matre sub condicione institutum, si de potestate patris exisset, manu emisit brevique, ut creditum est, interemit, insimulatum insuper parricidii et quasi paratum ad scelus venenum ex conscientia hausisset. Duxit mox Galeriam Fundanam praetorio patre ac de hac quoque liberos utriusque sexus tulit, sed marem titubantia oris prope mutum et elinguem.

VII. A Galba in inferiorem Germaniam contra opinionem missus est. Adiutum

putant T. Vinii suffragio, tunc potentissimi et cui iam pridem per communem factionis Venetae conciliatus esset: nisi quod Galba prae se tulit, nullos minus metuendos quam qui de solo victu cogitante, ac posse provincialibus copiis profundam gulam eius expleri, ut cuivis evidens sit contemptu magis qua gratia electum. Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romae relinquebat, meritorio cenaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret, utque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit ad itineris impensas. Creditorum quidem praestolantium ac detinentium turbam et in iis Sinuessanos Formianosque, quorum publica vectigalia interverterat, non nisi terrore calumniae amovit, cum libertino cuidam acerbius debitum reposcenti iniuriarum formulam, quasi calce ab eo percussus, intendisse nec aliter quam extorti quinquaginta sestertiis remisisset.

Advenientem male animatus erga principem exercitus pronusque ad res novas libens ac supinis manibus excepit, velut dono deum oblatum, ter consulis filium, aetate integra, facili ac prodigo animo. Quam veterem de se persuasionem Vitellius recentibus etiam experimentis auxerat, tota via caligatorum quoque militum obvios exosculans, perque stabula ac deversoria mulionibus ac viatoribus praeter modum comis, ut mane singulos iamne iantassent sciscitaretur seque fecisse ructu quoque ostenderet.

VIII. Castra vero ingressus nihil cuiquam poscenti negavit atque etiam ultro ignominiosis notas, reis sordes, damnatis supplicia dempsit. Quare vixdum mense transacto, neque die neque temporis ratione habita, ac viam vespere, subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat, in veste domestica, imperator est consalutatus circumlatusque per celeberrimos vicos, strictum Divi Iuli gladium tenens, detractum delubro Martis atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi a quodam; nec ante in praetorium rediit quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini, cum quidem consternatis et quasi omine adverso anxiiis omnibus, “Bono,” inquit, “animo estote! nobis adluxit,” nullo sermone alio apud milites usus. Consentiente deinde etiam superioris provinciae exercitu, qui prius a Galba ad senatum defecerat, cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis cupide recepit, Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit.

IX. Ac subinde caede Galbae adnuntiata, compositis Germanicis rebus, partitus est copias, quas adversus Othonem praemitteret, quasque ipse perduceret. Praemisso agmine laetum evenit auspiciu, siquidem a parte dextra repente aquila advolavit, lustratisque signis ingressos viam sensim antecessit. At contra ipso movente, statuae equestres, cum plurifariam ei ponerentur, fractis repente cruribus pariter corruerunt, ac laurea, quam religiosissime circumdederat, in profluentem excidit; mox Viennae pro tribunali iura reddenti gallinaceus supra umerum ac deinde in capite astitit. Quibus ostentis par

respondit exitus; nam confirmatum per legatos suo imperium per se retinere non potuit.

X. De Betriacensi victoria et Othonis exitu, cum adhuc in Gallia esset, audiit, nihilque cunctatus, quidquid praetorianarum cohortium fuit, ut pessimi exempli, uno exauctoravit edicto iussas tribunis tradere arma. Centum autem atque viginti, quorum libellos Othoni datos intervenerat exposcentium praemium ob editam in caede Galbae operam, conquiri et supplicio adfici imperavit, egregie prorsus atque magnifice et ut summi principis spem ostenderet, nisi cetera magis ex natura et priore vita sua quam ex imperii maiestate gessisset. Namque itinere inchoato, per medias civitates ritu triumphantium vectus est, perque flumina delicatissimis navigiis et variarum genere redimit, inter profusissimos obsoniorum apparatus, nulla familiae aut militis disciplina, rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in iocum vertens; qui non contenti epulo ubique publice praebito, quoscumque libuisset in libertatem asserebant, verbera et plagas, saepe vulnera, nonnumquam necem repraesentantes adversantibus. Utque campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentis quosdam cadaverum tabem detestabili voce confirmare ausus est, optime olere occisum hostem et melius civem. Nec eo setius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit passimque divisit. Pari vanitate atque insolentia lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum intuens, dignum eo Mausoleo ait, pugionemque, quo is se occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam misit Marti dedicandum. In Appennini quidem iugis etiam pervigilium egit.

XI. Urbem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus ferroque succinctum, inter signa atque vexilla, sagulatis comitibus, ac detectis commilitonum armis. Magis deinde omni divino humanoque iure neglecto, Alliensi die pontificatum maximum cepit, comitia in decem annos ordinavit seque perpetuum consulem. Et ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendae rei p. eligeret, medio Mario campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia inferias Neroni dedit ac sollemni convivio citharoedum placentem palam admonuit, ut aliquid et de dominico diceret, inchoantique Neroniana cantica primus exultans etiam plausit.

XII. Talibus principiis, magnam imperii partem non nisi consilio et arbitrio vilissimi cuiusque histrionum et aurigarum administravit, et maxime Asiatici liberti. Hunc adolescentulum mutua libidinem constupratum, mox taedio profugum cum Puteolis poscam vendentem reprehendisset, coiecit in compedes statimque solvit et rursus in deliciis habuit; iterum deinde ob nimiam contumaciam et furacitatem gravatus circumforano lanistae vendidit dilatumque ad finem numeris repente subripuit, et provincia demum accepta manumisit, ac primo imperii die aureis donavit anulis super cenam, cum mane, rogantibus pro eo cunctis, detestatus esset severissime talem equestris ordinis maculam.

XIII. Sed vel praecipue luxuriae saevitiaque deditus, epulas trifariam semper, interdum quadrifariam dispertiebat, in ientacula et prandia et cenas comissionesque, facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine. Indicebat autem aliud alii eadem die, nec cuiquam minus singuli apparatus quadringenis milibus nummum constituerunt. Famosissima super cetera fuit cena data ei adventicia a fratre, in qua duo milia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur. Hanc quoque exsuperavit ipse dedicatione patinae, quam ob immensam magnitudinem clipeum Minervae polioychoy dictitabat. In hac scarorum iocinera, phasianorum et pavorum cerebella, linguas phoenicopterus, murenarum lactes a Parthia usque fretoque Hispanico per navarchos ac triremes petitarum, commiscuit. Vt autem homo non profundae modo sed intempestivae quoque ac sordidae gulae, ne in sacrificio quidem umquam aut itinere ullo temperavit, quin inter altaria ibidem statim viscus et farra paene rapta e foco manderet, circaque viarum popinas fumantia obsonia, vel pridiana atque semesa.

XIV. Pronus vero ad cuiuscumque et quacumque de causa necem atque supplicium, nobiles viros, condiscipulos et aequales suos, omnibus blanditiis tantum non ad societatem imperii adlice factos vario genere fraudis occidit; etiam unum veneno manu sua porrecto in aquae frigidae potione, quam is adfectus febre poposcerat. Tum faeneratorum et stipulatorum publicanorumque, qui umquam se aut Romae debitum aut in via portorium flagitassent, vix ulli pepercit; ex quibus quendam in ipsa salutatione supplicio traditum statimque revocatum, cunctis clementiam laudantibus, coram interfici iussit, velle se dicens pascere oculos; alterius poenae duos filios adiecit deprecari pro patre conatos. Sed et equitem R. proclamantem, cum raperetur ad poenam: Heres meus es, exhibere testamenti tabulas coegit, utque legit coheredem sibi libertum eius ascriptum, iugulari cum liberto imperavit. Quosdam et de plebe ob id ipsum, quod Venetae factioni clare male dixerant, interemit, contemptu sui et nova spe id ausos opinatus. Nullis tamen infensior quam vernaculis et mathematicis, ut quisque deferretur, inauditum capite puniebat exacerbatus, quod post edictum suum, quo iubebat intra Kal. Oct. urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus propositus est, et Chaldaeos edicere, bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset. Suspectus et in morte matris fuit, quasi aegrae praeberi cibum prohibuisset, vaticinante Chatta muliere, cui velut oraculo adquiescebat, ita demum firmiter ac diutissime imperaturum, si superstes parenti extitisset. Alii tradunt ipsam taedio praesentium et imminentium metu venenum a filio impetrasse, haud sane difficulter.

XV. Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Moesiarum atque Pannoniae, item ex transmarinis Iudaicus et Syriaticus, ac pars in absentis, pars in praesentis Vespasiani verba iurarunt. Ad retinendum ergo ceterorum hominum

studium ac favorem, nihil non publice privatimque nullo adhibito modo largitus est. Delectum quoque ea condicione in urbe egit, ut voluntatis non modo missionem post victoriam, sed etiam veteranorum iustaque militiae commoda polliceretur. Vrgenti deinde terra marique hosti hinc fratrem cum classe ac tironibus et gladiatorum manu opposuit, hinc Betriacenses copias et duces; atque ubique aut superatus aut proditus, salutem sibi et milites sestertium a Flavio Sabino Vespasiani fratre pepigit; statimque pro gradibus Palati apud frequentes milites, cedere se imperio quod invitus recepisset professus, cunctis reclamantibus rem distulit ac nocte interposita primo diluculo sordidatus descendit ad rostra multisque cum lacrimis eadem illa, verum e libello testatus est. Rursus interpellante milite ac populo et ne deficeret hortante omnesque operam suam certatim pollicente, animum resumpsit Sabinumque et reliquos Flavianos nihil iam metuentis vi subita in Capitolium compulit, succensoque templo Iovis Optimi Maximi oppressit, cum et proelium et incendium e Tiberiana prospiceret domo inter epulas. Non multo post paenitens facti et in alios culpam conferens, vocata contione iuravit coegitque iurare et ceteros, nihil sibi antiquius quiete publica fore. Tunc solutum a latere pugionem consuli primum, deinde illo recusante magistratibus ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens, nullo recipiente, quasi in aede Concordiae positurus abscessit. Sed quibusdam adclamantibus ipsum esse Concordiam, rediit nec solum retinere se ferrum affirmavit, verum etiam Concordiae recipere cognomen; suasitque senatui, ut legatos cum virginibus Vestalibus mitterent pacem aut certe tempus ad consultandum petituos.

XVI. Postridie responsa opperienti nuntiatum est per exploratorem hostes appropinquare. Continuo igitur abstrusus gestatoria sella, duobus solis comitibus, pistore et coco, Aventinum et paternam domum clam petit, ut inde in Campaniam fugeret; mox levi rumore et incerto, tamquam pax impetrata esset, referri se in Palatium passus est. Vbi cum deserta omnia repperisset, dilabentibus et qui simul erant, zona se aureorum plena circumdedit confugitque in cellulam ianitoris, religato pro foribus cane lectoque et culcita obiectis.

XVII. Irruperant iam agminis antecessores ac nemine obvio rimabantur, ut fit, singula. Ab is extractus e latebra, sciscitantes quis esset (nam ignorabatur) et ubi esset Vitellium sciret, mendacio elusit; deinde agnitus rogare non destitit, quasi quaedam de salute Vespasiani dicturus, ut custodiretur interim vel in carcere, donec religatis post terga manibus, iniecto cervicibus laqueo, veste discissa seminudus in forum tractus est inter magna rerum verborumque ludibria per totum viae Sacrae spatium, reducto coma capite, ceu noxii solent, atque etiam mento mucrone gladii subrecto, ut visendam praeberet faciem neve summitteret; quibusdam stercore et caeno incessantibus, aliis incendiarium et patinarium

vociferantibus, parte vulgi etiam corporis vitia exprobrante; erat enim in eo enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumque ex vinulentia, venter obesus, alterum ferum subdebile impulsu olim quadrigae, cum auriganti Gaio ministratore exhiberet. Tandem apud Gemonias minutissimis ictibus excarnificatus atque confectus et inde unco tractus in Tiberim.

XVIII. Periit cum fratre et filio anno vitae septimo quinquagesimo; nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennae ostendimus, non aliud portendi praedixerant, quam venturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem; siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est, cum Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum.

VITA DIVI VESPASIANI

I. Rebellionem trium principum et caede incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imaginibus, sed tamen rei p. nequaquam paenitenda; constet licet, Domitianum cupiditatis ac saevitiae merito poenas luisse.

T. Flavius Petro, municeps Reatinus, bello civili Pompeianarum partium centurio an evocatus, profugit ex Pharsalica, acie domumque se contulit, ubi deinde venia et missione impetrata coactiones argentarias factitavit. Huius filium, cognomine Sabinus, expers militiae (etsi quidem eum primipilarem, nonnulli, cum adhuc ordiens duceret, sacramento solutum per causam valitudinis tradunt) publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit; manebantque imagines a civitatibus ei positae sub hoc titulo: kalos telonesanti. Postea faenus apud Helvetios exercuit ibique diem obiit superstitibus uxore Vespasia Polla et duobus ex ea liberis, quorum maior Sabinus ad praefecturam urbis, minor Vespasianus ad principatum usque processit. Polla, Nursiae honesto genere orta, patrem habuit Vespasium Pollionem, ter tribunum militum praefectumque castrorum, fratrem senatorem praetoriae dignitatis. Locus etiam ad sextum miliarium a Nursia Spoletium euntibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiae, ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiae et vetustatis. Non negaverim iactatum a quibusdam Petronis patrem e regione Transpadana fuisse mancipem operarum, quae ex Umbria in Sabinos ad culturam agrorum quotannis commeare soleant; subsedissem autem in oppido Reatino, uxore ibidem ducta. Ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.

II. Vespasianus natus est in Sabinis ultra Reate vico modico, cui nomen est Phalacrinae, XV. kal. Dec. vesperi, Q. Sulpicio Camerino C. Poppaeo Sabino cons., quinquennio ante quam Augustus excederet; educatus sub paterna avia Tertulla in praediis Cosanis. Quare princeps quoque et locum incunabulorum assidue frequentavit, manente villa qualis fuerat olim, ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret; et aviae memoriam tanto opere dilexit, ut sollemnibus ac festis diebus pocillo quoque eius argenteo potare perseveraverit.

Sumpta virili toga, latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est, nec ut tandem appeteret compelli nisi a matre potuit. Ea demum extudit magis convicio quam precibus vel auctoritate, dum eum identidem per contumeliam anteambulonem fratris appellat.

Tribunatum in Thracia meruit; quaestor Cretam et Cyrenas provinciam sorte cepit; aedilitatis ac mox praeturae candidatus, illam non sine repulsa sectoque

vix adeptus est loco, hanc prima statim petitione et in primis; praetor infensum senatui Gaium ne quo non genere demeretur, ludos extraordinarios pro victoria eius Germanica depoposcit, poenaeque coniuratorum addendum censuit ut insepulti proicerentur. Egit et gratias ei apud amplissimum ordinem, quod se honore cenae dignatus esset.

III. Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statilii Capellae equitis R. Sabratensis ex Africa delicatam olim Latinaeque condicionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Rom. recipatorio iudicio pronuntiatam, patre asserente Flavio Liberale Ferenti genito nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorio scriba. Ex hac liberos tulit Titum et Domitianum et Domitillam. Vxori ac filiae superstes fuit, atque utramque adhuc privatus amisit. Post uxoris excessum Caenidem, Antoniae libertam et a manu, dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium, habuitque etiam imperator paene iustae uxoris loco.

IV. Claudio principe Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximan in dicionem redegit, partim Auli Plautii legati consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Quare triumphalia ornamenta et in brevi spatio duplex sacerdotium accepit, praeterea consulatum, quem gessit per duos novissimos anni menses. Medium tempus ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoque Narcissi amici perosam.

Exim sortitus Africam, integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administravit, nisi quod Hadrumeti seditione quadam rapa in eum iacta sunt. Rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui, prope labefactata iam fide, omnia praedia fratri obligaret necessariosque ad mangonicos quaestus sustinendae dignitatis causa descenderit; propte quod vulgo mulio vocabatur. Convictus quoque dicitur ducenta sestertia expressisse iuveni, cui latum clavum adversus patris voluntatem impetrarat, eoque nomine graviter increpitus.

Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantantem eo aut discederet saepius aut praesens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam, prohibitusque non contubernio modo sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quod latenti extrema metuenti provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatiis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu parvit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes, rebellaverunt, caesoque praeposito legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta aquila, fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimus delectus est, ut et industriae expertae nec metuendus ullo modo ob

humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos maiore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se, correcta statim castrorum disciplina, unoque et altero proelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scutoque sagittas aliquot exceperit.

V. Post Neronem Galbamque, Othone ac Vitellio de principatu certantibus, in spem imperii venit, iam pridem sibi per haec ostenta conceptam.

In suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua, quae erat Marti sacra, per tres Vespasiae partus, singulos repente ramos a frutice dedit, haud dubia signa futuri cuiusque fati: primum exilem et cito arefactum (ideoque puella nata non perennavit), secundum praevalidum ac prolixum et qui magnam felicitatem portenderet, tertium vero instar arboris. Quare patrem Sabinum ferunt, haruspicio insuper confirmatum, renuntiasse matri, nepotem ei Caesarem genitum; nec illam quicquam aliud quam cachinnasse, mirantem quod adhuc se mentis compote deliraret iam filius suus. Mox cum aedilem eum C. Caesar, succensens curam verrendis viis non adhibitam, luto iussisset oppleri congesto per milites in praetextae sinum, non defuerunt qui interpretarentur, quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem p. civili aliqua perturbatione in tutelam eius ac velut in gremium deventuram.

Prandente eo quondam, canis extrarius e trivio manum humanam intulit mensaeque subiecit. Cenante rursus bos arator decusso iugo triclinio irrupit, ac fugatis ministris quasi repente defessus procidit ad ipsos accumbentis pedes cervicemque summisit. Arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus atque prostrata, insequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit.

At in Achaia somniavit initium sibi suisque felicitates futurum, simul ac dens Neroni exemptus esset; evenitque ut sequenti die progressus in atrium medicus dentem ei ostenderet, tantumque quod exemptum.

Apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo, quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur; et unus ex nobilebus captivis Iosephus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore. Nuntiabantur et ex urbe praesagia, Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut tensam Iovis Optimi Maximi e sacrario in domus Vespasiani et inde in circum deduceret; ac non multo post, comitia secundi consulatus ineunte Galba, statuam Divi Iulii ad Orientem sponte conversam; acieque Betriacensi, prius quam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium conflixisse, victaque altera supervenisse tertiam ab solis exortum ac victricem abegisse.

VI. Nec tamen quicquam ante temptavit, promptissimis atque etiam

instantibus suis, quam sollicitatus quorundam et ignotorum et absentium fortuito favore.

Moesiaci exercitus bina e tribus legionibus milia, missa auxilio Othoni, postquam ingressis iter nuntiatum est victum eum ac vim vitae suae attulisse, nihilo setius Aquileiam usque perseveraverunt, quasi rumori minus crederent. Ibi per occasionem ac licentiam omni rapinarum genere grassati, cum timerent ne sibi reversis reddenda ratio ac subeunda poena esset, consilium inierunt eligendi creandique imperatoris; neque enim deteriores esse aut Hispaniensi exercitu qui Galbam, aut praetoriano qui Othonem, aut Germaniciano qui Vitellium fecissent. Propositis itaque nominibus legatorum consularium, quot ubique tunc erant, cum ceteros alium alia de causa improbarent, et quidam e legione tertia, quae sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Moesiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent, assensere cuncti nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. Et tunc quidem compressa res est, revocatis ad officium numeris parumper. Ceterum divulgato facto, Tiberius Alexander praefectus Aegypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kal. Iul., qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Iudaicus deinde exercitus V. Idus Iul. apud ipsum iuravit.

Plurimum coeptis contulerunt iactatum exemplar epistulae verae sive falsae defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum, extrema obtestatione ultionem mandatus et ut rei p. subveniret optantis; simul rumor dissipatus, destinasse victorem Vitellium permutate hiberna legionum et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam, praeterea ex praesidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus et e regibus Vologaesus Parthus; ille deposita simultate, quam in id tempus ex aemulatione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promisit exercitum, hic quadraginta milia sagittariorum.

VII. Suscepto igitur civili bello ac ducibus copiisque in Italiam praemissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Aegypti optineret. Hic cum de firmitate imperii capturus auspiciu aedem Serapidis summotis omnibus solus intrasset, ac propitiato multum deo tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque et panificia, ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est; quem neque admissum a quoquam et iam pridem propter nervorum valitudinem vix ingredi longeque abesse constabat. Ac statim advenere litterae, fusas apud Cremonam Vitelli copias, ipsum in urbe interemptum nuntiantes.

Auctoritas et quasi maiestas quaedam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deerat: haec quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valitudini demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restitutum oculos, si inspisset; confirmatum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset ullo

modo successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet, extremo hortantibus amicis palam pro contione utrumque temptavit, nec eventus vaticinantium effossa sunt sacrato loco vasa operis antiqui, atque in iis assimilis Vespasiano imago.

VIII. Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus, acto de Iudaeis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit; suscepit et censuram, ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem p. stabilire primo, deinde et ornare. Milites pars victoriae fiducia, pars ignominiae dolore ad omnes licentiam audaciamque processerant; sed et provinciae civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quaedam tumultuosius inter se agebant. Quare Vitellianorum quidem et exauctoravit plurimos et coercuit, participibus autem victoriae adeo nihil extra ordinem indulsit ut etiam legitima praemia sero persolverit. Ac ne quam occasionem corrigendi disciplinam praetermitteret, adulescentulum fragrantem unguento, cum sibi pro impetrata praefectura gratias ageret, nutu aspernatus voce etiam gravissima increpuit: "Maluisses allium oboluisse," litterasque revocavit; classarios vero, qui ab Ostia et Puteolis Romam pedibus per vices commeant, petentes constitui aliquid sibi calciarii nomine, quasi parum esset sine responso abegisse, iussit post haec excalciatos cursitare; et ex eo ita cursitant.

Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, libertate adempta, item Thraciam, Ciliciam et Commagenen, ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit. Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularemque rectorem imposuit pro eq. R.

Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; vacuas areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuiusque permisist. Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit; aerearumque tabulatum tria milia, quae simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.

IX. Fecit et nova opera templum Pacis foro proximum, Divique Claudii in Caelio monte coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum; item amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse compererat Augustum.

Amplissimos ordines et exhaustos caede varia et contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit supplevitque recenso senatu et equite, summotis indignissimis et honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium allecto. Atque uti notum esset, utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam dignitate

differre, de iurgio quodam senatoris equitisque R. ita pronuntiavit, non oportere maledici senatoribus, remaledici civile fasque esse.

X. Litium series ubique maiorem in modum excreverant, manentibus antiquis intercapedine iuris dictionis, accedentibus novis ex condicione tumultuque temporum; sorte elegit per quos rapta bello restituerentur quique iudicia centumvitalia, quibus peragendis vix suffectura litigatorum videbatur aetas, extra ordinem diiudicarent redigerentque ad brevissimum numerum.

XI. Libido atque luxuria coercente nullo invaluerant; auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur; neve filiorum familiarum faeneratoribus exigendi crediti ius umquam esset, ne post patrum quidem mortem.

XII. Ceteris in rebus statim ab initio principatus usque ad exitum civilis et clemens, mediocritatem pristinam neque dissimulavit umquam ac frequenter etiam prae se tulit. Quin et conantis quosdam originem Flavii generis ad conditores Reatinos comitemque Herculis, cuius monimentum exstat Salaria via, referre irrisit ultro. Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et taedio pompae non reticuerit, merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum maioribus suis aut speratum umquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset. Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem et patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit. Nam consuetudinem scrutandi salutantes manente adhuc bello civili omiserat.

XIII. Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit. Licinium Mucianum notae impudicitiae, sed meritorum fiducia minus sui reverentem, numquam nisi clam et hactenus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicum querens adderet clausulam: Ego tamen vir sum. Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere: Quid ad Caesarem, si Hipparchus sestertium milies habet? et ipse laudavit. Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post damnationem, ac neque assurgere neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit canem appellare.

XIV. Offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor executorve, Vitelli hostis sui filiam splendidissime maritavit, dotavit etiam et instruxit. Trepidum eum interdicta aula sub Nerone quaerentemque, quidnam ageret aut quo abiret, quidam ex officio admissionis simul expellens, abire Morboviam iusserat. In hunc postea deprecantem haud ultra verba excanduit, et quidem totidem fere atque eadem. Nam ut suspicione aliqua vel metu ad perniciem cuiusquam compelleretur tantum a fuit, ut monentibus amicis cavendum esse Mettium Pompusianum, quod vulgo crederetur genesin habere imperatoriam, insuper consulem fecerit, spondens quandoque beneficii memorem futurum.

XV. Non temere quis punitus insons reperietur, nisi absente eo et ignaro aut certe invito atque decepto. Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis paene in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde et interfici iussum, magni aestimavit servare quoquo modo, missis qui percussores revocarent; et servasset, nisi iam perisse falso renuntiatus esset. Certum neque caede cuiusquam umquam laetatus, iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit.

XVI. Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas. Non enim contentus omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse, novas et gravia addidisse, auxisse, tributa provinciis, nonnullis et duplicasse, negotiationem quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam, tantum ut pluris postea distraheret. Ne candidatis quidem honores, reisve tam innoxiiis quam nocentibus absolute venditare cunctatus est. Creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimus quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret; quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur uti, quod quasi et siccos madefaceret et exprimeret umentis.

Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata sibi gratuita libertate, quam imperium adeptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit vulpem pilum mutare, non mores. Sunt contra qui opinentur ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsam summa aerarii fisci inopia; de qua testificatus sit initio statim principatus, professus quadringenties milies opus esse, ut res p. stare posset. Quod et veri similis videtur, quando et male partis optime usus est.

XVII. In omne hominum genus liberalissimus explevit censum senatorium, consulares inopes quingenis sestertiis annuis sustentavit, plurimas per totum orbem civitates terrae motu aut incendio afflictas restituit in melius, ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit.

XVIII. Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit; praestantis poetas, nec non et artifices, Coae Veneris, item Colossi refectorem, insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit; mechanico quoque, grandis columnas exigua impensa perducturum in Capitolium pollicenti, praemium pro commento non mediocre optulit, operam remisit, praefatus sineret se plebiculam pascere.

XIX. Ludis, per quos scaena Marcelliani theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoque acroamata revocaverat. Apollinari tragoedo quadringenta, Terpnio Diodoroque citharoedis ducena, nonnullis centena, quibus minimum, quadragena sestertia insuper plurimas coronas aureas dedit. Sed et convivabatur assidue, ac

saepius recta et dapsile, ut macellarios adiuuaret. Dabat sicut Saturnalibus viris apophoreta, ita per Kal. Mart. feminis. Et tamen ne sic quidem pristina cupiditatis infamia caruit.

Alexandrini Cybiosacten eum vocare perseveraverunt, cognomine unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium, Sed et in funere Favor archimimus personam eius ferens imitansque, ut est mos, facta ac dicta vivi, interrogatis palam procuratoribus, quanti funus et pompa constaret, ut audiit, sestertio centiens, exclamavit, centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim proicerent.

XX. Statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris, vultu veluti nitentis: de quo quidam urbanorum non infacete, siquidem petenti, ut et in se aliquid diceret: “Dicam,” inquit, “cum ventrem exonerare desieris.” Valitudine prosperrima usus est, quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam fauces ceteraque membra sibimet ad numerum in sphaeristerio defricaret inediaque unius diei per singulos menses interponeret.

XXI. Ordinem vitae fere tenuit. In principatum maturius semper ac de nocte evigilabat; dein perlectis epistolis officiorumque omnium breviariis, amicos admittebat, ac dum salutabatur, et calciabat ipse se et amiciebat; postque decisa quaecumque obvenissent negotia, gestationi et inde quieti vacabat, accubante aliqua pallacarum, quas in locum defunctae Caenidis plurimas constituerat; a secreto in balineum tricliniumque transiliebat. Nec ullo tempore facilius aut indulgentior traditur, eaque momenta domestici ad aliquid petendum magno opere captabant.

XXII. Et super cenam autem et semper alias comissimus, multa ioco transigebat; erat enim dicacitatis plurimae, etsi scurrilis et sordidae, ut ne praetextatis quidem verbis abstineret. Et tamen nonnulla eius facetissima exstant, in quibus et haec. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo plaustra potius quam plostra dicenda, postero die Flaurum salutavit. Expugnatus autem a quadam, quasi amore suo deperiret, cum perductae pro concubitu sestertia quadringenta donasset, admonente dispensatore, quem ad modum summam rationibus vellet inferri, “Vespasiano,” inquit, “adamato”.

XXIII. Vtebatur et versibus Graecis tempestive satis, et de quodam procerae statucae improbiusque nato:

makra bibas, kradaon dolichoskion enchos.

et de Cerylo liberto, qui dives admodum ob subterfugiendum quandoque ius fisci ingenuum se et Lachetem mutato nomine coeperat ferre:

ho Laches, Laches,

epan apothanes, authis ex arches esei

sy kerylos.

Maxime tamen dicacitatem adfectabat in deformibus lucris, ut invidiam aliqua cavillatione dilueret transferretque ad sales. Quendam e caris ministris dispensationem cuidam quasi fratri petentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se vocavit; exactaque pecunia, quantam is cum suffragatore suo pepigerat, sine mora ordinavit; interpellanti mox ministro: Alium tibi, ait, quaere fratrem; hic, quem tuum putas, meus est. Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus ad calciandas mulas desiluisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium moramque praeberet, interrogavit quanti calciasset, et pactus est lucri partem. Reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur; et illo negante: Atqui, inquit, e lotio est. Nuntiantis legatos decretam ei publice non mediocris summae statuam colosseam, iussit vel continuo ponere, cavam manum ostentans et paratam basim dicens. Ac ne metu quidem ac periculo mortis extremo abstinuit iocis. Nam cum inter cetera prodigia Mausoleum derepente patuisset et stella crinita in caelo apparuisset, alterum ad Iuniam Calvinam e gente Augusti pertinere dicebat, Parthorum regem qui capillatus esset; prima quoque morbi accessione: Vae, inquit, puto, deus fio.

XXIV. Consulatu suo nono temptatus in Campania motiunculis levibus protinusque urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi aestivare quotannis solebat, petit. Hic cum super urgentem valitudinem creberrimo frigidae aquae usus etiam intestina vitiasset, nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, imperatorem, ait statem mori oportere; dumque consurgit ac mititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est VIII. Kal. Iul. annum agens aetatis sexagensimum ac nonum, superque mensem ac diem septimum.

XXV. Convenit inter omnis, tam certum eum de sua suorumque genitura semper fuisse, ut post assiduas in se coniurationes ausus sit adfirmare senatui, ut filios sibi successuros aut neminem. Dicitur etiam vidisse quondam per quietem stateram media parte vestibuli Palatinae domus positam examine aequo, cum in altera lance Claudius et Nero starent, in altera ipse ac filii. Nec res fefellit, quando totidem annis parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt.

VITA DIVI TITI

I. Titus cognomine paterno, amor ac deliciae generis humani, (tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii vel artis vel fortunae superfuit, et, quod difficillimum est, in imperio: quando privatus atque etiam sub patre principe ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit), natus est III. Kal. Ian. insigni anno Gaiana nece, prope Septizonium, sordidis aedibus, cubiculo vero perparvo et obscuro (nam manet adhuc et ostenditur);

II. educatus in aula cum Britannico simul, ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus. Quo quidem tempore aiunt metoposcopum, a Narcisso Claudii liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse, illud quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope astabat, utique imperaturum. Erant autem adeo familiares, ut de potionem, qua Britannicus hausta periit, Titus quoque iuxta cubans gustasse credatur gravius morbo adflictatus diu. Quorum omnium mox memor, statum ei auream in Palatio posuit, et alteram ex ebore equestrem, quae Circensi pompa hodieque praefertur, dedicavit prosecutusque est.

III. In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenduerunt, magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus; forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae, praecipuum robur, quamquam neque procera statura et ventre paulo prociore; memoria singularis, docilitas ad omnis fere tum bellum tum pacis artes. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, Latine Graeceque, vel in orando vel in fingentis poematibus, promptus et facilis ad extemporalitatem usque; sed ne musicae quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret et psalleret iucunde scienterque. E pluribus comperi, notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantem, imitarique chirographa quaecumque vidisset, ac saepe profiteri maximum falsarium esse potuisse.

IV. Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannis meruit summa industriae, nec minore modestiae fama, sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulus per utramque provinciam. Post stipendia foro operam dedit, honestam magis quam assiduam, eodemque tempore Arrecinam Tertullam, patre eq. R. sed praefecto quodam praetorianarum cohortium, duxit uxorem et in defunctae locum Marciam Furnillam splendidi generis; cum qua, sublata filia, divortium fecit.

Ex questurae deinde honore legioni praepositus, Taricheas et Gamalam urbes Iudaeae validissimas in potestate redegit, equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso alteroque inscenso, cuius rector circa se dimicans occubuerat.

V. Galba mox tenente rem p. missus ad gratulandum, quaqua iter convertit

homine, quasi adoptionis gratia arcesseretur. Sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit, redit ex itinere, aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est. Cuius brevi compos, et ad perdomandam Iudaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque ea natali filiae suae tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint et subinde decedentem provincia detinuerint nec non et minaciter efflagitantes, aut remaneret aut secum omnes pariter abduceret. Vnde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere a patre Orientisque regnum sibi vindicare temptasset; quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide diadema gestavit, de more quidem ritumque priscae religionis; sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur. Quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam inde contendit expeditissimus inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem, veni, inquit, pater, veni.

VI. Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere.

Triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit; receptaque ad se prope omnium officiorum cura (cum patris nomine et epistolas ipse dictares et edicta conscriberet orationesque in senatu recitaret etiam quaestoris vice) praefecturam quoque praetorii suscepit numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam, egitque aliquando incivilius et violentius. Siquidem suspectissimum quemque sibi, summissis qui per theatra et castra quasi consensu ad poenam deposceret, haud cunctanter oppressit. In his Aulum Caecinam consularem, vocatum ad cenam ac vixdum triclinio egressum, confodi iussit; sane urgente discrimine, cum etiam chirographus eius praeparatae apud milites contioni deprehendisset. Quibus rebus sicut in posterum securitati satis cavit, ita ad praesens plurimum contraxit invidiae, ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore magisque invitis omnibus transierit ad principatum.

VII. Praeter saevitiam suspecta in eo etiam luxuria erat, quod ad mediam noctem comissionem cum profusissimo quoque familiarum extenderet; nec minus libido, propter exoletorum et spadonum greges propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem, cum etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur; suspecta rapacitas, quod constabat in cognitionibus patris nundinari praemiarique solitum; deinde propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant. At illi ea fama pro bono cessit conversaque est in maximas laudes, neque vitio ullo reperto et contra virtutibus summis.

Convivia instituit iucunda magis quam profusa. Amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adquieverunt praecipueque sunt

usi. Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus, invitam. Quosdam e gratissimis delicorum, quamquam tam artifices saltationis, ut mox scaenam tenuerint, non modo fovere prolixius, sed spectare omnino in publico coetu supersedit. Nulli civium quicquam ademit; abstinuit alieno, ut si qui umquam, ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas conlationes recepit. Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor, amphitheatro dedicato thermisque iuxta celeriter exstructis, munus edidit apparatissimum largissimusque; dedit et navale proelium in veteri naumachia, ibidem et gladiatores atque uno die quinque milia omne genus ferarum.

VIII. Natura autem benivolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter rara non haberet, quam si eadem iisdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto, nec a se peti passus est. In certis vero desideriis hominum obstinatissime tenuit, ne quem sine spe dimitteret; quin et admonentibus domesticis, quasi plura polliceretur quam praestere posset, non oportere ait quemquam a semone principis tristem discedere; atque etiam recordatus quondam super cenam, quod nihil cuiquam toto die praestitisset, memorabilem illam meritoque laudatam vocem edidit: "Amici, diem perdidit."

Populum in primis universum tanta per omnes occasiones comitate tractavit, ut proposito gladiatorio munere, non ad suum, sed ad spectantium arbitrium editurum se professus sit; et plane ita fecit. Nam neque negavit quicquam petentibus et ut quae vellent peterent ultro adhortatus est. Quin et studium armaturae Thraecum prae se ferens, saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ut fautor cavillatus est, verum maiestate salva nec minus aequitate. Ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit.

Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesevi montis in Campania, et incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes, item pestilentia quanta non temere alias. In iis tot adversis ac talibus non modo principis sollicitudinem sed et parentis affectum unicum praestitit, nunc consolando per edicta, nunc opitulando quatenus suppeteret facultas. Curatores restituendae Campaniae consularium numero sorte duxit; bona oppressorum in Vesevo, quorum heredes non exstabant, restitutioni afflictarum civitatum attribuit. Vbis incendio nihil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus, cuncta praetorium suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit praeposuitque complures ex equestri ordine, quo quaeque maturius paragerentur. Medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis nullam divinam humanamque opem non adhibuit, inquisito omni sacrificiorum remediorumque genere.

Inter adversa temporum et delatores mandatoresque erant ex licentia veteri. Hos assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri arenam, partim subici ac venire imperavit, partim in asperrima

insularum avehi. Vtque etiam similia quandoque ausuros perpetuo coerceret, vetuit inter cetera de eadem re pluribus legibus agi, quaerive de cuiusquam defunctorum statu ultra certos annos.

IX. Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut puras servaret manus, fidem praestitis, nec auctorem posthac cuiusquam necis nec conscius, quamvis interdum ulciscenti causa non deesset, sed periturum se potius quam perditurum adiurans. Duos patricii generis convicto in adfectionem imperii, nihil amplius quam ut desisteret monuit, docens principatum fato dati, si quid praeterea desiderarent, promitteres se tributurum; et confestim quidem at alterius matrem, quae procul aberat, cursore suos misit, qui anxiae salvum filium nuntiarent; ceterum ipsos non solum familiari cenae adhibuit, sed et insequenti die gladiatorum spectaculo circa se ex industria conlocatis ablata sibi ferramenta pugnantium inspicienda porrexit. Dicitur etiam cognita utriusque genitura imminere ambobus periculum adfirmasse, verum quandoque et ab alio; sicut evenit.

Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem, sed paene ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, neque occidere neque seponere ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit, sed, ut a primo imperii die, consorte successoremque testari perseveravit, nonnumquam secreto precibus et lacrimis orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse.

X. Inter haec morte praeventus est, maiore hominum damno quam suo. Spectaculis absolutis, in quorum fine populo coram ubertim fleverat, Sabinos petiit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat quodque tempestate serena tonuerat. Deinde ad primam statim mansionem febrim nactus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis caelum, multumque conquestus eripi sibi vitam immerenti; neque enim exstare ullum suum factum paenitendum, excepto dum taxat uno. Id quale fuerit, neque ipse tunc prodidit neque cuiquam facile succurrat. Quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum, quam cum fratris uxore habuerit; sed nullam habuisse, persancte Domitia iurabat: haud negatura, si qua omnino fuisset, immo etiam gloriatura, quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris.

XI. Excessit in eadem qua pater villa Id. Septb. post biennium ac menses duos diesque XX. quam successerat patri, altero et quadragesimo aetatis anno. Quod ut palam factum est, non secus atque in domestico luctu maerentibus publice cunctis, senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ad curiam concurret, obseratisque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congressit, quantas ne vivo quidem umquam atque praesenti.

VITA DOMITIANI

I. Domitianus natus est VIII. Kal. Novemb. patre consule designato inituroque mense insequenti honorem, regione urbis sexta ad Malum Punicum, domo quam postea in templum gentis Flaviae convertit. Pubertatis ac primae adulescentiae tempus tanta inopia tantaque infamia gessisse fertur, ut nullum argenteum vas in usu haberet; satique constat Clodium Pollionem praetorium virum, in quem est poema Neronis quod inscribitur Luscio, chirographum eius conversasse et nonnumquam protulisse noctem sibi pollicentis; nec defuerunt qui affirmarent, corruptum Domitianum et a Nerva successore mox suo. Bello Vitelliano confugit in Capitolium cum patruo Sabino ac parte praesentium copiarum, sed irrumpentibus adversariis et ardente templo apud aedituum clam pernoctavit, ac mane Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos variae superstitionis, cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipuli sui matrem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit, ut scrutantibus qui vestigia subsecuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit. Post victoriam demum progressus et Caesar consalutatus, honorem praeturae urbanae consulari potestate suscepit titulo tenus (nam iuris dictionem ad collegam proximum transtulit); ceterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut iam tum qualis esset ostenderet. Ne exsequar singula, contrectatis multorum uxoribus, Domitiam Longinam Aelio Lamiae nuptam etiam in matrimonium abduxit, atque uno die super XX. officia urbana aut peregrina distribuit, mirari se Vespasiano dictitante, quod successorem non et sibi mitteret.

II. Expeditionem quoque in Galliam Germaniasque neque necessariam et dissuadentibus paternis amicis inchoavit, tantum ut fratri se et opibus et dignatione adaequaret.

Ob haec correptum, quo magis et aetatis et condicionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una, sellamque eius ac fratris, quotiens prodirent, lectica sequebatur ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est. In sex consulatibus non nisi unum ordinarium gessit, eumque cedente ac suffragante fratre. Simulavit et ipse mire modestiam, in primisque poeticae studium, tam insuentum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum, recitavitque etiam publice. Nec tamen eo setius, cum Vologaesus Parthorum rex auxilia adversus Alanos ducemque alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depoposcisset, omni ope contendit ut ipse potissimus mitteretur; et quia discussa res est, alios Orientes reges ut idem postularent donis ac pollicitationibus sollicitare temptavit. Patre defuncto, diu cunctatus an duplum donativum militi offerret, numquam iactare dubitavit relictum se participem imperii, sed fraudem testamento adhibitam; neque

cessavit ex eo insidias struere fratri clam palamque, quoad correptum gravi valitudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseri iussit; defunctumque nullo praeterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, saepe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis.

III. Inter initia principatus cotidie secretum sibi horarum sumere solebat, nec quicquam amplius quam muscas captare ac stilo praeacuto configere; ut cuidam interroganti, essetne quis intus cum Caesare, non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo, ne muscam quidem. Deinde uxorem Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatus filium tulerat duxit, alteroque anno consalutavit Augustam; eandem, Paridis histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit, intraque breve tempus impatiens discidii, quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit. Circa administrationem autem imperii aliquamdiu se varium praestitit, mixtura quoque aequabili vitiorum atque virtutum; donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit: quantum coniectare licet, super ingenii naturam inopia rapax, metu saevus.

IV. Spectacula assidue magnifica et sumptuosa edidit non in amphitheatro modo, verum et in circo; ubi praeter sollemnes bigarum quadrigarumque cursus proelium etiam duplex, equestre ac pedestre, commisit; at in amphitheatro navale quoque. Nam venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos; nec virorum modo pugnas, sed et feminarum. Praeterea quaestoriis muneribus, quae olim omissa revocaverat, ita semper interfuit, ut populo potestatem faceret bina paria e suo ludo postulandi, eaque novissima aulico apparatu induceret. Ac per omne gladiatorum spectaculum ante pedes ei stabat puerulus coccinatus parvo portentosoque capite, cum quo plurimum fabulabatur, nonnumquam serio. Auditus est certe, dum ex eo quaerit, ecquid sciret, cur sibi virum esset ordinatione proxima Aegypto praeficere Maecium Rufum. Edidit navales pugnas paene iustarum classium, effosso et circumstructo iuxta Tiberim lacu, atque inter maximos imbres perspectavit.

Fecit et ludos Saeculares, computata ratione temporum at annum non quo Claudius proxime, sed quo olim Augustus ediderat; in iis circensium die, quo facilius centum missus peragerentur, singulos a septenis spatiis ad quina corripuit.

Instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum, equestre, gymnicum, et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronatorum. Certabant enim et prosa oratione Graece Latineque, ac praeter citharoedos chorocitharistae quoque et psilocitharistae; in stadio vero cursu etiam virgines. Certamini praesedit crepidatus purpureaque amictus toga Graecanica capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Iovis ac Iunonis Minervaeque; adsidentibus Diali sacerdote et collegio Flavialium pari habitu, nisi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipsius imago. Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae, cui collegium

instituerat, ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur ederentque eximias venationes et scaenicos ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina. Congiarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit, atque inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum. Septimontiali sacro quidem, senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis, initium vescendi primus fecit; dieque proximo omne genus rerum missilia sparsit, et quia pars maior intra popularia decidebat, quinquagenas tesseras in singulos cuneos equestris ac senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit.

V. Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit aedem in Capitolio Custodi Iovi, et forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur, item Flaviae templum gentis et stadium et Odeum et naumachiam, e cuius postea lapide maximus circus, deustis utrimque lateribus, exstructus est.

VI. Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario: sponte in Chattos, necessario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato simul caesa, in Dacos duas, primam Oppio Sabino consulari oppresso, secundam Cornelio Fusco, praefecto cohortium praetorianarum, cui belli summam commiserat. De Chattis Dacisque post varia proelia duplicem triumphum egit. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Iovi rettulit. Bellum civile motum a L. Antonio, superioris Germaniae praeside, confecit absens felicitate mira, cum ipsa dimicationis hora resolutus repente Rhenum transituras ad Antonium copias barbarorum inhibuisset. De qua victoria praesagiis prius quam nuntiis comperit, siquidem ipso quo dimicatum erat die statuam eius Romae insignis aquila circumplexa pinnis clangores laetissimos edidit; pauloque post accisum Antonium adeo vulgatum est, ut caput quoque adportatum eius vidisse se plerique contenderet.

VII. Multa etiam in communi rerum usu novavit: sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudine; duas circensibus gregum factiones aurati purpureique panni ad quattuor pristinas addidit; interdixit histrionibus scaenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem iure concesso; castrari mares vetuit; spadonum, qui residui apud mangones erant, pretia moderatus est. Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio neglegi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta ubi plurimum dimidia parte; nec exsequi rem perseveravit. Quaedam ex maximis officiis inter libertinos equitesque R. communicavit. Geminari legionum castra prohibuit, nec plus quam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi; quod L. Antonium apud duarum legionum hiberna res novas moliens fiduciam cepisse etiam ex depositorum summa videbatur. Addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos.

VIII. Ius diligenter et industrie dixit, plerumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem; ambitiosas centumvirorum sententias rescidit; recipitatores, ne se perfusoriis assertionibus accommodarent, identidem admonuit; nummarios iudices cum suo quemque consilio notavit. Auctor et tr. pl. fuit aedilem sordium repetundarum accusandi iudicesque in eu a senatu petendi. Magistratibus quoque urbicis provinciarumque praesidibus coercendis tantum curae adhibuit, ut neque modestiores umquam neque iustiore extiterint; e quibus plerosque post illum reos omnium criminum vidimus. Suscepta correctione morum, licentiam theatralem promiscue in equitem spectandi inhibuit; scripta famosa vulgoque edita, quibus primores viri ac feminae notabantur, abolevit, non sine auctorum ignominia; quaestorium virum, quod gesticulandi saltandique studio teneretur, movit senatu: probrosis feminis lecticae usum ademit iusque capiendi legata hereditatesque; equitem R. ob reductam in matrimonium uxorem, cui dimissae adulterii crimen intenderat, erasit iudicum albo; quosdam ex utroque ordine lege Scantinia condemnavit; incesta Vestalium virginum, a patre quoque suo et fratre neglecta, varie ac severe coercuit, priora capitali supplicio, posteriora more veteri.

Nam cum Oculatis sororibus, item Varronillae liberum mortis permisisset arbitrium corruptoresque earum relegasset, mox Corneliam maximam virginem, absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit, stupratoresque virgis in comitio ad necem caedi, excepto praetorio viro; cui, dubia etiam tum causa et incertis quaestionibus atque tormentis de semet professo, exilium indulsit. Ac ne qua religio deum impune contaminaretur, monimentum, quod libertus eius e lapidibus templo Capitolini Iovis destinatis filio exstruxerat, diruit per milites, ossaque et reliquias quae inerant mari mersit.

IX. Inter initia usque adeo ab omni caede abhorrebat, ut absente adhuc patre recordatus Virgilii versum:

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenis.

edicere destinarit, ne boves immolarentur. Cupiditatis quoque atque avaritiae vix suspicionem ullam aut privatus umquam aut princeps aliquamdiu dedit, immo e diverso magna saepe non abstinentiae modo sed etiam liberalitatis experimenta. Omnis circa se largissime prosecutus, nihil prius aut acrius monuit quam ne quid sordide faceret. Relictas sibi hereditates ab iis, quibus liberi erant, non recepit. Legatum etiam ex testamento Rusci Caepionis, qui caverat ut quotannis ingredientibus curiam senatoribus certam summam viritim praestare heres suus, irritum fecit. Reos, qui ante quinquennium proximum apud aerarium pependissent, universos discrimine liberavit, nec repeti nisi intra annum eaque

condicione permisit, ut accusatori qui causam non teneret exilium poena esset. Scribas quaestorios negotiantes, ex consuetudine sed contra Clodiam legem, venia in praeteritum donavit. Subsiciva, quae divisis per veteranos agris carptim superfuerunt, veteribus possessoribus ut usu capta concessit. Fiscales calumnias magna calumniantium poena repressit, ferebaturque vox eius: “princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.”

X. Sed neque in clementiae neque in abstinentiae tenore permansit, et tamen aliquanto celerius ad saevitiam descivit quam ad cupiditatem. Discipulum Paridis pantomimi impuberem adhuc et cum maxime aegrum, quod arte formaque non absimilis magistro videbatur, occidit; item Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historia figuras, librariis etiam, qui eam descripserat, cruci fixis. Patrem familias, quod Thraecem myrmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e spectaculis in harenam, canibus obiecit, cum hoc titulo: Impie locutus parmularius.

Complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus Civicam Cerealem in ipso Asiae proconsulatu, Salvidienum Orfitum, Acilium Glabrimonem in exilio, quasi molitores rerum novarum; ceteros levissima quemque de causa; Aelium Lamiam ob suspiciosos quidem, verum et veteres et innoxios iocos, quod post abductam uxorem laudanti vocem suam “eutacto” dixerat, quodque Tito hortanti se de alterum matrimonium responderat: Me kai sy gamesai theleis; Salvium Cocceianum, quod Othonis imperatoris patrui sui diem natalem celebraverat; Mettium Pomposianum, quod habere imperatoriam genesim vulgo ferebatur, et quod depictum orbem terrae in membrana contionesque regum ac ducum ex Tito Livio circumferret, quodque servis nomina Magonis et Hannibalis indidisset; Sallustium Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset; Iunium Rusticum, quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros; cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summovit. Occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scaenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset; Flavium Sabinum alterum e patruelibus, quod eum comitiorum consularium die destinatum perperam praeco non consulem ad populum, sed imperatorem pronuntiasset. Verum aliquando post civilis belli victoriam saevior, plerosque parvis adversae, dum etiam latentes conscios investigat, novo questionis genere distortis, immisso per obscaena igne; nonnullis et manus amputavit. Satisque constat, duos dolos e notioribus venia donatos, tribunum laticlavium et centurionem, qui se, quo facilius expertes culpa ostenderet, impudicos probaverant et ob id neque apud ducem neque apud milites ullius momenti esse potuisse.

XI. Erat autem non solum magnae, sed etiam callidae inopinataeque saevitiae. Auctorem summarum pridie quam cruci figeret in cubiculum vocavit, assidere in toro iuxta coegit, securum hilaremque dimisit, partibus etiam de cena dignatus est. Arrecinum Clementem consularem, unum e familiaribus et emissariis suis, capitis condemnaturus, in eadem vel etiam maiore gratia habuit, quoad novissime simul gestanti, conspecto delatore eius, “Vis, inquit, nequissimum servum cras audiamus?”

Et quo contemptius abuteretur potentia hominum, numquam tristiores sententiam sine praefatione clementiae pronuntiavit, ut non aliud iam certius atrocis exitus signum esset quam principii lenitas. Quosdam maiestatis reos in curiam induxerat, et cum praedixisset, experturum se illa die quam carus senatui esset, facile perfecerat ut etiam more maiorum puniendi condemnarentur; deinde atrocitate poenae conterritus, ad leniendam invidiam, intercessit his verbis (neque enim ab re fuit ipsa cognoscere): “Permittite, patres conscripti, a pietate vestra impetrari, quod scio me difficulter impetraturum, ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgentis; nam et parcetis oculis vestris et intellegent me omnes senatui interfuisse.”

XII. Exhaustus operum ac munerum impensis stipendioque, quod adiecerat, temptavit quidem ad relevandos castrenses sumptus, numerum militum deminuere; sed cum et obnoxium se barbaris per hoc animadverteret neque eo setius in explicandis oneribus haereret, nihil pensi habuit quin praedaretur omni modo. Bona vivorum ac mortuorum usquequaque quolibet et accusatore et crimine corripiebantur. Satis erat obici quaecumque factum dictumve adversus maiestatem principis. Confiscabantur alienissimae hereditates vel uno existente, qui diceret audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi Caesarem esse. Praeter ceteros Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam, vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex an circumsectus esset. Ab iuventa minime civilis animi, confidens etiam, et cum verbis tum rebus immodicum, Caenidi patris concubinae, ex Histria reversae osculumque ut assuerat offerenti, manum praebuit; generum fratris indigne ferens albatos et ipsum ministros habere, proclamavit:

ouk agathon polykoiranie.

XIII. Principatum vero adeptus, neque in senatu iactare dubitavit, et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illo sibi reddidisse; neque in reducenda post divortium uxore edicere revocatam eam in pulvinar suum. Adclamari etiam in amphitheatro epuli die libenter audiit: Domino et dominae feliciter! Sed et Capitolino certamine cunctos ingenti consensus precantes, ut Palfurium Suram

restitueret, pulsum olim senatu ac tunc de oratoribus coronatum, nullo responso dignatus, tacere tantum modo iussit voce praeconis. Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: “Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet.” Vnde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter. Status sibi in Capitolino non nisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit ac ponderi certi. Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot exstruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: arkei.

Consulatus septemdecim cepit, quot ante eum nemo; ex quibus septem medios continuavit, omnes autem paene titulo tenus gessit, nec quemquam ultra Kal. Mai., plerosque ad Idus usque Ianuarias. Post autem duos triumphos Germanici cognomine assumpto Septembrem mensem et Octobrem ex appellationibus suis Germanico Domitianumque transnominavit, quod altero suscepisset imperium, altero natus esset.

XIV. Per haec terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est amicorum libertorumque intimorum conspiratione, simul et uxoris. Annum diemque ultimum vitae iam pridem suspectum habebat, horam etiam, nec non et genus mortis. Adulescentulo Chaldaei cuncta praedixerant; pater quoque super cenam quondam fungis abstinentem palam irriserat ut ignarum sortis suae, quod non ferrum potius timeret. Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis etiam suspicionibus praeter modum commovebatur; ut edicti de excidendis vineis propositi gratiam faceret, non alia magis re compulsus creditur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant:

Kan me phages epi rhizan, homos eti karpophoreso
Hosson epispeisai soi, trage, thyomenoi.

Eadem formidine oblatum a senatum novum et excogitatum honorem, quamquam omnium talium appetentissimus, recusavit, quo decretum erat ut, quotiens gereret consulatum, equites R. quibus sors obtigisset, trabeati et cum hastis militaribus praecederent eum inter lictores apparitoresque.

Tempore vero suspecti periculi appropinquante sollicitior in dies porticum, in quibus spatium consuevit, parietes phengite lapide distinxit, e cuius splendore per imagines quidquid a tergo fieret provideret. Nec nisi secreto atque solus plerasque custodias, receptis quidem in manum catenis, audiebat. Utque domesticis persuaderet, ne bono quidem exemplo audendam esse patroni necem, Epaphroditum a libellis capitali poena condemnavit, quod post destitutionem Nero in adipiscenda morte manu eius adiutus existimabatur.

XV. Denique Flavium Clementem patruelem suum, contemptissimae inertiae,

cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat abolitoque priore nomine alterum Vespasianum appellari iusserat, alterum Domitianum, repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso eius consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium.

Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit: “Ferat iam, quem volet.” Tactum de caelo Capitolium templumque Flaviae gentis, item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius, atque etiam e basi statuae triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellae in monumentum proximum decidit. Arbor, quae privato adhuc Vespasiano eversa surrexerat, tunc rursus repente corruit. Praenestina Fortuna, toto imperii spatio annum novum commendanti laetam eandemque semper sortem dare assueta, extremo tristissimam reddidit nec sine sanguinis mentione.

Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario ***** negantemque ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Iove. Nulla tamen re perinde commotus est, quam responso casuque Ascleptarionis mathematici. Hunc delatum nec infitiantem, iactasse se quae providisset ex arte, sciscitatus est, quis ipsum maneret exitus; et affirmantem fore ut brevi laceraretur a canibus, interfici quidem sine mora, sed ad coarguendam temeritatem artis sepeliri quoque accuratissime imperavit. Quod cum fieret, evenit ut, repentina tempestate deiecto funere, semiustum cadaver discerperent canes, idque ei cenanti a mimo Latino, qui praeteriens forte animadverterat, inter ceteras diei fabulas referretur.

XVI. Pridie quam periret, cum oblatos tubures servari iussisset crastinum, adiecit: “Si modo uti licuerit,” et conversus ad proximos affirmavit, fore ut sequenti die luna se in aquario cruentaret factumque aliquod existeret, de quo loquerentur homines per terrarum orbem. At circa mediam noctem ita est exterritus ut et strato prosiliret. Dehinc mane haruspitem ex Germania missum, qui consultus de fulgure mutationem rerum praedixerat, audiit condemnavitque. Ac dum exulceratam in fronte verrucam vehementius scalpit, profluente sanguine, “Vtinam,” inquit, “hactenus.” Tunc horas requirenti pro quinta, quam metuebat, sexta ex industria nuntiata est. His velut transacto iam periculo laetum festinantemque ad corporis curam Parthenius cubiculo praepositus convertit, nuntians esse qui magnum nescio quid afferret, nec differendum. Itaque summotis omnibus, in cubiculum se recepit atque ibi occisus est.

XVII. De insidiarum caedisque genere haec fere divulgata sunt. Cunctantibus conspiratis, quanto et quo modo, id est lavantemne an cenantem, adgrederentur, Stephanus, Domitillae procurator, et tunc interceptarum pecuniarum reus, consilium operamque optulit. Ac sinisteriore brachio, velut aegro, lanis fasciisque per aliquot dies ad avertendam suspicionem obvoluto, ad ipsam horam dolorem interiecit; professusque conspiracy indiciu et ob hos admissus,

legenti traditum a se libellum et attonito suffodit inguina. Saucium ac repugnantem adorti Clodianus cornicularius et Maximus Partheni libertus et Satur decurio cubiculariorum et quidam e gladiatorio ludo vulneribus septem contrucidarunt.

Puer, qui arae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit caedi, hoc amplius narrabat, iussum se a Domitiano ad primum statim vulnus pugionem pulvino subditum porrigere ac ministros vocare, neque ad caput quidquam excepto capulo, et praeterea clausa omnia repperisse; atque illum interim arrepto deductoque ad terram Stephano colluctatum diu, dum modo ferrum extorquere, modo quamquam laniatis digitis oculos effodere conatur. Occisus est XIII. Kal. Octob. anno aetatis quadragensimo quinto, imperii quinto decimo. Cadaver eius populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina via funeravit, sed reliquias templo Flaviae gentis clam intulit cineribusque Iuliae Titi filiae, quam et ipsam educarat, conmiscuit.

XVIII. Statura fuit procera, vultu modesto ruborisque pleno, grandibus oculis, verum acie hebetiore; praeterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in iuventa, et quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores habebat; postea calvitio quoque deformis et obesitate ventris et crurum gracilitate, quae tamen ei valitudine longa remacruerant. Commendari se verecundia oris adeo sentiebat, ut apud senatum sic quondam iactaverit: “Vsque adhuc certe et animum meum probastis et vultum.” Calvitio ita offendebatur, ut in contumeliam suam traheret, si cui alii ioco vel iurgio obiectaretur; quamvis libello, quem de cura capillorum ad amicum edidit, haec etiam, simul illum seque consolans, inserverit:
ouch horaais oios kago kalos te megas te?

Eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in adulescentia senescentem. Scias nec gratius quicquam decore nec brevis.

XIX. Laboris impatiens, pedibus per urbem non temere ambulavit, in expeditione et agmine equo rarius, lectica assidue vectus est. Armorum nullo, sagittarum vel praecipuo studio tenebatur. Centenas variis generis feras saepe in Albano secessu conficientem spectavere plerisque, atque etiam ex industria ita quarundam capita figentem, ut duobus ictibus quasi cornus efficeret. Nonnumquam in pueri procul in stantis praebentisque pro scopulo dispansam dexteræ manus palmam, sagittas tanta arte derexit, ut omnes per intervalla digitorum innocue evaderent.

XX. Liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandream qui describerent emendarentque. Numquam tamen aut

historiae carminibusque noscendis operam ullam aut stilo vel necessario dedit. Praeter commentarios et acta Tiberii Caesaris nihil lectitabat; epistolas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio. Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis, dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, “Vellem,” inquit, “tam formosus esse, quam Maetius sibi videtur”; et cuiusdam caput varietate capilli subrutilum et incanum, perfusas nivem mulso dixit; condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat, quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.

XXI. Quotiens otium esset, alea se oblectabat, etiam profestis diebus matutinisque horis, ac lavabat de die, prandebatque ad satietatem, ut non temere super cenam praeter Matianum malum et modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumeret. Convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed paene raptim; certe non ultra solis occasum, nec ut postea comisaretur. Nam ad horam somni nihil aliud quam solus secreto deambulabat.

XXII. Libidinis nimiae, assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus clinopalen vocabat; eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse develleret nataretque inter vulgatissimas meretrices. Fratris filiam, adhuc virginem oblatam in matrimonium sibi cum devictus Domitiae nuptiis pertinacissime recusasset, non multo post alii conlocatam, corripit ultro et quidem vivo etiam tum Tito, mox patre ac viro orbatam ardentissime palamque dilexit, ut etiam causa mortis extiterit coactae conceptum a se abigere.

XXIII. Occisum eum populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tulit statimque Divum appellare conatus est, paratus et ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent; quod quidem paulo post fecit, expostulatis ad poenam pertinacissime caedis auctoribus. Contra senatus adeo laetatus est, ut repleta certatim curia non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo adclamationum genere laceraret, scalas etiam inferri clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi iuberet, novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnes memoriam decerneret. Ante paucos quam occideretur menses cornix in Capitolino elocuta est: Estai panta kalos, nec defuit qui ostentum sic interpretaretur:

Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix,
“est bene” non potuit dicere, dixit: “erit”.

Ipsam etiam Domitianum ferunt somniasse gibbam sibi pone cervicem auream enatam, pro certoque habuisse beatiorem post se laetiolemque portendi rei publicae statum, sicut sane brevi evenit abstinentia et moderatione insequentium principum.

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS



CONTENTS

[DE GRAMMATICIS](#)

[DE RHETORIBVS](#)

[DE POETIS](#)

[VITA TERENCE](#)

[VITA VERGILII](#)

[VITA HORATII](#)

[VITA TIBULLI](#)

[VITA AULII PERSII FLACCI](#)

[VITA LUCANI](#)

[DE HISTORICIS](#)

[VITA PLINII SECUNDI](#)

[VITA PASSIENII CRISPI](#)

DE GRAMMATICIS

[1] Grammatica Romae ne in usu quidem olim, nedum in honore ullo erat, rudi scilicet ac bellicosa etiam tum civitate, necdum magnopere liberalibus disciplinis vacante. Initium quoque eius mediocre extitit, siquidem antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetae et semigraeci erant, (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est) nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretabantur, aut si quid ipsi Latine composuissent praelegebant. Nam quod nonnulli tradunt duos libros de litteris syllabisque, item de metris ab eodem Ennio editos, iure arguit L. Cotta non poetae sed posterioris Ennii esse, cuius etiam de augurandi disciplina volumina ferantur.

[2] Primus igitur, quantum opinamur, studium grammaticae in urbem intulit Crates Mallotes, Aristarchi aequalis, qui missus ad senatum ab Attalo rege inter secundum ac tertium Punicum bellum sub ipsam Ennii mortem, cum regione Palatii prolapsus in cloacae foramen crus fregisset, per omne legationis simul et valitudinis tempus plurimas acroasis subinde fecit assidueque disseruit, ac nostris exemplo fuit ad imitandum. Hactenus tamen imitati, ut carmina parum adhuc divulgata vel defunctorum amicorum vel si quorum aliorum probassent, diligentius retractarent ac legendo commentandoque etiam ceteris nota facerent; ut C. Octavius Lampadio Naevii Punicum bellum, quod uno volumine et continenti scriptura expositum divisit in septem libros: ut postea Q. Vargunteius annales Ennii, quos certis diebus in magna frequentia pronuntiabat; ut Laelius Archelaus Vettiasque Philocomus Lucilii satyras familiaris sui, quas legisse se apud Archelaum Pompeius Lenaeus, apud Philocomum Valerius Cato praedicant.

[3] Instruxerunt auxeruntque ab omni parte grammaticam L. Aelius Lanuvinus generique Aelii Ser. Clodius, uterque eques Ro. multique ac varii et in doctrina et in re p. usus. Aelius cognomine duplici fuit; nam et Praeconinus, quod pater eius praeconium fecerat, vocabatur, et Stilo, quod orationes nobilissimo cuique scribere solebat; tantus optimatum fautor, ut Metellum Numidicum in exilium comitatus sit. Servius cum librum soceri nondum editum fraude intercepisset, et ob hoc repudiatus pudore ac taedio secessisset ab urbe, in podagrae morbum incidit; cuius impatiens veneno sibi perunxit pedes et enecuit ita, ut parte ea corporis quasi praemortua viveret.

Posthac magis ac magis et gratia et cura artis increvit, ut ne clarissimi quidem viri abstinuerint quo minus et ipsi aliquid de ea scriberent, utque temporibus quibusdam super viginti celebres scholae fuisse in urbe tradantur; pretia vero grammaticorum tanta mercedesque tam magnae, ut constet Lutatium

Daphnidem, quem Laevius Melissus per cavillationem nominis Panos agasma dicit, DCC. milibus nummum a Q. M. Catulo emptum ac brevi manumissum, L. Apuleium ab Eficio Calvino equite Romano praedivite quadringenis annuis *conductos multos edoceret. Nam in provincias quoque grammatica penetraverat, ac nonnulli de notissimis doctoribus peregre docuerunt, maxime in Gallia Togata; inter quos Octavius Teucer et Pescennius Iaccus et Oppius Chares; hic quidem ad ultimam aetatem, et cum iam non ingressu modo deficeretur sed et visu.

[4] Appellatio grammaticorum Graeca consuetudine invaluit; sed initio litterati vocabantur. Cornelius quoque Nepos libello quo distinguit litteratum ab erudito, litteratos quidem vulgo appellari ait eos qui aliquid diligenter et acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere, ceterum proprie sic appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Graecis grammatici nominentur. Eisdem litteratores vocitatos Messala Corvinus in quadam epistola ostendit, *non esse sibi* dicens *rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum Ticide quidem aut litteratore Catone*; significat enim haud dubie Valerium Catonem, poetam simul grammaticumque notissimum. Sunt qui litteratum a litteratore distinguant, ut Graeci grammaticum a grammatista, et illum quidem absolute, hunc mediocriter doctum existiment. Quorum opinionem Orbilius etiam exemplis confirmat; namque *apud maiores* ait, *cum familia alicuius venalis produceretur, non temere litteratum in titulo, sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse, quasi non perfectum litteris, sed imbutum.*

Veteres grammatici et rhetoricam docebant, ac multorum de utraque arte commentarii feruntur. Secundum quam consuetudinem posteriores quoque existimo, quanquam iam discretis professionibus, nihilo minus vel retinuisse vel instituisse et ipsos quaedam genera institutionum ad eloquentiam praeparandam, ut problemata, paraphrasis, allocutiones, ethologias atque alia hoc genus; ne scilicet sicci omnino atque aridi pueri rhetoribus traderentur. Quae quidem omitti iam video, desidia quorundam et infantia; non enim fastidio putem. Me quidem adolescentulo, repeto quendam Principem nomine alternis diebus declamare, alternis disputare, nonnullis vero mane disserere, post meridiem remoto pulpito declamare solitum. Audiebam etiam, memoria patrum quosdam e grammatici statim ludo transisse in forum atque in numerum praestantissimorum patronorum receptos.

Clari professores et de quibus prodi possit aliquid dum taxat a nobis fere hi fuerunt.

[5] Sevius Nicanor primus ad famam dignationemque docendo pervenit, fecitque praeter commentarios, quorum tamen pars maxima intercepta dicitur, satyram quoque, in qua libertinum se ac duplici cognomine esse per haec indicat:

*Sevius Nicanor Marci libertus negabit:
Sevius post huius * idem ac Marcus docebit.*

Sunt qui tradant, ob infamiam quandam eum in Sardiniam secessisse ibique diem obisse.

[6] Aurelius Opilius, Epicurei cuiusdam libertus, philosophiam primo, deinde rhetoricam, novissime grammaticam docuit. Dimissa autem schola, Rutilium Rafum damnatum in Asiam secutus, ibidem Smyrnae simul consenuit, composuitque variae eruditionis aliquot volumina, *ex quibus novem unius corporis, quia scriptores ac poetas sub clientela Musarum iudicaret, non absurde et fecisse et scripsisse se ait ex numero divarum et appellatione.* Huius cognomen in plerisque indicibus et titulis per unam L litteram scriptum animadverto, verum ipse id per duas effert in parastichide libelli, qui inscribitur pinax.

[7] M. Antonius. Gniphio, ingenuus in Gallia natus sed expositus, a nutritore suo manumissus institutusque (Alexandriae quidem, ut aliqui tradunt, in contubernio Dionysi Scytobrachionis: quod equidem non temere crediderim, cum temporum ratio vix congruat) fuisse dicitur ingenii magni, memoriae singularis, nec minus Graece quam Latine doctus; praeterea comi facilique natura, nec unquam de mercedibus pactus, eoque plura ex liberalitate discentium consecutus. Docuit primum in Divi Iulii domo pueri, deinde in sua privata. Docuit autem et rhetoricam, ita ut quotidie praecepta eloquentiae traderet, declamaret vero nonnisi nundinis. Scholam eius claros quoque viros frequentasse aiunt, in iis M. Ciceronem, etiam cum praetura fungeretur. Scripsit multa, quamvis annum aetatis quinquagesimum non excesserit. Etsi Ateius Philologus duo tantum volumina de Latino sermone reliquisse eum tradit; nam cetera scripta discipulorum eius esse, non ipsius; in quibus et suum alicubi reperiri nomen, ut hoc *.

[8] M. Pompilius Andronicus, natione Syrus, studia Epicureae sectae desidiosior in professione grammatica habebatur minusque idoneus ad tuendam scholam. Itaque cum se in urbe non solum Antonio Gniphoni, sed ceteris etiam deterioribus postponi videret, Cumas transiit ibique in otio vixit et multa composuit; verum adeo inops atque egens, ut coactus sit praecipuum illud opusculum suum annalium Ennii elenchorum XVI. milibus nummum cuidam vendere, quos libros Orbilius suppressos redemisse se dicit vulgandosque curasse nomine auctoris.

[9] L. Orbilius Pupillus Beneventanus, morte parentum, una atque eadem die inimicorum dolo interemptorum, destitutus, primo apparituram magistratibus fecit; deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit; functusque militia,

studia repetit, quae iam inde a puero non leviter attigerat; ac professus diu in patria, quinquagesimo demum anno Romam consule Cicerone transiit docuitque maiore fama quam emolumento. Namque iam *persenex pauperem se et habitare sub tegulis* quodam scripto fatetur. Librum etiam, cui est titulus *Perialogos*, edidit continentem querelas de iniuriis, quas professores negligentia aut ambitione parentum acciperent. Fuit autem naturae acerbae, non modo in antisophistas, quos omni in occasione laceravit, sed etiam in discipulos, ut et Horatius significat *plagosum* eum appellans, et Domitius Marsus scribens:

Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.

Ac ne principum quidem virorum insectatione abstinuit; siquidem ignotus adhuc cum iudicio frequenti testimonium diceret, interrogatus a Varrone diversae partis advocato, quidnam ageret et quo artificio uteretur, *gibberosos se de sole in umbram transferre* respondit; quod Murena gibber erat. Vixit prope ad centesimum aetatis annum, amissa iam pridem memoria, ut versus Bibaculi docet:

Orbilius ubinam est, litterarum oblivio?

Statua eius Beneventi ostenditur in Capitolio ad sinistram latus marmorea habitu sedentis ac palliati, appositis duobus scriniis. Reliquit filium Orbilium, et ipsum grammaticum professorem.

[10] L. Ateius Philologus libertinus Athenis est natus. *Hunc* Capito Ateius notas iuris consultus *inter grammaticos rhetorem, inter rhetores grammaticum fuisse* ait. De eodem Asinius Pollio in libro, quo Sallustii scripta reprehendit ut nimia priscorum verborum affectatione oblita, ita tradit: *In eam rem adiutorium ei fecit maxime quidam Ateius Praetextatus nobilis grammaticus Latinus, declamantium deinde auditor atque praeceptor, ad summam Philologus ab semet nominatus.* Ipse ad Laelium Hermam scripsit, *se in Graecis litteris magnum processum habere et in Latinis nonnullum, audisse Antonium Gniphonem eiusque * Hermam, postea docuisse. Praecepisse autem multis et claris iuvenibus, in quis Appio quoque et Pulchro Claudiis fratribus, quorum etiam comes in provincia fuerit.* Philologi appellationem assumpsisse videtur, quia sic ut Eratosthenes, qui primus hoc cognomen sibi vindicavit, multiplici variague doctrina censebatur. Quod sane ex commentariis eius apparet, quanquam paucissimi extent; de quorum tamen copia sic altera ad eundem Hermam epistola significat: *Hylen nostram aliis memento commendare, quam omnis generis coegimus, uti scis, octingentos in libros.* Coluit postea familiarissime C. Sallustium et eo defuncto Asinium Pollionem, quos historiam componere aggressos, alterum breviario rerum omnium Romanarum, ex quibus quas vellet eligeret, instruxit, alterum praeceptis de ratione scribendi. Quo magis miror Asinium credidisse, antiqua eum verba et figuras solitum esse colligere Sallustio; cum sibi sciat nihil aliud

suadere quam ut noto civilique et proprio sermone utatur, vitetque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii et audaciam in translationibus.

[11] P. Valerius Cato, ut nonnulli tradiderunt, Burseni cuiusdam libertus ex Gallia; ipse libello, cui est titulus Indignatio, ingenuum se natum ait et pupillum relictum, eoque facilius licentia Syllani temporis exutum patrimonio. Docuit multos et nobiles, visusque est peridoneus praeceptor, maxime ad poeticam tendentibus, ut quidem apparere vel his versiculis potest:

*Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren,
Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.*

Is scripsit praeter grammaticos libellos etiam poemata, ex quibus praecipue probantur Lydia et Diana. Lydiae Ticide meminit:

Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber;

Dianae Cinna:

Secula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis.

Vixit ad extremam senectam, sed in summa pauperie et pene inopia, abditus modico gurgustio, postquam Tusculana villa creditoribus cesserat, ut auctor est Bibaculus:

*Si quis forte mei domum Catonis,
Depictas minio assulas, et illos
Custodis videt hortulos Priapi:
Miratur, quibus ille disciplinis,
Tantam sit sapientiam assecutus,
Quem tres cauliculi, selibra farris,
Racemi duo tegula sub una
Ad summam prope nutrant senectam.*

Et rursus:

*Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum
Tota creditor urbe venditabat.
Mirati sumus, unicum magistrum,
Summum grammaticum, optimum poetam
Omnes solvere posse quaestiones,
Unum difficile expedire nomen.
En cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis!*

[12] Cornelius Epicadus, L. Cornelii Syllae dictatoris libertus calatorque in sacerdotio augurali, filio quoque eius Fausto gratissimus fuit; quare nunquam non utriusque se libertum edidit. Librum autem, quem Sylla novissimum de rebus suis imperfectum reliquerat, ipse supplevit.

[13] Staberius Eros suomet aere emptus de catasta et propter litterarum studium manumissus, docuit inter ceteros Brutum et Cassium. Sunt qui tradant tanta eum honestate praeditum, ut temporibus Syllanis proscriptorum liberos gratis et sine mercede ulla in disciplinam receperit.

[14] Curtius Nicia haesit CN. Pompeio et C. Memmio; sed cum codicillos Memmi ad Pompei uxorem de stupro pertulisset, proditus ab ea, Pompeium offendit, domoque ei interdictum est. Fuit et M. Ciceronis familiaris; in cuius epistola ad Dolabellam haec de eo legimus: *Nihil Romae geritur quod te putem scire curare, nisi forte scire vis, me inter Niciam nostrum et Vidium iudicem esse. Profert alter, opinor duobus versiculis, expensum [Niciae;] alter Aristarchus hos obelizei: ego tanquam criticus antiquos iudicaturus sum, utrum sint tou [poietou an parembeblemenoi.]* Item ad Atticum: *De Nicia quod scribis, si ita me haberem ut eius humanitate frui possem, in primis vellem mecum illum habere; sed mihi solitudo et recessus provincia est. Praeterea nosti Niciae nostri imbecillitatem, mollitiam, consuetudinem victus. Cur ergo illi molestus esse [velim, cum mihi ille iucundus esse non] possit? Voluntas tamen eius mihi grata est.* Huius de Lucilio libros etiam Santra comprobat.

[15] Lenaeus, Magni Pompei libertus et pene omnium expeditionum comes, defuncto eo filiisque eius schola se sustentavit; docuitque in Carinis ad Telluris, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat, ac tanto amore erga patroni memoriam extitit, ut Sallustium historicum, quod eum *oris probi, animo inverecundo* scripsisset, acerbissima satyra laceraverit, *lastaurum et lurconem et nebulonem popinonemque appellans, et vita scriptisque monstrosum, praeterea priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.* Traditur autem puer adhuc Athenis surreptus, refugisse in patriam, perceptisque liberalibus disciplinis, pretium suum retulisse, verum ob ingenium atque doctrinam gratis manumissus.

[16] Q. Caecilius Epirota, Tusculi natus, libertus Attici equitis Romani, ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistolae, cum filiam patroni nuptam M. Agrippae doceret, suspectus in ea et ob hoc remotus, ad Cornelium Gallum se contulit vixitque una familiarissime, quod ipsi Gallo inter gravissima crimina ab Augusto obiicitur. Post deinde damnationem mortemque Galli scholam aperuit, sed ita ut paucis et tantum adolescentibus praeciperet, praetextato nemini, nisi si cuius parenti hoc officium negare non posset. Primus dicitur Latine ex tempore disputasse, primusque Virgilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse, quod etiam

Domitii Marsi versiculus indicat:

Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum.

[17] M. Verrius Flaccus libertinus docendi genere maxime claruit. Namque ad exercitanda discentium ingenia aequales inter se committere solebat, proposita non solum materia quam scriberent, sed et praemio quod victor auferret. Id erat liber aliquis antiquus, pulcher aut rarior. Quare ab Augusto quoque nepotibus eius praeceptor electus, transiit in Palatium cum tota schola, verum ut ne quem amplius posthac discipulum reciperet; docuitque in atrio Catulinae domus, quae pars Palatii tunc erat, et centena sestertia in annum accepit. Decessit aetatis exactae sub Tiberio. Statuam habet Praeneste, in superiore fori parte circa hemicyclium, in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat.

[18] L. Crassicius, genere Tarentinus, ordinis libertini, cognomine Pasicles, mox Pansam se transnominavit. Hic initio circa scenam versatus est, dum mimographos adiuvat; deinde in pergula docuit, donec commentario Zmyrnae edito adeo inclaruit, ut haec de eo scriberentur:

*Uni Crassicio se credere Zmyrna probavit:
Desinite indocti coniugio hanc petere!
Soli Crassicio se dixit nubere velle,
Intima cui soli nota sua extiterint.*

Sed cum edoceret iam multos ac nobiles, in iis Iulium Antonium, triumviri filium, ut Verrio quoque Flacco compararetur, dimissa repente schola, transiit ad Q. Sexti philosophi sectam.

[19] Scribonius Aphrodisius, Orbilii servus atque discipulus, mox a Scribonia Libonis filia, quae prior Augusti uxor fuerat, redemptus et manumissus, docuit quo Verrius tempore, cuius etiam libris de orthographia rescripsit, non sine insectatione studiorum morumque eius.

[20] C. Iulius Hyginus, Augusti libertus, natione Hispanus, (nonnulli Alexandrinum putant et a Caesare puerum Romam adductum Alexandria capta) studiose et audiit et imitatus est Cornelium Alexandrum grammaticum Graecum, quem propter antiquitatis notitiam Polyhistorem multi, quidam Historiam vocabant. Praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae, nec eo secius plurimos docuit; fuitque familiarissimus Ovidio poetae et Clodio Licino consulari, historico, qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit et liberalitate sua, quoad vixerit, sustentatum. Huius libertus fuit Iulius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigia patroni secutus.

[21] C. Melissus, Spoleti natus ingenuus, sed ob discordiam parentum expositus, cura et industria educatoris sui altiora studia percepit, ac Maecenati pro

grammatico muneri datus est. Cui cum se gratum et acceptum in modum amici videret, quanquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis praesentemque condicionem verae origini anteposuit; quare cito manumissus, Augusto etiam insinuatus est. Quo delegante, curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit. Atque, ut ipse tradit, sexagesimum aetatis annum agens, libellos Ineptiarum, qui nunc Iocorum inscribuntur, componere instituit, absolvitque C et L, quibus et alios diversi operis postea addidit. Fecit et novum genus togatarum inscripsitque trabeatas.

[22] M. Pomponius Marcellus, sermonis Latini exactor molestissimus, in advocacy quadam (nam interdum et causas agebat) soloecismum ab adversario factum usque adeo arguere perseveravit, quoad Cassius Severus, interpellatis iudicibus, dilationem petiit, ut litigalor suus alium grammaticum adhiberet; *quando non putat is cum adversario de iure sibi, sed de soloecismo controversiam futuram*. Hic idem, cum ex oratione Tiberium reprehendisset, affirmante Ateio Capitone, et esse illud Latinum, et si non esset, futurum certe iam inde: Mentitur inquit Capito; tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbo non potes. Pugilem olim fuisse, Asinius Gallus hoc in eum epigrammate ostendit:

*Qui caput ad levam didicit, glossemata nobis
Praecipit: os nullum, vel potius pugilis!*

[23] Q. Remmius Palaemon, Vicetinus, mulieris verna, primo, ut ferunt, textrinum, deinde herilem filium dum comitatur in scholam, litteras didicit. Postea manumissus docuit Romae ac principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit, quanquam infamis omnibus vitiis, palamque et Tiberio et mox Claudio praeidicantibus, *nemini minus institutionem puerorum vel invenum committendam*. Sed capiebat homines cum memoria rerum, tum facilitate sermonis; nec non etiam poemata faciebat ex tempore. Scripsit vero variis, nec vulgaribus metris. Arrogantia fuit tanta, ut M. Varronem *porcum* appellaret; *secum et natas et morituras litteras iactaret; nomen suum in Bucolicis non temere positum, sed praesagante Virgilio, fore quandoque omnium poetarum ac poematum Palaemonem iudicem*. Gloriabatur etiam, *latrones quondam sibi propter nominis celebritatem parsisse*. Luxuriae ita indulgit, ut saepius in die lavaret, nec sufficeret sumptibus, quanquam ex schola quadringena annua caperet, ac non multo minus ex re familiari; cuius diligentissimus erat, cum et officinas promercalium vestium exerceret, et agros adeo coleret, ut vitem manu eins insitam satis constet CCCLX uvas edidisse. Sed maxime flagrabat libidinibus in mulieres, usque ad infamiam oris; dicto quoque non infaceto

notatum fenuit cuiusdam, qui cum in turba osculum sibi ingerentem quanquam refugiens devitare non posset. *Vis tu, inquit, magister, quotiens festinantem aliquem vides, abligurire?*

[24] M. Valerius Probus, Berytius, diu centuriatum petiit, donec taedio ad studia se contulit. Legerat in provincia quosdam veteres libellos apud grammaticam, durante adhuc ibi antiquorum memoria, necdum omnino abolita sicut Romae. Hos cum diligentius repeteret atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet, quamvis omnes contemni magisque obprobrio legentibus quam gloriae et fructui esse animadverteret, nihilo minus in proposito mansit; multaque exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere et annotare curavit, soli huic nec ulli praeterea grammatices parti deditus. Hic non tam discipulos quam sectatores aliquot habuit. Nunquam enim ita docuit ut magistri personam sustineret; unum et alterum, vel cum plurimos tres aut quatuor postmeridianis horis admittere solebat, cubansque inter longos ac vulgares sermones legere quaedam, idque perraro. Nimis pauca et exigua de quibusdam minutis quaestiunculis edidi. Reliquit autem non mediocrem silvam observationum sermonis antiqui.

DE RHETORIBVS

[1] Rhetorica quoque apud nos perinde atque grammatica fere recepta est, paulo etiam difficilius, quippe quam constet nonnunquam etiam prohibitam exerceri. Quod ne cui dubium sit vetus S. C. item censorium edictum subiiciam: C. Fannio Strabone M. Valerio Messala cons. M. Pomponius praetor senatum consuluit. Quod verba facta sunt de philosophis et rhetoribus, de ea re ita censuerut, ut N. Pomponius praetor anirndiverteret curaretque, ut si ei e re p. fideque sua videretur, uti Romae ne essent. De eisdem interiecto tempore CN. Domitius Aenobarbus, L. Licinius Crassus censores ita edixerunt: *Renuntiatum est nobis, esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt, ad quos inventus in ludum conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos rhetoras; ibi homines adolescenhtuls dies lotos desiderare. Maiores nostri, quae liberos suos discere et quos in ludos itare vellent, instituerunt. Haec nova, quae praeter consuetudinern ac morem maiorum fiunt, neque placent neque recta videntur. Quapropter et iis qui eos ludos habent, et iis qui eo venire consuerunt, videtur faciundum ut ostenderemus nostram sententiam, nobis non placere.*

Paulatim et ipsa utilis honestaque apparuit, multique earn et praesidii causa et gloriae appetiverunt. Cicero ad praeturam usque etiam Graece declamavit, Latine vero senior quoque et quidem cum consulibus Hirtio et Pansa, quos *discipulos et grandis praetextatos* vocabat. CN. Pompeium quidam historici tradiderunt sub ipsum civile bellum, quo facilius C. Curioni promptissimo iuveni, causam Caesaris defendenti, contradiceret, repetisse declamandi consnetudinem; M. Antonium, item Augustum ne Mutinensi quidem bello omisisse. Nero Caesar primo imperii anno, publice quoque bis antea, declamavit. Plerique autem oratorum etiam declamationes ediderunt. Quare magno studio hominibus iniecto, magna etiam professorum ac doctorum profluxit copia, adeoque floruit, ut nonnulli ex infima fortuna in ordinem senatorium atque ad summos honores processerint.

Sed ratio docendi nec una omnibus, nec singulis eadero semper fuit, quando vario modo quisque discipulos exercuerunt. Nam et dicta praeclare per omnes figuras, per casus et apologos aliter atque aliter exponere, et narrationes cum breviter ac presse tum latius et uberius explicare consueant; interdum Graecorum scripta convertere, ac illustres laudare vel vituperare; quaedam etiam ad usum communis vitae instituta turn utilia et necessaria, tum pernicioosa et supervacanea ostendere; saepe fabulis fidero firmare aut demere, quod genus thesis et anascenas et catascenas Graeci vocant; donec sensim haec exoleverunt, et ad controversiam ventum est.

Veteres controversiae aut ex historiis trahebantur, sicut sane nonnullae usque adhuc, aut ex veritate ac re, si qua forte recens accidisset; itaque locorum etiam appellationibus additis proponi solebant. Sic certe collectae editaeque se habent, ex quibus non alienum fuerit unam et alteram exempli causa ad verbum referre.

Aestivo tempore adolescentes urbani cum Ostiam venissent, litus ingressi, piscatores trahentes rete adierunt et pepigerunt, bolum quanti emerent; nummos solverunt; diu expectaverunt, dum retia extraherentur; aliquando extractis, piscis nullus affuit, sed sporta auri obsula. Turn emptores bolum suum aiunt, piscatores suum.

Venalici cum Brundusi gregem venalium e navi educerent, formoso et pretioso puero, quod portitores verebantur, bullam et praetextam togam imposuerunt; facile fallaciam celarunt. Romam venit, res cognita est, petitur puer, quod domini voluntate fuerit liber, in libertatem. Olim autem eas appellationes Graece synthesis vocabant: mox controversias quidem, sed aut fictas aut iudiciales.

Illustres professores, et quorum memoria aliqua extet, non temere alii reperientur quam de quibus tradam.

[2] L. Plotius Gallus. De hoc Cicero in epistola ad M. Titinnium sic refert: *Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepisse Plotium quendam. Ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse. Hunc eundem (nam diutissime vixit) M. Coelius in oratione, quam pro se de vi habuit, significat dictasse Atriatino, accusatori suo, actionem; subtractoque nomine, *ordearium* eum *rhetorem* appellat, deridens ut *inflatum ac levem et sordidum*.*

[3] L. Voltacilius Pilutus servisse dicitur atque etiam ostiarius vetere more in catena fuisse, donec ob ingenium ac studium litterarum manumissus, accusanti patrono subscripsit. Deinde rhetoricam professus, CN. Pompeium Magnum docuit, patrisque eius res gestas, nec minus ipsius, compluribus libris exposuit; *primus omnium libertinorum*, ut Cornelius Nepos opinatur, *scribere historiam orsus, nonnisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam ad id tempus*.

[4] M. Epidius, calumnia notatus, ludum dicendi aperuit docuitque inter ceteros M. Antonium et Augustum; quibusquondam C. Cannutius, obiciantibus sibi quod in re p. administranda potissimum consularis Isaurici sectam sequeretur, *malle respondit Isaurici esse discipulum quam Epidi calumniatoris*. Hic Epidius ortum se ab Epidio Nucerino praedicabat, quem ferunt olim praecipitatum in fontem fluminis Sarni, paulo post cum cornibus extitisse, ac statim non comparuisse in numeroque deorum habitum.

[5] Sextus Clodius, e Sicilia, Latinae simul Graecaeque eloquentiae professor,

male oculatus et dicax, *par oculorum in amicitia M. Antonii triumviri extrisse se* aiebat; eiusdem uxorem Fulviam, cui altera bucca inflatior erat, *acumen stili tentare* dixit, nec eo minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio gratus. A quo mox consule ingens etiam congiarium accepit, ut ei in Philippicis Cicero obiicit: *Adhibes ioci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet diceret, salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis in te et in tuos dicta dicere. At quanta merces rhetori est data! Audite, audite, P. C. et cognoscite rei p. vulnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori assignasti et quidem immunia, ut tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres.*

[6] C. Albucius Silus, Novariensis, cum aedilitate in patria fungeretur, cum forte ius diceret, ab iis contra quos pronuntiabat pedibus e tribunali detractus est. Quod indigne ferens; statim contendit ad portam et inde Romam, receptusque in Planci oratoris contubernium, cui declamatorio mos erat prius aliquem qui ante diceret excitare, suscepit eas partes, atque ita implevit ut Planco silentium imponeret, non audenti in comparisonem se demittere. Sed ex eo clarus, propria auditoria instituit, solitus proposita controversia sedens incipere, et calore demum proventus consurgere ac perorare, declamare autem genere vario: modo splendide atque adornate, tum, ne usque quaque scholasticus existimaretur, circumcise ac sordide et tantum non trivialibus verbis. Egit et causas, verum rarius, dum amplissimam quamque sectatur, nec alium in ulla locum quam perorandi. Postea renuntiavit foro partim pudore, partim metu; nam cum in lite quadam centumvirali, adversario, quem ut impium erga parentes incessebat, ius iurandum quasi per figuram sic optulisset: *Iura per patris matrisque cineres, qui inconditi iacent!* et alia in hunc modum, arripiente eo conditionem, nec iudicibus aspernantibus, non sine magna sui invidia negotium afflixit. Et rursus in cognitione caedis Mediolani apud L. Pisonem proconsulem defendens reum, cum cohiberent lictores nimias laudantium voces, et ita excaudisset, ut deplorato Italiae statu, *quasi iterum in formarn provinciae redigeretur*, M. insuper Brutum, cuius statua in conspectu erat, invocaret *legum ac libertatis auctorem el vindicern*, pene poenas luit. Iam autem senior ob vitium vomicae Novariam rediit, convocataque plebe causis, propter quas mori destinasset, diu ac more concionantis redditus, abstinuit cibo.

Reliqua desiderantur. Supersunt tamen in indice praemisso nomina rhetorum undecim, et post stellulam posuimus quae Hieronymus in Chronico hinc decerpsit.

[7] L. Cestius Pius * *Cestius Smyrnaeus Latinam Romae rhetoricam docuit (anno ab u. c. 741).*

[8] M. Porcius Latro * *M. Porcius Latro, Latinus declamator, taedio duplicis*

quartanae semet ipsum interfecit (a. 750. 751)

[9] Q. Curtius Rufus *

[10] L. Valerius Primanus *

[11] Verginius Flavus *

[12] L. Staius Ursulus * *Staius Ursulus* (al. *Sursulus*, al. *Surculus*) *Tolosanus celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet (a. 810. 811).*

[13] P. Clodius Quirinalis * *Clodius* (al. *Claudius*) *Quirinalis, rhetor Arelatensis, Romae insignissime docet (a. 797. 798).*

[14] M. Antonius Liberalis * *M. Antonius Liberalis, Latinus rhetor, magnas inimicitias cum Palaemone exercet (a. 801. 802).*

[15] Sex. Iulius Gabinianus * *Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in Galliis docuit (a. 829. 830).*

[16] M. Fabius Quintilianus * *M. Fabius Quintilianus Romam a Galba perducitur (a. 821) ... Quintilianus, ex Hispania Calagurritanus, qui primus Romae publicam scholam et salarium e fisco accepit, claruit (a. 838-842)*

[17] Iulius Tiro *

Minus certa fide haec quoque hinc petita existimantur:

Nicetas et Hybreas et Theodorus et Plutio nobilissimi artis rhetoricae Graeci praeceptores habentur. *Hieronymus in Chronico ad annum ab u. c. 724.*

Isaeus rhetor fuit ... illius temporis, cuius et Tranquillus meminit. *Scholia ad Iuvenal. 3, 74.*

DE POETIS

VITA TERENCE

I. PUBLIUS TERENCE AFER, Carthagine natus, serviit Romae Terentio Lucano senatori, a quo ob ingenium et formam non institutus modo liberaliter sed et mature manumissus est. Quidam captum esse existimant, quod fieri nullo modo potuisse Fenestella docet, cum inter finem secundi Punici belli et initium tertii natus sit et mortuus; nec si a Numidis et Gaetulis captus sit, ad ducem Romanum pervenire potuisse, nullo commercio inter Italicos et Afros nisi post deletam Carthaginem coepto. Hic cum multis nobilibus familiariter vixit, sed maxime cum Scipione Africano et C. Laelio. Quibus etiam corporis gratia conciliatus existimatur, quod et ipsum Fenestella arguit, contendens utroque maiorem natu fuisse, quamvis et Nepos aequales omnes fuisse tradat et Porcius suspicionem de consuetudine per haec faciat:

“Dum lasciviam nobilium et laudes fucosas petit,
Dum Africani vocem divinam inhiat avidis auribus,
Dum ad Philum se cenitare et Laelium pulchrum putat,
Dum in Albanum crebro rapitur ob florem aetatis suae:
Post sublatis rebus ad summam inopiam redactus est.
Itaque e conspectu omnium abit Graeciam in terram ultimam.
Mortuust Stympali, Arcadiae in oppido. Nil Publius
Scipio profuit, nil illi Laelius, nil Furius,
Tres per id tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime.
Eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit conducticiam,
Saltem ut esset quo referret obitum domini servulus.”

II. Scripsit comoedias sex, ex quibus primam “Andriam” cum aedilibus daret, iussus ante Caecilio recitare, ad cenantem cum venisset, dictus est initium quidem fabulae, quod erat contemptiore vestitu, subsellio iuxta lectulum residens legisse, post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet cenasse una, dein cetera percucurrisse non sine magna Caecilii admiratione. Et hanc autem et quinque reliquas aequaliter populo probavit, quamvis Vulcatius dinumeratione omnium ita scribat:

“Sumetur Hecyra sexta ex his fabula.”

“Eunuchus” quidem bis die acta est meruitque pretium quantum nulla antea cuiusquam comoedia, id est octo milia nummorum; propterea summa quoque titulo ascribitur. Nam “Adelphorum” principium Varro etiam praefert principio Menandri.

III. Non obscura fama est adiutum Terentium in scriptis a Laelio et Scipione, eamque ipse auxit numquam nisi leviter refutare conatus, ut in prologo “Adelphorum”:

“Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
Hunc adiutare assidueque una scribere;
Quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existumant,
Eam laudem hic ducit maxumam, quom illis placet
Qui vobis univorsis et populo placent,
Quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio
Suo quisque tempore usus est sine superbia.”

Videtur autem se levius defendisse, quia sciebat et Laelio et Scipioni non ingratam esse hanc opinionem; quae tamen magis et usque ad posteriora tempora valuit. C. Memmius in oratione pro se ait: “P. Africanus, qui a Terentio personam mutuatus, quae domi luserat ipse, nomine illius in scenam detulit.”

Nepos auctore certo comperisse se ait, C. Laelium quondam in Puteolano Kal. Martiis admonitum ab uxore temperius ut discumberet petisse ab ea ne interpellaret, seroque tandem ingressum triclinium dixisse, non saepe in scribendo magis sibi successisse; deinde rogatum ut scripta illa proferret pronuntiasset versus qui sunt in “Heautontimorumenon”:

“Satis pol proterve me Syri promissa huc induxerunt.”

IV. Santra Terentium existimat, si modo in scribendo adiutoribus indiguerit, non tam Scipione et Laelio uti potuisse, qui tunc adolescentuli fuerunt, quam C. Sulpicio Gallo, homine docto et cuius consularibus ludis initium fabularum dandarum fecerit, vel Q. Fabio Labeone et M. Popillio, consulari utroque ac poeta; ideo ipsum non iuvenes designare qui se adiuvere dicantur, sed viros “quorum operam et in bello et in otio et in negotio” populus sit expertus.

Post editas comoedias nondum quintum atque vicesimum egressus annum, causa vitandae opinionis qua videbatur aliena pro suis edere, seu percipiendi Graecorum instituta moresque, quos non perinde exprimeret in scriptis egressus est neque amplius rediit. De morte eius Vulcarius sic tradit:

“Sed ut Afer populo sex dedit comoedias,
Iter hinc in Asiam fecit, et navem ut semel
Conscendit, visus numquam est; sic vita vacat.”

V. Q. Cosconius redeuntem e Graecia perisse in mari dicit cum C. et VIII.

fabulis conversis a Menandro. Ceteri mortuum esse in Arcadia Stymphali sive Leuccadiae tradunt Cn. Cornelio Dolabella M. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus, morbo implicitum ex dolore ac taedio amissarum sarcinarum, quas in nave praemiserat, ac simul fabularum, quas novas fecerat.

Fuisse dicitur mediocri statura, gracili corpore, colore fusco. Reliquit filiam, quae post equiti Romano nupsit; item hortulos XX iugerum via Appia ad Martis villam. Quo magis miror Porcium scribere:

“Scipio nihil profuit, nihil Laelius, nihil Furius,
Tres per id tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime;
Eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit conducticiam,
Saltem ut esset quo referret obitum domini servulus.”

Hunc Afranius quidem omnibus comicis praefert scribens in “Compitalibus”:
“Terenti non similem dicens quempiam.”

Vulcatius autem non solum Naevio et Plauto et Caecilio, sed Licinio quoque et Atilio postponit. Cicero in “Limone” hactenus laudat:

“Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medium nobis sedatis vocibus effers,
Quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens.”

Item C. Caesar:

“Tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,
Comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore
Cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres!
Unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.”

VITA VERGILI

P. VERGILIUS MARO Mantuanus parentibus modicis fuit ac praecipue patre, quem quidam opificem figulum, plures Magi cuiusdam viatoris initio mercennarium, mox ob industriam generum tradiderunt, egregieque substantiae silvis coemendis et apibus curandis auxisse reculam. Natus est Gn. Pompeio Magno M. Licinio Crasso primum cons. Iduum Octobrium die in pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua non procul. Praegnas eo mater somniavit enixam se laureum ramum, quem contactu terrae coaluisse et excrevisse ilico in speciem maturae arboris refertaeque variis pomis et floribus, ac sequenti luce cum marito rus propinquum petens ex itinere devertit atque in subiecta fossa partu levata est. Ferunt infantem ut sit editus neque vagisse et adeo miti vultu fuisse, ut haud dubiam spem prosperioris geniturae iam tum daret. Et accessit aliud praesagium, siquidem virga populea more regionis in puerperiis eodem statim loco depacta ita brevi evaluit tempore, ut multo ante satas populos adaequavisset, quae arbor Vergilii ex eo dicta atque etiam consecrata est summa gravidarum ac fetarum religione suscipientium ibi et solventium vota.

Initia aetatis Cremonae egit usque ad virilem togam, quam XV anno natali suo accepit iisdem illis consulibus iterum duobus, quibus erat natus, evenitque ut eo ipso die Lucretius poeta decederet. Sed Vergilius a Cremona Mediolanum et inde paulo post transiit in urbem. Corpore et statura fuit grandi, aquilo colore, facie rusticana, valetudine varia; nam plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat, sanguinem etiam saepe reiecit. Cibi vinique minimi; libidinis in pueros pronioris, quorum maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum, quem secunda "Bucolicorum" egloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione, utrumque non ineruditum, Cebetem vero et poetam. Vulgatum est consuesse eum et cum Plotia Hieria. Sed Asconius Pedianus adfirmat, ipsam postea maiorem natu narrare solitam, invitatum quidem a Vario ad communionem sui, verum pertinacissime recuasse. Cetera sane vitae et ore et animo tam probum constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgo appellatus sit, ac si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantis demonstrantisque se subterfugeret in proximum tectum. Bona autem cuiusdam exsulantis offerente Augusto non sustinuit accipere. Possedit prope centiens sestertium ex liberalitatibus amicorum habuitque domum Romae Esquiliis iuxta hortos Maecenatianos, quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur. Parentes iam grandis amisit, ex quibus patrem captum oculis, et duos fratres germanos, Silonem inpuerem, Flaccum iam adultum, cuius exitum sub nomine Daphnidis deflet. Inter cetera studia medicinae quoque ac maxime

mathematicae operam dedit. Egit et causam apud iudices unam omnino nec amplius quam semel; nam et in sermone tardissimum eum ac paene indocto similem fuisse Melissus tradidit.

Poeticam puer adhuc auspicatus in Ballistam ludi magistrum ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum lapidibus distichon fecit:

“Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
Nocte die tutum carpe, viator, iter.”

Deinde “Catalepton” et “Priapea” et “Epigrammata” et “Diras,” item “Cirim” et “Culicem,” cum esset annorum XVI. Cuius materia talis est. Pastor fatigatus aestu cum sub arbore condormisset et serpens ad eum proreperet, e palude culex provolavit atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pastori. At ille continuo culicem contrivit et serpentem interemit ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit:

“Parve culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
Funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.”

Scrpsit etiam de qua ambigitur “Aetnam.” Mox cum res Romanas inchoasset, offensus materia ad “Bucolica” transiit, maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum Varum et Cornelium Gallum celebraret, quia in distributione agrorum, qui post Philippensem victoriam veteranis triumvirorum iussu trans Padum dividebantur, indemnem se praestitissent. Deinde scripsit “Georgica” in honorem Maecenatis, qui sibi mediocriter adhuc noto opem tulisset adversus veterani cuiusdam violentiam, a quo in altercatione litis agrariae paulum afuit quin occideretur. Novissime “Aeneidem” inchoavit, argumentum varium ac multiplex et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar, praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur. Cum “Georgica” scriberet, traditur cotidie meditato mane plurimos versus dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non absurde carmen se more ursae parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere. “Aeneida” prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripiens. Ac ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alia levissimis verbis veluti fulsit, quae per iocum pro tibicinibus interponi aiebat ad sustinendum opus, donec solidae columnae advenirent. “Bucolica” triennio, “Georgica” VII, “Aeneida” XI perfecit annis. “Bucolica” eo successu edidit, ut in scena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiarentur.

“Georgica” reverso post Actiacam victoriam Augusto atque Atellae reficiendarum faucium causa commoranti per continuum quadriduum legit, suscipiente Maecenate legendi vicem, quotiens interPELLARETUR ipse vocis offensione. Pronuntiabat autem cum suavitate et lenociniis miris. Ac Seneca tradidit, Iulium Montanum poetam solitum dicere, involaturum se Vergilio quaedam, si et vocem posset et os et hypocrisin; eosdem enim versus ipso pronuntiante bene sonare, sine illo inanes esse mutosque. “Aeneidos” vixdum coeptae tanta exstitit fama, ut Sextus Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare:

“Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.”

Augustus vero — nam forte expeditione Cantabrica aberat — supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitarat, ut “sibi de ‘Aeneide,’” ut ipsius verba sunt, “vel prima carminis hupographe vel quodlibet kolon mitteretur.” Cui tamen multo post perfectaue demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum, quartum et sextum, sed hunc notabili Octaviae adfectione, quae cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus, “tu Marcellus eris,” defecisse fertur atque aegre focilata est. Recitavit et pluribus, sed neque frequenter et ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis iudicium hominum experiretur. Erotem librarium et libertum eius exactae iam senectutis tradunt referre solitum, quondum eum in recitando duos dimidiatos versus compllesse ex tempore. Nam cum hactenus haberet: “Misenum Aeoliden” adiecisse: “quo non praestantior alter,” item huic: “aere ciere viros,” simili calore iactatum subiunxisse: “Martemque accendere cantu,” statimque sibi imperasse ut utrumque volumini ascriberet.

Anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo inpositurus “Aeneidi” summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare, ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret. Sed cum ingressus iter Athenis occurrisset Augusto ab Oriente Romam revertenti destinaretque non absistere atque etiam una redire, dum Megara vicinum oppidum ferventissimo sole cognoscit, languorem nactus est eumque non intermissa navigatione auxit ita ut gravior aliquanto Brundisium appelleret, ubi diebus paucis obiit XI Kal. Octobr. Cn. Sentio Q. Lucretio cons. Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita qui est via Puteolana intra lapidem secundum, in quo distichon fecit tale:

“Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces.”

Heredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum fratrem alio patre, ex quarta Augustum, ex duodecima Maecenatem, ex reliqua L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius “Aeneida” post obitum iussu Caesaris emendaverunt. De qua re Sulpicii Carthaginiensis exstant huiusmodi versus:

“Iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.
Tucca vetat Variusque; simul tu, maxime Caesar,
Non sinis et Latiae consulis historiae.
Infelix gemino cecidit prope Pergamon igni,
Et paene est alio Troia cremata rogo.”

Egerat cum Vario, priusquam Italia decederet, ut siquid sibi accidisset, “Aeneida” combureret; at is ita facturum se pernegarat; igitur in extrema valetudine assidue scrinia desideravit, crematurus ipse; verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cavit. Ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit, ne quid ederent, quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos sicut erant reliquerit; quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem, quod omnia fere apud eum hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praeter illud: “quem tibi iam Troia.” Nisus grammaticus audisse se a senioribus aiebat, Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et qui tunc secundus esset in tertium locum transtulisse, etiam primi libri correxisse principium, his versibus demptis:

“Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
Carmina et egressus silvis vicina coegi,
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
Gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis —
Arma virumque cano.”

Obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt, nec mirum; nam nec Homero quidem. Prolatis “Bucolicis” Numitorius quidam rescripsit “Antibucolica,” duas modo eglogas, sed insulsissime parodesas quarum prioris initium est:

“Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?”
sequentis:
“Dic mihi Damoeta: ‘cuium pecus’ anne
Latinum?”

Non. Verum Aegonis nostri, sic rure locuntur.”

Alius recitante eo ex “Georgicis”: “nudus ara, sere nudus” subiecit: “habebis frigore febrem.” Est et adversus “Aeneida” liber Carvili Pictoris, titulo “Aeneomastix.” M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat, novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis, atque ideo latentis. Herennius tantum vitia eius, Perellius Faustus furta contraxit. Sed et Q. Octavi Aviti omoioteton octo volumina quos et unde versus transtulerit continent. Asconius Pedianus libro, quem “Contra obtrectatores Vergilii” scripsit, pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere adsuetum ait: cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? Verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere. Et tamen destinasse secedere ut omnia ad satietatem malevolorum decideret.

VITA HORATI

Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS, Venusinus, patre ut ipse tradit libertino et exactionum coactore (ut vero creditum est salsamentario, cum illi quidam in altercatione exprobrasset: “Quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem!”) bello Philippensi excitus a Marco Bruto imperatore, tribunus militum meruit; victisque partibus venia impetrata scriptum quaestorium comparavit. Ac primo Maecenati, mox Augusto insinuatus non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit. Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis testatur illo epigrammate:

“Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
Ninnio videas strigosior”;

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: “Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor”.

Augustus epistolarum quoque ei officium optulit, ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: “Ante ipse sufficebam scribendis epistulis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistulis scribendis iuvabit.” Ac ne recusanti quidem aut suscensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit. Exstant epistolae, e quibus argumenti gratia pauca subieci: “Sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tamquam si convictor mihi fueris; recte enim et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui, si per valitudinem tuam fieri possit.” Et rursus: “Tui qualem habeam memoriam, poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire; nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio. Neque enim si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisi, ideo nos quoque anthuperephanoumen.” Praeterea saepe eum inter alios iocos “purissimum penem” et “homuncionem lepidissimum” appellat, unaque et altera liberalitate locupletavit. Scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo Saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus Carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: “Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris; an vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?” Expressitque eclogam ad se, cuius initium est:

“Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes: in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.”

Habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in saturis describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula: “Pertulit ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego ut excusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es; sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, ut circuitus voluminis tui sit ogkodesatos, sicut est ventriculi tui.”

Ad res Venerias intemperantior traditur; nam speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocumque respexisset ibi ei imago coitus referretur. Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni Iuculum. * * * * Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.

Natus est VI Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus, decessit V Kl. Decembris C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus post nonum et quinquagesimum diem quam Maecenas obierat, aetatis agens septimum et quinquagesimum annum, herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valitudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

VITA TIBULLI

“Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
Mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,
Ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fleret amores
Aut caneret forti regia bella pede.”

Albius Tibullus eques Romanus, insignis forma cultuque corporis observabilis, ante alios Corvinum Messalam oratorem dilexit, cuius etiam contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est. Hic multorum iudicio principem inter elegiographos obtinet locum. Epistolae quoque eius amatoriae, quamquam breves, omnino utiles sunt. Obiit adulescens, ut indicat epigramma supra scriptum.

VITA AULI PERSI FLACCI

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS natus est pridie Nonas Decembris Fabio Persico L. Vitellio coss., decessit VIII Kalendas Decembris P. Mario Afinio Gallo coss.

Natus in Etruria Volaterris, eques Romanus, sanguine et affinitate primi ordinis viris coniunctus. Decessit ad octavum miliarium via Appia in praediis suis.

Pater eum Flaccus pupillum reliquit moriens annorum fere sex. Fulvia Sisennia mater eius nupsit postea Fusio equiti Romano et eum quoque extulit intra paucos annos.

Studuit Flaccus usque ad annum XII aetatis suae Volaterris, inde Romae apud grammaticum Remmum Palaemonem et apud rhetorem Verginium Flavum.

Cum esset annorum XVI, amicitia coepit uti Annaei Cornuti ita ut nusquam ab eo discederet; a quo inductus aliquatenus in philosophiam est.

Amicos habuit a prima adulescentia Caesium Bassum poetam et Calpurnium Staturam, qui vivo eo iuvenis decessit. Coluit ut patrem Servilium Nonianum. Cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum aequaevum auditorem Cornuti. Lucanus mirabatur adeo scripta Flacci, ut vix se retineret recitante eo de more quin illa esse vera poemata, sua ludos diceret. Sero cognovit et Senecam, sed non ut caperentur eius ingenio. Usus est apud Cornutum duorum convictu doctissimorum et sanctissimorum virorum acriter tunc philosophantium, Claudii Agathurni medici Lacedaemonii et Petroni Aristocratis Magnetis, quos unice miratus est et aemulatus, cum aequales essent Cornuti, minor esset ipse.

Idem decem fere annis summe dilectus a Paeto Thrasea est ita ut peregrinaretur quoque cum eo aliquando, cognatam eius Arriam uxorem habente.

Fuit morum lenissimorum, verecundiae virginalis, formae pulchrae, pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitam exemplo sufficientis.

Fuit frugi, pudicus.

Reliquit circa HS viciens matri et sorori scriptis tantum ad matrem codicillis. Cornuto rogavit ut daret sestertia, ut quidam dicunt, C, ut alii, L et argenti facti pondo viginti et libros circa septingentos Chrysippi sive bibliothecam suam omnem. Verum a Cornuto sublati libris pecunia sororibus, quas heredes frater fecerat, relicta est.

Scriptitavit et raro et tarde. Hunc ipsum librum imperfectum reliquit. Versus aliqui dempti sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset. Leviter correxit Cornutus et Caesio Basso petenti, ut ipse ederet, tradidit edendum.

Scripserat in pueritia Flaccus etiam praetextam et hodoeporicon librum unum et paucos in socrum Thraseae versus, quae se ante virum occiderat. Omnia ea auctor fuit Cornutus matri eius ut aboleret.

Editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt.

Decessit autem vitio stomachi anno aetatis XXX.

Sed mox ut a schola magistrisque devertit, lecto Lucili libro decimo vehementer saturas componere studuit. Cuius libri principium imitatus est sibi primo, mox omnibus detrectaturus cum tanta recentium poetarum et oratorum insectatione, ut etiam Neronem principem illius temporis inculpaverit. Cuius versus in Neronem cum ita se haberet “auriculas asini Mida rex habet,” in eum modum a Cornuto ipso tantum nomine mutato est emendatus “auriculas asini quis non habet?” ne hoc in se Nero dictum arbitraretur.

VITA LUCANI

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS CORDUBENSIS prima ingenii experimenta in “Neronis laudibus” dedit quinquennali certamine, dein “Civile Bellum,” quod a Pompeio et Caesare gestum est, recitavit, ut praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere:

“et quantum mihi restat
Ad Culicem?”

Hic initio adolescentiae, cum ob infestum matrimonium patrem suum ruri agere longissime cognovisset * * * Revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus, non tamen permansit in gratia. Siquidem aegre ferens, recitante se subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicto senatu recessisse, neque verbis adversus principem neque factis exstantibus post haec temperavit, adeo ut quondam in latrinis publicis clariore cum strepitu ventris emissi hemistichium Neronis magna consessorum fuga pronuntiarit:

“Sub terris tonuisse putes.”

Sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum tum potentissimos amicorum gravissime proscidit. Ad extremum paene signifer Pisonianae coniurationis exstitit, multus in gloria tyrannicidarum palam praedicanda ac plenus minarum, usque eo intemperans ut Caesaris caput proximo cuique iactaret. Verum detecta coniuratione nequaquam parem animi constantiam praestitit; facile enim confessus et ad humillimas devolutus preces matrem quoque innoxiam inter socios nominavit, sperans impietatem sibi apud parricidam principem profuturam. Impetrato autem mortis arbitrio libero codicillos ad patrem corrigendis quibusdam versibus suis exaravit, epulatusque largiter brachia ad secandas venas praebuilt medico. Poemata eius etiam praelegi memini, confici vero ac proponi venalia non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte quoque.

DE HISTORICIS

VITA PLINII SECUNDI

PLINIUS SECUNDUS Novocomensis equestribus militiis industrie functus procurationes quoque splendidissimas et continuas summa integritate administravit, et tamen liberalibus studiis tantam operam dedit, ut non temere quis plura in otio scripserit. Itaque bella omnia, quae unquam cum Germanis gesta sunt, XX voluminibus comprehendit, itemque “Naturalis Historiae” XXXVII libros absolvit. Periit clade Campaniae; cum enim Misenensi classi praeesset et flagrante Vesubio ad explorandas propius causas liburnica pertendisset, nec adversantibus ventis remeare posset, vi pulveris ac favillae oppressus est, vel ut quidam existimant a servo suo occisus, quem aestu deficiens ut necem sibi maturaret oraverat.

VITA PASSIENI CRISPI

PASSIENUS CRISPUS, municeps Viselliensis, tirocinio suo in senatu ita coepit: “Patres conscripti et tu Caesar!” propter quod simulata oratione plenissime a Tiberio conlaudatus est. Plurimas sponte causas apud centumviros egit, pro qua re in basilica Iulia eius statua posita est. Consulatus duos gessit. Uxores habuit duas, primam Domitiam, deinde Agrippinam, illam amitam, hanc matrem Neronis Caesaris. Possedit bis milies sestertium. Omnium principum gratiam adpetivit, sed praecipue C. Caesaris, quem iter facientem secutus est pedibus. Hic nullo audiente ab Nerone interrogatus, haberetne sicut ipse cum sorore germana consuetudinem, “Nondum” inquit, quantumvis decenter et caute, ne aut negando eum argueret aut adsentiendo semet mendacio dehonestaret. Periit per fraudem Agrippinae, quam heredem reliquerat, et funere publico elatus est.

HISTORIA AUGUSTA



CONTENTS

[DE VITA HADRIANI AELII SPARTIANI](#)
[AELIUS AELII SPARTIANI](#)
[ANTONINUS PIUS IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[VITA MARCI ANTONINI PHILOSOPHI IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[VERUS IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[AVIDIUS CASSIUS VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.](#)
[COMMODUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDI](#)
[HELVIUS PERTINAX IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[DIDIUS IULIANUS IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[AELI SPARTIANI SEVERUS](#)
[PESCENNIUS NIGER AELI SPARTIANI](#)
[VITA CLODII ALBINI IULII CAPITOLINI](#)
[ANTONINUS CARACALLUS AELI SPARTIANI](#)
[ANTONINUS GETA AELI SPARTIANI](#)
[OPILIUS MACRINUS IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[DIADUMENUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDII](#)
[ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS AELI LAMPRIDI](#)
[ALEXANDER SEVERUS AELII LAMPRIDII](#)
[MAXIMINI DUO IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[GORDIANI TRES IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[MAXIMUS ET BALBINUS IULI CAPITOLINI](#)
[VALERIANI DUO TEBELLI POLLIONIS](#)
[GALLIENI DUO TREBELLI POLLIONIS](#)
[TYRANNI TRIGINTA TREBELLI POLLIONIS](#)
[DIVUS CLAUDIUS TREBELLI POLLIONIS](#)
[DIVUS AURELIANUS FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII](#)
[FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII TACITUS](#)
[FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII PROBUS](#)
[FIRMUS SATURNINUS PROCULUS ET BONOSUS](#)
[CARUS ET CARINUS ET NUMERIANUS](#)

DE VITA HADRIANI AELII SPARTIANI

I. 1 Origo imperatoris Hadriani vetustior a Picentibus, posterior ab Hispaniensibus manat, si quidem Hadria hortos maiores suos apud Italicam Scipionum temporibus resedisse in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemoret. 2 Hadriano pater Aelius Hadrianus cognomento Afer fuit, consobrinus Traiani imperatoris, mater Domitia Paulina Gadibus orta, soror Paulina nupta Serviano, uxor Sabina, atavus Maryllinus, qui primus in sua familia senator populi Romani fuit. 3 Natus est Romae VIII. kl. Feb. Vespasiano septies et Tito quinquies consulibus. 4 ac decimo aetatis anno patre orbatus Ulpium Traianum praetorium tunc, consobrinum suum, qui postea imperium tenuit, et Caelium Atatianum equitem Romanum tutores habuit. 5 imbutusque impensius Graecis studiis, ingenio eius sic ad ea declinante, ut a nonnullis Graeculus diceretur,

II. 1 quinto decimo anno ad patriam redit ac statim militiam iniit, venando usque ad reprehensionem studiosus. 2 quare a Traiano abductus a patria et pro filio habitus nec multo post decemvir litibus iudicandis datus atque inde tribunus secundae Adiutricis legionis creatus. 3 post haec in inferiorem Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitianis temporibus. 4 ibi a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio id dicitur comperisse, quod a patruo magno Aelio Hadriano peritia caelestium callente praedictum esse conpererat. 5 Traiano a Nerva adoptato ad gratulationem exercitus missus in Germaniam superiorem translatus est. 6 ex qua festinans ad Traianum, ut primus nuntiaret excessum Nervae, a Serviano, sororis viro, qui et sumptibus et aere alieno eius prodito Traiani odium in eum movit diu detentus fractoque consulte vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens eiusdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. 7 fuitque in amore Traiani, nec tamen ei per paedagogos puerorum, quos Traianus impensius diligebat, + Gallo favente defuit. 8 quo quidem tempore cum sollicitus de imperatoris erga se iudicio Vergilianas sortes consuleret,

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
sacra farens ? Nosco crines incanaque menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum, cui deinde subibit,

sors excidit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei provenisse dixerunt. 9 habuit autem praesumptionem imperii mox futuri ex fano quoque Niceforii Iovis manante responso, quod Apollonius Syrus Platonicus libris suis indidit. 10

denique satatim suffragante Sura ad amicitiam Traiani pleniorē redit, nepte per sororem Traiani uxore accepta favente Plotina, Traiano leviter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, volente.

III. 1 Quaesturam gessit Traiano quater et Articuleio consulibus, in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit. 2 Post quaesturam acta senatus curavit atque ad bellum Dacicum Traianum familiariter prosecutus est; 3 quando quidem et indulsisse vino se dicit Traiani moribus obsequentem atque ob hoc se a Traiano locupletissime muneratum. 4 Tribunus plebis factus est Candido et Quadrato iterum cons., 5 in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribuniciam potestatem omen sibi factum adserit, quod paenulas amiserit, quibus uti tribuni plebis pluviae tempore solebant, imperatores autem numquam. Unde hodieque imperatores sine paenulis a togatis videntur. 6 Secunda expeditione Dacica Traianus eum primae legioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit; quando quidem multa egregia eius facta claruerunt. 7 Quare adamante gemma, quam Traianus a Nerva acceperat, donatus ad spem successionis erectus est. 8 Praetor factus est Subsurano bis et Serviano iterum cons., cum sestertium iterum vicies ad ludos edendos a Traiano accepit. 9 Legatus postea praetorius in Pannoniam inferiorem missus Sarmatas compressit, disciplinam militarem tenuit, procuratores latius evagantes coercuit. 10 Ob hoc consul est factus. in quo magistratu ut a Sura conperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse, ab amicis Traiani contempni desiit ac negligi. 11 Et defuncto quidem Sura Traiani ei familiaritas creavit, causa praecipue orationum quas pro imperatore dictaverat.

IV. 1 Usus Plotinae quoque favore, cuius studio etiam legatus expeditionis Parthicae tempore destinatus est. 2 Qua quidem tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosi Papi et Platori Nepotis ex senatorio ordine, ex sequestri autem Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani et Turbonis. 3 In adoptionis sponsionem venit Palma et Celso, inimicis semper suis et quos postea ipse insecutus est, insuspicionem adfectatae tyrannidis lapsis. 4 Secundo consul favore Plotinae factus totam praesumptionem adoptionis emeruit. 5 Corrupisse eum Traiani liberos, curasse delicatos eosdemque saepe inisse per ea tempora, quibus in aula familiarior fuit, opinio multa firmavit. 6 Quintum iduum August. diem legatus Suriae litteras adoptionis accepit, quando et natalem adoptionis celebrari iussit. 7 Tertium iduum earundem, quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, excessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est. 8 Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse, ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum successorem relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus, usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: “commendo tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit”. 9 Et multi quidem dicunt Traianum in animo id habuisse, ut exemplo Alexandri Macedonis sine certo

successo remoreretur, multi ad senatum eum orationem voluisse mittere petiturum, ut, si quid ei evenisset, principem Romanae rei publicae senatus daret, additis dum taxat nominibus ex quibus optimum idem senatus eligeret. 10 Nec desunt qui factione Plotinae mortuo iam Traiano Hadrianum in adoptionem adscitum esse prodiderint, supposito qui pro Traiano fessa voce loquebatur.

V. 1 Adeptus imperium ad priscum se statim morem instituitet tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam intendit. 2 Nam deficientibus his nationibus, quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacescebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Brittani teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya deniqueac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant. 3 Quare omnia trans Eufraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplo, ut dicebat Catonis, qui Macedonas liberos pronuntiavit, quia tueri non poterant. 4 Parthamasirin, quem Traianus Parthis regem fecerat, quod eum non magni ponderis apud Parthos videret, proximis gentibus dedit regem. 5 Tantum autem statim clementiae studium habuit, ut, cum sub primis imperii diebus ab Attiano per epistolas esset admonitus, ut et Baebius Macer praefectus urbis, si reniteretur eius imperio, necaretur et Laberius Maximus, qui suspectus imperio in insula exulabat, et Frugi Crassus, neminem laederet; 6 quamvis Crassum postea procurator egressum insula, quasi res novas moliretur, iniussu eius occiderit. 7 Militibus ob auspicia imperii duplicem largitionem dedit. 8 Lusium Quietum sublati gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato. 9 Post haec Antiochia(m) digressus est ad inspiciendas reliquias Traiani, quas Attianus, Plotina et Matidia deferebant. 10 Quibus exceptis et navi Romam dimissis ipse Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio Severo per Illyricum Romam venit.

VI. 1 Traiano divinos honores datis ad senatum et quidem accuratissimis litteris postulavit et cunctis volentibus meruit, ita ut senatus multa, quae Hadrianus non postulaverat, in honorem Traiani sponte decerneret. 2 Cum ad senatum scriberet, veniam petit, quod de imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus scilicet prae properea militibus imperator, quod esse res publica sine imperatore non posset. 3 Cum triumphum ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulisset, recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem. 4 Patris patriae nomen delatum sibi statim et iterum postea distulit, quod hoc nomen Augustus sero meruisset. 5 Aurum coronarium Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit, et quidem difficultatibus aerarii ambitiose ac diligente rex positus. 6 Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxalanorum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petit. 7 Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit. 8 Cum rege

Roxalanorum, qui de imminutis stipendiis querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composuit.

VII. 1 Nigrini insidias, quas ille sacrificanti Hadriano conscio sibi Lusio et multis aliis paraverat, cum etiam successorem Hadrianus sibimet destinasset, evasit. 2 Quare Palma Tarracenis, Celsus Bais, Nigrinus Faventiae, Lusius in itinere senatus iubente, invito Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt. 3 Unde statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato(s), et ad comprimendam de se famam congiarium duplex praesens populo dedit ternis iam per singulos aureis se absente divisit. 4 In senatu quoque excusatis, quae facta erant, iuravit senum quam senatorem nisi ex senatus sententia puniturum. 5 Statim cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur. 6 Ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquis ingentes summas remisit syngrafis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis. 7 Damnatorum bona in fiscum privatum redigi vetuit omni summa in aerario publico recepta. 8 Pueris ac puellis, quibus etiam Traianus alimenta detulerat, incrementum liberalitatis adiecit. 9 Senatoribus, qui non vitio suo decoxerant, patrimonium pro liberorum modo senatoriae professionis explevit, ita ut plerisque in diem vitae suae dimensum sine dilatione praestiterit. 10 Ad honores explendos non solum amicis, sed etiam passim aliquantis multa largitus est. 11 Feminas nonnullas ad sustentandam vitam sumptibus iuvit. 12 Gladiatorium munus per sex dies continuos exhibuit et mille feras natali suo edidit.

VIII. 1 Optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium imperatoriae maiestatis adscivit. 2 Ludos circenses praeter natalicios decretos sibi sprexit. 3 Et in contione et in senatu saepe dixit ita se rem publicam gesturum, ut sciret populi rem esse, non propriam. 4 Tertio consules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit. 5 Ipsum autem tertium consulatum et quattuor mensibus tantum egit et in eo saepe ius dixit. 6 Senatui legitimo, cum in urbe vel iuxta urbem esset, semper interfuit. 7 Senatus fastigium in tantum extulit difficile faciens senatores, ut, cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem, nihil se amplius habere, quod in eum conferri posset, ostenderit. 8 Equites Romanos nec sine se de senatoribus nec secum iudicare permisit. 9 Erat enim tunc mos, ut, cum principes causas agnosceret, et senatores et equites Romanos in consilium vocaret et sententiam ex omnium deliberatione proferret. 10 Exsecratus est denique principes, qui minus senatoribus detulissent. 11 Serviano sororis viro,

cui tantum detulit, ut ei venienti de cubiculo semper occurrerit, tertium consulatum, nec secum tamen, cum ille bis <ante> Hadrianum fuisset, ne esset secundae sententiae, non petenti ac sine precatione concessit.

IX. 1 Inter haec tamen et multas provincias a Traiano adquisitas reliquit et theatrum, quod ille in campo Martio posuerat, contra omnium vota destruxit. 2 Et haec quidem eo tristiora videbantur, quod omnia, quae displicere vidisset, Hadrianus mandata sibi ut faceret secreto a Traiano esse simulabat. 3 Cum Attiani, praefecti sui et quondam tutoris, potentiam ferre non posset, nisus est eum obtruncare, sed revocatus est, quia iam quattuor consularium occisorum, quorum quidem necem in Attiani consilia refundebat, premebatur invidia. 4 Cui cum successorem dare non posset, quia non petebat, id egit, ut peteret, atque, ubi primum petit, in Turbonem transtulit potestatem; 5 cum quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto Septicius Clarus successorem dedit. 6 Summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat imperium, Campaniam petit eiusque omnia oppida beneficiis et largitionibus sublevavit optimum quemque amicitias suis iungens. 7 Romae vero praetorum et consulum officia frequentavit, convivii amicorum interfuit, aegros bis ac ter die, et nonnullos equites Romanos ac libertinos, visitavit, solaciis refovit, consiliis sublevavit, convivii suis semper adhibuit. 8 Omnia denique ad privati hominis modum fecit. 9 Socru suae honores praecipuos inpendit ludis gladiatorii ceterisque officiis.

X. 1 Post haec profectus in Gallias omnes c<ivit>a<te>s variis liberalitatibus sublevavit. 2 Inde in Germaniam transiit pacisque magis quam belli cupidus militem, quasi bellum inmineret, exercuit tolerantiae documentis eum imbuens, ipse quoque inter manipula vitam militarem magistrans, cibis etiam castrensibus in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est larido, caseo et posca, exemplo Scipionis Aemiliani et Metelli et auctoris sui Traiani, multos praemiis, nonnullos honoribus donans, ut ferre possent ea, quae asperius iubebat; 3 si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit ordinatis et officiis et inpendiis, numquam passus aliquem a castris iniuste abesse, cum tribunos non favor militum, sed iustitia commendaret, 4 exemplo etiam virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus, cum etiam vicena milia pedibus armatus ambularet, triclinia de castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret, 5 vestem humillimam frequenter acciperet, sine auro balteum sumeret, sine gemmis fibula <sagum> stringeretur, capulo vix eburneo spatham clauderet, 6 aegros milites in hospitibus suis videret, locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret, nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret aut eius aetatis, quae prudentia et annis tribunatus robor inpleret, 7 nec pateretur quicquam tribunum a milite accipere, delicata omnia undique summooveret, arma postremo eorum suppellectilemque corrigeret. 8 De militum etiam aetatibus

iudicabat, ne quis aut minor quam virtus posceret, aut maior quam pateretur humanitas, in castris contra morem veterem versaretur, agebatque, ut sibi semper noti essent, et eorum numerus sciretur.

XI. 1 Laborabat praeterea, ut condita militaria diligenter agnosceret, reditus quoque provinciales solerter explorans, ut <si> alicubi quippiam deesset, expleret. Ante omnes tamen enitebatur, ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel pasceret. 2 Ergo conversis regio more militibus Britanniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret. 3 Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu eius familiaris se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit, uxorem etiam ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset. 4 Et erat curiosus non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici sciri ab imperatore suam vitam, priusquam ipse hoc imperator ostenderet. 5 Unde non iniocundum est rem inserere, ex quo constet eum de amicis multa didicisse. 6 Nam cum ad quendam scripsisset uxor sua, quod voluptatibus detentus et lavacris ad se redire nollet, atque hoc Hadrianus per frumentarios cognovisset, petente illo commeatum Hadrianus ei lavacra et voluptates exprobravit. cui ille : “Num et tibi uxor mea, quod et mihi, scripsit ?” 7 Et hoc quidem vitiosissimum putant atque huic adiungunt, quae de adultorum amore ac nuptiarum adulteriis, quibus Hadrianus laborasse dicitur, adserunt, iungentes quod ne amicis quidem servaverit fidem.

XII. 1 Conpositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam Alexandrina seditione turbatus, quae nata est ob Apidem, qui, cum repertus esset post multos annos, turbas interpopulos creavit, apud quem deberet locari, omnibus studiose certantibus. 2 Per idem tempus in honorem Plotinae basilicam apud Nemausum opere mirabili extruxit. 3 Post haec Hispania petit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit. 4 Omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis dilectumque ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis, vehementissime ceteris prudenter et caute consuluit. 5 Quo quidem tempore non sine gloria gravissimum periculum adiit apud Tarraconem spatians per virdaria servo in se hospitis cum gladio furiosius inruente, quem retentum ille ministris adcurrentibus tradidit et, ubi furiosum esse constitit, medicis curandum dedit in nullo omnino commotus. 6 Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit. 7 Germanis regem constituit, motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. 8 Bellum Parthorum per idem

tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est.

XIII. 1 Post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaia navigavit et Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philippique suscepit, multa in Athenienses contulit et pro agonotheta resedit. 2 Et in Achaia quidem etiam illud observatum ferunt, quod, cum in sacris multi cultros haberent, cum Hadriano nullus armatus ingressus est. 3 Post in Siciliam navigavit, in qua Aetnam montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varium. 4 Inde Romam venit atque ex ea in Africam transiit ac multum beneficiorum provinciis Africanis adtribuit. 5 Nec quisquam fere principum tantum terrarum tantum celeriter peragravit. 6 Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. 7 Deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. 8 Toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Osdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia, quam Traianus ceperat, ac promissa sella, quae itidem capta fuerat. 9 Cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit, ut eos paeniteret, qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Farasmanis, qui eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. 10 Et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se crederetur inmittere.

XIV. 1 Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit, ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit, ne tot civitatum metropolis Antiochia diceretur. 2 Moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia. 3 Sed in monte Casio, cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset, imbre orto fulmen decidens hostiam et victimarium sacrificanti adflavit. 4 Peregrata Arabia Pelusium venit et Pompei tumulum magnificentius extruxit. 5 Antinum suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit, quem muliebriter flevit. 6 De quo varia fama est aliis eum devotum pro Hadriano adserentibus, aliis, quod et forma eius ostendat et nimia voluptas Hadriani. 7 Et Graeci quidem volente Hadriano eum consecraverunt oracula per eum dari adserentes, quae Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur. 8 Fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studiosissimus. 9 Arithmeticae, geometriae, picturae peritissimus. Iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat. In voluptatibus nimius. Nam et de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit. (amatoria carmina scripsit.) 10 Idem armorum peritissimus et rei militaris scientissimus, gladiatoria quoque arma tractavit. 11 Idem severus laetus, comis gravis, lascivus cunctator, tenax liberalis, <simplex> simulator, saevus clemens et semper in omnibus varius.

XV. 1 Amicos ditavit et quidem non petentes, cum petentibus nil negaret. 2 Idem tamen facile de amicis, quidquid insusurrabatur, audivit atque ideo prope

cunctos vel amicissimos vel eos, quos summis honoribus evexit, postea ut hostium loco habuit, ut Attianum et Nepotem et Septicium Clarum. 3 Nam Eudaemonem prius conscius imperii ad egestatem perduxit, 4 Polyaenum et Marcellum ad mortem voluntariam coegit, 5 Heliodorum famosissimis litteris lacesivit, 6 Titianum ut conscius tyrannidis et argui passus est et proscribi. 7 Umidium Quadratum et Catilium Severum et Turbonem graviter insecutus est, 8 Servianum sororis virum nonagesimum iam annum agentem, ne sibi superviveret, mori coegit; 9 libertos denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est. 10 Et quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores omnium artium semperut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit. 11 Cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis libris vel carminibus invisem editis saepe certavit. 12 Et Favorinus quidem, cum verbum eius quondam ab Hadriano reprehensum esset atque ille cessisset, arguentibus amicis, quod male cederet, Hadriano de verbo, quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum iocundissimum movit; 13 ait enim : “non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patiminime illum doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta legiones.”

XVI. 1 Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit, ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit iubens, ut eos suis nominibus publicarent; nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur. 2 Catacannas libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit. 3 Floro poetae scribenti ad se :

ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Brittanos,
<latitare per Germanos,>
Scythicas pati pruinas

4 rescripsit :

ego nolo Florus esse,
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rutundos.

5 Amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi, controversias declamavit. 6 Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Salustio Coelium praetulit eademque iactatione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. 7 Mathesin sic scire sibi visus est, ut sero kalendis Ianuariis scripserit, quid ei toto anno posset evenire, ita ut eo anno, quo perit, usque ad illam horam, qua est mortuus, scripserit, quid acturus esset. 8 Sed quamvis esset in reprehendendis musicis, tragicis, comicis, grammaticis,

rhetoribus, oratoribus facilis, tamen omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit. 9 Et cum ipse auctor esset, ut multi ab eo tristes recederent, dicebat se graviter ferre, si quem tristem videret. 10 In summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam, grammaticos, rhetores, musicos, geometras, pictores, astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt, eminente Favorino. 11 Doctores, qui professioni suae inhabiles videbantur, dilatos honoratosque a professione dimisit.

XVII. 1 Quos in privata vita inimicos habuit, imperator tantum neglexit, ita ut uni, quem capitalem habuerat, factus imperator diceret “evasisti”. 2 His, quos ad militiam ipse per se vocavit, equos, mulos, vestes, sumptus et omnem ornatum semper exhibuit. 3 Saturnalia et sigillaricia frequenter amicis inopinantibus misit et ipse ab his libenter accepit et alia invicem dedit. 4 Adprehendendas obsonatorum fraudes, cum plurimis simmatibus pasceret, fercula de aliis mensis etiam ultimis quibusque iussit sibi adponi. 5 Omnes reges muneribus suis vicit. Publice frequenter et cum omnibus lavit. 6 Ex quo ille iocus balnearis innotuit : nam cum quodam tempore veteranum quendam notum sibi in militia dorsum et ceteram partem corporis vidisset adterere <parieti>, percontatus, cur se marmoribus destringendum daret, ubi audivit hoc idcirco fieri, quod servum non haberet, et servis eum donavit et sumptibus. 7 Verum alia die cum plures senes ad provocandam liberalitatem principis parieti se adtererent, evocari eos iussit et alium ab alio invicem defricari. 8 Fuit et plebis iactantissimus amator. Peregrinationis ita cupidus, ut omnia, quae legerat de locis orbis terrarum, praesens vellet addiscere. 9 Frigora et tempestates ita patienter tulit, ut numquam caput texerit. 10 Regibus multis plurimum detulit, a plerisque vero etiam pacem redemit, a nonnullis contemptus est, 11 multis ingentia dedit munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et elephantum et quinquagenariam cohortem post magnifica dedit dona. 12 Cum a Farasmane ipse quoque ingentia mune<r>a don<o> accepisset atque inter haec auratas quoque clamydes, trecentos noxios cum auratis clamydibus in harenam misit ad eius munera deridenda.

XVIII. 1 Cum iudicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et praecipue Iuventium Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis probasset. 2 Constituit inter cetera, ut in nulla civitate domus aliqua transferendae ad aliam urbem vilis materiae causa dirueretur. 3 Liberis proscriptorum duodecimas bonorum concessit. 4 Maiestatis crimina non admisit. 5 Ignotorum hereditates repudiavit nec notorum accepit, si filios haberent. 6 De thesauris ita cavit, ut, <si> quis in suo repperisset, ipse potiretur, si quis in alieno, dimidium domino daret, si quis in publico, cum fisco aequabiliter partiretur. 7 Servos a dominis occidi vetuit

eosque iussit damnari per iudices, si digni essent. 8 Lenoni et lanistae servum vel ancillam vendi vetuit causa non praestita. 9 Decoctores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent, catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti iussit. 10 Ergastula servorum et liberorum tulit. Lavacra pro sexibus separavit. 11 Si dominus in domo interemptus esset, non de omnibus servis quaestionem haberi sed de his, qui per vicinitatem poterant sentire, praecepit.

XIX. 1 In Etruria praeturae imperator egit. Per Latina opida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, apud Neapolim demarchus, in patria sua quinquennalis et item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria, et Athenis archon fuit. 2 In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit. 3 Athenis mille ferarum venationem in statio exhibuit. 4 Ab urbe Roma numquam ullum venatorem aut scaenicum avocavit. 5 Romae post ceteras immensissimas voluptates in honorem socrus suae aromatica populo donavit, in honorem Traiani balsama et crocum per gradus theatri fluere iussit. 6 Fabulas omnis generis more antiquo in theatro dedit, histriones aulicos publicavit. 7 In circo multas feras et saepe centum leones interfecit. 8 Militares pyrrichas populo frequenter exhibuit. Gladiatores frequenter spectavit. 9 Cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit. 10 Romae instauravit Pantheon, saepta, basilicam Neptuni, sacras aedes plurimas, forum Augusti, lavacrum Agrippae, eaque omnia propriis auctorum nominibus consecravit. 11 Fecit et sui nominis pontem et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim et aedem Bonae Deae. 12 Transtulit et colossum stantem atque suspensum per Decrianum architectum de eo loco, in quo nunc templum Urbis est, ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam elephantos viginti quattuor exhiberet. 13 Et cum hoc simulacrum post Neronis vultum, cui antea dicatum fuerat, Soli consecrasset, aliud tale Apollodoro architecto auctore facere Lunae molitus est.

XX. 1 In conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit, detestans eos, qui sibi hanc voluptatem humanitatis quasi servantes fastigium principis inviderent. 2 Apud Alexandriam in musio multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit. 3 Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelem fuisse et idcirco multa pie fecisse, quod timeret, ne sibi idem, quod Domitiano accidit, eveniret. 4 Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Karthaginem et Athenarum partem. 5 Aquarum ductus etiam infinitos hoc nomine nuncupavit. 6 Fiscus advocatus primus instituit. 7 Fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensa; nam ipse orationes et dictavit et ad omnia respondit. 8 Loci eius plurimi exstant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Unde illud quoque innotuit, quod, cum cuidam canescenti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum petenti sed infecto capite respondit “iam hoc patri tuo negavi”. 9 Nomina plurimis sine nomenclatore reddidit, quae semel et congesta simul audiverat, ut

nomenclatores saepius errantes emendarit. 10 Dixit et veteranorum nomina, quos aliquando dimiserat. Libros statim lectos et ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit. 11 Uno tempore scripsit, dictavit, audivit et cum amicis fabulatus est (si potest credi). Omnes publicas rationes ita complexus est, ut domum privatam quivis paterfamilias diligens non satis novit. 12 Equos et canes sic amavit, ut eis sepulchra constitueret. 13 Oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

XXI. 1 De iudicis omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit, quamdiu verum inveniret. 2 Libertos suos nec sciri voluit in publico nec aliquid apud se posse, dicto suo omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum, damnatis omnibus libertis suis, quicumque se de eo iactaverant. 3 Unde extat etiam illud seuerum quidem sed prope ioculare de servis. nam cum quodam tempore servum suum inter duos senatores e conspectu ambulare vidisset, misit, qui ei collafum daret <diceret>que : “Noli inter eos ambulare, quorum esse adhuc potes servus”. 4 Inter cibos unice amavit tetrafarmacum, quod erat de fasiano, sumine, perna et crustulo. 5 Fuerunt eius temporibus fames, pestilentia, terrae motus, quae omnia, quantum potuit, procuravit multisque civitatibus vastatis per ista subvenit. 6 Fuit etiam Tiberis inundatio. 7 Latium multis civitatibus dedit, tributa multis remisit. 8 Expeditiones sub eo graves nullae fuerunt; bella etiamsilentio paene transacta. 9 A militibus propter curam exercitus nimiam multum amatus est, simul quod in eos liberalissimus fuit. 10 Parthos in amicitia semper habuit, quod inde regem retraxit, quem Traianus inposuerat. 11 Armeniis regem habere permisit, cum sub Traiano legatum habuissent. 12 Mesopotamenos non exegit tributum, quod Traianus inposuit. 13 Albanos et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad illum venire contempsissent. 14 Reges Bactrianorum legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices miserunt.

XXII. 1 Tutores saepissime dedit. Disciplinam civilem non aliter tenuit quam militarem. 2 Senatores et equites Romanos semper in publico togatos esse iussit, nisi si a cena reverterentur. 3 Ipse, cum in Italiam esset, semper togatus processit. 4 Ad convivium venientes senatores stans excepit semperque aut pallio tectus discubuit aut toga summissa. 5 Diligentia iudicis sumptus convivii constituit et ad anti cummodum redegit. 6 Vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit. Sederi equos in civitatibus non sivit. 7 Ante octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari passus est. 8 Ab epistolis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit. 9 Eos, quos pauperes et innocentes vidit, sponte ditavit, quos vero calliditate ditatos, etiam odio habuit. 10 Sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit. pontificis maximi officium peregit. 11 Causas Romae atque provinciis frequenter audivit adhibitis in consilio suo

consulibus atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus. 12 Fucinum lacum emisit. 13 Quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam iudices constituit. 14 Quando in Africam venit, ad adventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab Africanis dilectus est.

XXIII. 1 Peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. 2 Factusque de successore sollicitus primum de Serviano cogitavit, quem postea, ut diximus, mori coegit. 3 Fuscum, quod imperium praesagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret, in summa destestatione habuit. 4 Platorium Nepotem, quem tantopere ante dilexit, ut veniens ad eum aegrotantem Hadrianus inpune non admitteretur, suspicionibus adductus, est -, 5 eodem modo et Terentium Gentianum, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu diligi tunc videbat, 6 omnes postremo, de quorum imperio cogitavit, quasi futuros imperatores detestatus est. 7 Et omnem quidem vim crudelitatis ingenitae usque eo repressit, donec in villa Tiburtina pro fluvio sanguinis paene ad exitum venit. 8 Tunc libere Servianum quasi affectatorem imperii, quod servis regis cenam misisset, quod in sedili regio iuxta lectum posito sedisset, quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonagenarius processisset, mori coegit multis aliis interfectis vel aperte vel per insidias. 9 Quando quidem etiam Sabina uxor non sine fabula veneni dati ab Hadriano defuncta est. 10 Tunc Ceionium Commodum, Nigrini generum insidiatoris quondam, sibi forma commendatum adoptare constituit. 11 Adoptavit ergo Ceionium Commodum Verum invitis omnibus eumque Aelium Verum Caesarem appellavit. 12 Ob cuius adoptionem ludos circenses dedit et donativum populo ac militibus expendit. 13 Quem praetura honoravit ac statim Pannoniis inposuit decreto consulatu cum sumptibus. Eundem Commodum secundo consulem designavit. 14 Quem cum minus sanum videret, saepissime dictitavit : “in caducum parietem nos inclinavimus et perdidimusque ter milies sestertium, quod populo et militibus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus”. 15 Commodus autem prae valetudine nec gratias quidem in senatuagere potuit Hadriano de adoptione. Denique accepto largius antidoto ingravescente valetudine per somnum perit ipsis kalendis Ianuariis. Quare ab Hadriano Votorum causa lugeri est vetitus.

XXIV. 1 Et mortuo Aelio Vero Caesare Hadrianus ingruente tristissima valetudine adoptavit Arrium Antoninum, qui postea Pius dictus est, et ea quidem lege, ut ille sibi duos adoptaret, Annium Verum et Marcum Antoninum. 2 Hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti primi rem publicam gubernaverunt. 3 Et Antoninus quidem Pius idcirco appellatus dicitur, quod socerum fessum aetate manu sublevaret. 4 Quamvis alii cognomentum hoc ei dicant inditum, quod multos senatores Hadriano iam saevienti abripuisset, 5 alii, quod ipsi Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset. 6 Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc

factam esse doluerunt, speciatim Catilius Severus, praefectus urbi, qui sibi praeparabat imperium. 7 Qua re prodita successore accepto dignitate privatus est. 8 Hadrianus autem ultimo vitae taedio iam adfectus gladiose transfigi a servo iussit. 9 Quod cum esset proditum et in Antonini usque notitiam venisset, ingressis ad se praefectis et filio rogantibusque, ut aequo animo necessitatem morbi ferret, irratu illis auctorem prodicionis iussit occidi, qui tamen ab Antonino servatus est. 10 Statimque testamentum scripsit nec tamen actus rei publicae praetermisit, dicente Antonino parricidam se futurum, si Hadrianum adoptatus ipse pateretur occidi. 11 Et post testamentum quidem iterum se est conatus occidere; subtracto pugione saevior factus est. 12 Petit et venenum a medico, qui se ipse, ne daret, occidit.

XXV. 1 Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam mulier, quae diceret somnio se monitam, ut insinuaret Hadriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus. Quod cum non fecisset, esset caecatam. iussam tamen iterum Hadriano eadem dicere atque genua eius osculare <oculos> recepturam, si id fecisset. 2 Quod cum ex somnio impleret, oculos recepit, cum a<qua>, quae in fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. 3 Venit et de Pannonia quidam vetus caecus ad febrientem Hadrianum eumque contigit. 4 Quo facto et ipse oculos recepit, et Hadrianum febris reliquit. Quamvis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemoret. 5 Post haec Hadrianus Baias petit Antonino Romae ad imperandum relicto. 6 Ubi cum nihil proficeret, arcessito Antonino in conspectu eius apud ipsas Baias perit die VI. iduum Iuliarum. 7 Invisusque omnibus sepultus est in villa Ciceroniana Puteolis. 8 Sub ipso mortis tempore et Servianum nonaginta annos agentem, ut supra dictum est, ne sibi superviveret atque, ut putabat, imperaret, mori coegit et ob leves offensas plurimos iussit occidi, quos Antoninus reservavit. 9 Et moriens quidem hos versus fecisse dicitur :

animula vagula blandula,
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula
nec, ut soles, dabis iocos!

10 Tales autem nec multos meliores fecit et Graecos. Vixit annis LXII, mensibus V, diebus XVII. Imperavit annis XXI, mensibus XI.

XXVI. 1 Statura fuit procerus, forma comptus, flexo ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret, habitudine robusta. 2 Equitavit ambulavitque plurimum armisque et pilo se semper exercuit.

3 Venatus frequentissime leonem manu sua occidit. Venando autem iugulum et costam fregit. Venationem semper cum amicis participavit. 4 In convivio tragoedias, comoedias, Attellanas, sambucas, lectores, poetas pro re semper exhibuit. 5 Tiburtinam villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academicum, Prytanium, Canopum, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret. et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit. 6 Signa mortis haec habuit : natali suo ultimo, cum Antoninum commendaret, praetexta sponte delapsa caput ei aperuit. 7 Anulus, in quo imago ipsius sculpta erat, sponte de digito delapsus est. 8 Ante diem natalis eius nescio qui ad senatum ululans venit; contra quem Hadrianus ita motus est, quasi de sua mortelo queretur, cum eius verba nullus agnosceret. 10 Idem cum vellet in senatu dicere “post filii mei mortem”, “post meam” dixit. somniavit praeterea se a patre potionem soporiferam impetrasse. Item somniavit a leone se oppressum esse.

XXVII. 1 In mortuum eum a multis multa sunt dicta. acta eius inrita fieri senatus volebat. 2 Nec appellatus esset divus, nisi Antoninus rogasset. 3 Templum denique ei pro sepulchro apud Puteolos constituit et quinquennale certamen et flamines et sodales et multa alia, quae ad honorem quasi numinis pertinerent. 4 Qua re, ut supra dictum est, multi putant Antoninum Pium dictum.

AELIUS AELII SPARTIANI

Diocletiano Augusto Aelius Spartianus suus sal.

I. 1 In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Auguste, tot principum maxime, non solum eos, qui principum locum in hac statione, quam temperas, retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam, qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere. 2 Quorum praecipue de Aelio Vero dicendum est, qui primus tantum Caesaris nomen accepit, adoptione Hadriani familiae principum adscitus. 3 Et quoniam nimis pauca dicenda sunt, nec debet prologus inormior esse quam fabula, de ipso iam loquar.

II. 1 Ceionius Commodus, qui et Aelius Verus appellatus est, quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit, nihil habet in sua vita memorabile, nisi quod primus tantum Caesar est appellatus, 2 non testamento, ut antea solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere, quo nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt, quasi quidam principum filii, visi et designati augustae maiestatis heredes. 3 Et quoniam de Caesarum nomine in huius praecipue vita est aliquid disputandum, qui hoc solum nomen indeptus est, Caesarem vel ab elephanto, qui lingua Maurorum caesai dicitur, in proelio caeso eum, qui primus sic appellatus est, doctissimi viri et eruditissimi putant dictum, 4 vel quia mortua matre, sed ventre caeso, sit natus, vel quod cum magnis crinibus sit utero parentis effusus, vel quod oculis caesiis et ultra humanum morem vigerit. 5 Certe quaecumque illa, felix necessitas fuit, unde tam clarum et duraturum cum aeternitate mundi nomen effloruit. 6 Hic ergo, de quo sermo est, primum Lucius Aurelius Verus est dictus, sed ab Hadriano ascitus in Aeliorum familiam, hoc est in Hadriani, transscriptus et appellatus est Caesar. 7 Huic pater Ceionius Commodus fuit, quem alii Verum, alii Lucium Aurelium, multi Annium prodiderunt. 8 Maiores omnes nobilissimi, quorum origo pleraque ex Etruria fuit vel ex Faventia. 9 Et de huius quidem familia plenius in vita Lucii Aurelii Ceionii Commodi Veri Antonini, filii huiusce, quem sibi adoptare Antoninus iussus est, disseremus. 10 Is enim liber debet omnia, quae ad stemma generis pertinent, continere, qui habet principem, de quo plura dicenda sunt.

III. 1 Adoptatus autem Aelius Verus ab Hadriano eo tempore, quo iam, ut superius diximus, parum vigeabat et de successore necessario cogitabat, 2 statimque praetor factus et Pannonis dux ac rector impositus, mox consul creatus

et, quia erat deputatus imperio, iterum consul designatus est. 3 Datum etiam populo congiarium causa eius adoptionis conlatumque militibus sestertium ter milies, circenses editi, neque quicquam praetermissum, quod posset laetitiam publicam frequentare. 4 Tantumque apud Hadrianum principem valuit, ut praeter adoptionis adfectum, quo ei videbatur adiunctus, solus omnia, quae cuperet, etiam per litteras impetraret. 5 Nec provinciae quidem, cui praepositus erat, defuit. 6 Nam bene gestis rebus vel potius feliciter etiamsi non summi, medii tamen optinuit ducis famam. 7 Hic tamen valetudinis adeo miserae fuit, ut Hadrianum statim adoptionis paenituerit potueritque eum amovere a familia imperatoria, cum saepe de aliis cogitaret, si forte vixisset. 8 Fertur denique ab his, qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt, Hadrianum Veri scisse genituram et eum, quem non multum ad rem publicam regendam probarat, ob hoc tantum adoptasse, ut suae satisfaceret voluptati et, ut quidam dicunt, iuri iurando, quod intercessisse inter ipsum ac Verum secretis conditionibus ferebatur. 9 Fuisse enim Hadrianum peritum matheseos Marius Maximus usque adeo demonstrat, ut eum dicat cuncta de se scisse, sic ut omnium dierum usque ad horam mortis futuros actus ante perscripserit.

IV. 1 Satis praeterea constat eum de Vero saepe dixisse:

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra
esse sinent.

2 Quos versus cum aliquando in hortulo spatians cantitaret, atque adesset unus ex litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat, velletque addere:

Nimum vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.

3 Hadrianus dixisse fertur “Hos Versus vita non capit Veri”, illud addens:

manibus date lilia plenis;
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltim accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere.

4 Cum quidem etiam illud dicitur cum risione dixisse : “Ego mihi divum adoptavi, non filium.” 5 Nunc tamen cum eum consolaretur unus de litteratis, qui aderat, ac diceret : “Quid? si non recte constellatio eius collecta est, quem credimus esse victurum?”, Hadrianus dixisse fertur : “Facile ista dicis tu, qui

patrimonii tui, non rei p. quaeris heredem.” 6 Unde apparet eum habuisse in animo alium deligere atque hunc ultimo vitae suae tempore a re publica summovere. 7 Sed eius consiliis iuvit eventus. nam cum de provincia Aelius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam, quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum aut dicendi magistros parasset, qua kalendis ianuariis Hadriano patri gratias ageret, accepta potione, qua se aestimaret invari, kalendis ipsis Ianuariis perit. 8 Iussusque ab Hadriano, quia Vota interveniebant, non lugeri.

V. 1 Fuit hic vitae laetissimae, eruditus in litteris, Hadriano, ut malivoli locuntur, acceptior forma quam moribus. 2 In aula diu non fuit, in vita privata etsi minus probabilis, minus tamen reprehendendus ac memor familiae suae, comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiae, oris venerandi, eloquentiae celsioris, versu facilis, in re publica etiam non inutilis. 3 Huius voluptates ab his, qui vitam eius scripserunt, multae feruntur, et quidem non infames sed aliquatenus diffuentes. 4 Nam tetrafarmacum, seu potius pentefarmacum, quo postea semper Hadrianus est usus, ipse dicitur repperisse, hoc est sumen, fasianum, pavonem, pernam crustulatam et aprunam. 5 De quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentefarmacum sed tetrafarmacum appellans, ut et nos ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus. 6 Fertur etiam aliud genus voluptatis, quod Verus invenerat. 7 Nam lectum eminentibus quattuor anacliteriis fecerat minuto reticulo undique inclusum eumque foliis rosae, quibus demptumesset album, replebat iacensque cum concubinis vel amine de liliis facto se tegebat unctus odoribus Persicis. 8 Iam illa frequentantur a nonnullis, quod et accubitationes ac mensas de rosis ac liliis fecerit et quidem purgatis. quae etsi non decora, non tamen ad perniciem publicam prompta sunt. 9 Atque idem Ovidii libros Amorum ad verbum memoriter scisse fertur, idem Apicii, ut ab aliis relatum, in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse. 10 Iam illa leviora quod cursoribus suis exemplo Cupidinum alas frequenter adposuit eosque ventorum nominibus saepe vocitavit, Boream alium, alium Notum et item Aquilonem aut Circium ceterisque nominibus appellans et indefesse atque inhumaniter faciens cursitare. 11 Idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis voluptatibus dixisse fertur : “Patere me per alias exercere cupiditates meas: uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis.” 12 Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, -vel certe cum Marco- et cum eodem aequale gessit imperium. 13 Nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur, ut dicantur nonduo Antonini set duo Augusti. 14 Tantumque huius rei et novitas et dignitas valuit, ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum.

VI. 1 Pro eius adoptione infinitam pecuniam populo et militibus Hadrianus dedit. 2 Sed cum eum videret homo paulo argutior, miserrimae valetudinis, ita ut

scutum solidius iactare non posset, dixisse fertur: 3 “Ter milies perdidimus, quod exercitui populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in caducum parietem incubuimus et qui non ipsam rem publicam, sed nos ipsos sustentare vix possit.” 4 Et haec quidem Hadrianus cum praefecto suo locutus est. 5 Quae cum prodidisset praefectus, ac per hoc Aelius Caesar in dies magis magisque sollicitudine, utpote desperati hominis, adgravaretur, praefecto suo Hadrianus, qui rem prodiderat, successorem dedit volens videri, quod verba tristia temperasset. 6 Sed nihil profuit. nam, ut diximus, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius Caesar (nam his omnibus nominibus appellatus est) perit sepultusque est imperatorio funere, neque quicquam de regia ni mortis habuit dignitatem. 7 Doluit ergo illius mortem, ut bonus pater, non, ut bonus princeps. nam cum amici solliciti quaererent, qui adoptari posset, Hadrianus dixisse fertur his : “Etiam vivente adhuc Vero decreveram.” 8 Ex quo ostendit aut iudicium suum aut scientiam futurorum. 9 Post hunc denique Hadrianus diu anceps, quid faceret, Antoninum adoptavit Pium cognomine appellatum. Cui conditionem addidit, utipse sibi Marcum et Verum Antoninus adoptaret filiamque suam Vero, non Marco daret. 10 Nec diutius vixit gravatus languore ac diverso genere morborum saepe dicens sanum principem mori debere, non debilem.

VII. 1 Statuas sane Aelio Vero per totum orbem colossas poni iussit, templa etiam in nonnullis urbibus fieri. 2 Denique illius merito filium eius Verum, nepotem utpote suum, qui pereunte Aelio in familia ipsius Hadriani remanserat, adoptandum Antonino Pio cum Marco, ut iam diximus, dedit saepe dicens : “Habeat res publica quodcumque de Vero.” 3 Quod quidem contrarium his, quae de adoptionis paenitentia per auctores plurimos intimata sunt, cum Verus posterior nihil dignum praeter clementiam in moribus habuerit, quod imperatoriae familiae lumen adferret. 4 Haec sunt, quae de Vero Caesare mandanda litteris fuerunt. 5 De quo idcirco non tacui, quia mihi propositum fuit omnes, qui [vel] post Caesarem dictatorem, hoc est divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt, vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt, singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etiamsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi.

ANTONINUS PIUS IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Tito Aurelio Fulvo Boionio Antonino Pio paternum genuse Gallia Transalpina, Nemausense scilicet, 2 avus Titus Aurelius Fulvus, qui per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis pervenit, 3 pater Aurelius Fulvus, qui et ipse fuit consul, homo tristis et integer, 4 avia materna Boionia Procilla, mater Arria Fadilla, avus maternus Arrius Antoninus, bis consul, homo sanctus et qui Nervam miseratus esset, quod imperare coepisset, 5 soror uterina Iulia Fadilla, 6 vitricus Iulius Lupus consularis, socer Annius Verus, uxor Annia Faustina, 7 filii mares duo, duae feminae, gener per maiorem filiam Lamia Silvanus, per minorem Marcus Antoninus fuere. 8 Ipse Antoninus Pius natus est XIII. kl. Oct. FL. Domitiano XII et Cornelio Dolabella cons. In villa Lanuvina. Educatus Lori in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit, cuius hodieque reliquiae manent. 9 Pueritiam egit cum avo paterno, mox cum materno, omnes suos religiose colens, atque adeo et consobrinorum et vitrici et multorum adfinium hereditate ditatus est.

II. 1 Fuit vir forma conspicuus, ingenio clarus, moribus clemens, nobilis, vultu placidus, ingenio singulari, eloquentiae nitidae, litteraturae praecipuae, sobrius, diligens agri cultor, mitis, largus, alieni abstinens, et omnia haec cum mensura et sine iactantia, 2 in cunctis postremo laudabilis et qui merito Numae Pompilio ex bonorum sententia comparatur. 3 Pius cognominatus est a senatu, vel quod soceri fessiam aetatem manu praesente senatu levaret ((quod quidem non satis magnae pietatis est argumentum, cum impius sit magis, qui ista non faciat, quam pius qui debitum reddat)) 4 vel quod eos, quos Hadrianus per malam valetudinem occidi iusserat, reservavit, 5 vel quod Hadriano contra omnium studia post mortem infinitos atque immensos honores decrevit, 6 vel quod, cum se Hadrianus interimere vellet, ingenti custodia et diligentia fecit, ne id posset admittere, 7 vel quod vere natura clementissimus et nihil temporibus suis asperum fecit. 8 Idem fenus trientarium, hoc est minimis usuris exercuit, ut patrimonio suo plurimos adiuveret. 9 Fuit quaestor liberalis, praetor splendidus, consul cum Catilio Severo. 10 Hic in omni vita sua privata in agris frrequentissime vixit, sed clarus in locis omnibus fuit. 11 Ab Hadriano inter quattuor consulares, quibus Italia committebatur, electus est ad eam partem Italiae regendam, in qua plurimum possidebat, ut Hadrianus viri talis et honori consuleret et quieti.

III. 1 Huic, cum Italiam regeret, imperii omen est factum. nam cum tribunal ascendisset, inter alias adclamationes dictum est “Auguste, dii te servent”. 2 Proconsulatum Asiae sic egit, ut solus avum vinceret. 3 In proconsulatu etiam sic imperii omen accepit : nam cum sacerdos femina Trallis ex more proconsules

semper hoc nomine salutaret, non dixit “ave pro consule”, sed “ave imperator”. 4 Cysici etiam de simulacro dei ad statuam eius corona translata est. 5 Et post consulatum in viridiario taurus marmoreus cornibus ramis arboris ad crescentibus adpressus est, et fulgur caelo sereno sine noxa in eius domum venit, et in Etruria dolia, quae defossa fuerant, supra terram reperta sunt et statuas eius in omni Etruria examen apium replevit et somnio saepe monitus est penetris suis Hadriani simulacrum inserere. 6 Proficiscens ad proconsulatum filiam maiorem amisit. 7 De huius uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam libertatem et vivendi facilitatem, quae iste cum animi dolore compressit. 8 Post proconsulatum in consiliis Hadriani Romae frequens dixit de omnibus, quibus Hadrianus consulebat, mitiorem sententiam semper ostendens.

IV. 1 Genus sane adoptionis tale fertur : mortuo Aelio Vero, quem sibi Hadrianus adoptaverat et Caesarem nuncupaverat, dies senatus habebatur; 2 eo Arrius Antoninus soceri vestigia levans venit atque idcirco ab Hadriano dicitur adoptatus. 3 Quae causa sola esse adoptionis nec potuit omnino nec debuit, maxime cum et semper rem publicam bene egisset Antoninus et in proconsulatu se sanctum gravemque praeberet. 4 Ergo cum eum Hadrianus adoptare se velle publicasset, acceptum est spatium deliberandi, utrum adrogari ab Hadriano vellet. 5 Adoptionis lex huiusmodi data est, ut quemadmodum Antoninus ab Hadriano adoptabatur, ita sibi ille adoptaret M. Antoninum, fratris uxoris suae filium, et L. Verum, Aelii Veri, qui ab Hadriano adoptatus fuerat, filium, qui postea Verus Antoninus est dictus. 6 Adoptatus est V. kl. Mart. die in senatu gratias agens, quod se ita sensisset Hadrianus. 7 Factusque est patri et in imperio proconsulari et in tribunicia potestate collega. 8 Huius primum hoc fertur, quod, cum ab uxore argueretur quasi parum nescio quid suis largiens, dixerit : “stulta, posteaquam ad imperium transivimus, et illud, quod habuimus ante, perdidimus.” 9 Congiarium militibus populo de proprio dedit et ea, quae pater promiserat. 10 Et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit et aurum coronarium, quod adoptionis suae causa oblatum fuerat, Italicis totum, medium provincialibus reddidit.

V. 1 Et patri, cum advixerit, religiosissime paruit. Sed Hadriano apud Baias mortuo reliquias eius Romam pervexit sancte ac reverenter atque in hortis Domitiae conlocavit, etiam repugnantibus cunctis inter divos eum rettulit. 2 Uxorem Faustinam Augustam appellari a senatu permisit. Pii appellationem recepit. Patri et matri atque avis et fratribus iam mortuis statuas decretas libenter accepit. Circenses natalisuo dicatos non respuit aliis honoribus refutatis. Clipeum Hadriano magnificentissimum posuit et sacerdotes instituit. 3 Factus imperator nulli eorum, quos Hadrianus provexerat, successorem dedit fuitque ea constantia, ut septenis et novenis annis in provinciis bonos praesides detineret. 4

Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Brittanos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro cespicio summotis barbaris ducto et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. 5 In Achaia etiam atque <apud> Aegyptum rebelliones repressit. Alanos molientis saepe refrenavit.

VI. 1 Procuratores suos et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit nec umquam ullo laetus est lucro, quo provincialis oppressus est. 2 Contra procuratores suos conquerentes libenter audivit. 3 His, quos Hadrianus damnaverat, in senatu indulgentias petit dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc fuisse facturum. 4 Imperatorium fastigium ad summam civilitatem deduxit; unde plus crevit recusantibus aulicis ministris, qui illo nihil per internuntios agente nec terrere poterant homines aliquando nec ea, quae occulta non erant, vendere. 5 Senatui tantum detulit imperator, quantum, cum privatus esset, deferri sibi ab alio principe optavit. 6 Patris patriae nomen delatum a senatu, quod primo distulerat, cum ingenti gratiarum actione suscepit. 7 Tertio anno imperii sui Faustina uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata est delatis circensibus atque templo et flaminicis et statu aureis atque argenteis, cum etiam ipse hoc concesserit, ut imago eius cunctis circensibus poneretur. 8 Statuam auream delatam a senatu positam suscepit. 9 M. Antoninum quaestorem consulem petente senatu creavit. 10 Annium Verum, qui postea dictus est Antoninus, ante tempus quaestorem designavit. 11 Neque de provinciis neque de ullis actibus quicquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos rettulit, atque ex eorum sententia formas composuit. 12 Visus est sane ab amicis et cum privatis vestibus et domestica quaedam gerens.

VII. 1 Tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos rexit, ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret. Provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt. 2 Quadruplatores extincti sunt. 3 Publicatio bonorum rarior quam umquam fuit, ita ut unus tantum proscriberetur affectatae tyrannidis reus, hoc est Atilius Titianus, senatu puniente, a quo conscios requiri vetuit, filio eius ad omnia semper adiuto. 4 Perit et Priscianus reus affectatae tyrannidis, sed morte voluntaria. de qua coniuratione quaeri vetuit. 5 Victus Antonini Pii talis fuit, ut esset opulentia sine reprehensione, parsimonia sine sordibus, et mensa eius per proprios servos, proprios aucupes, piscatores ac venatores instrueretur. 6 Balneum, quo usus fuisset, sine mercede populo exhibuit nec omnino quicquam de vitae privatae qualitate mutavit. 7 Salaria multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rem p. is adroderet, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferret. 8 Unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium inminuit. rationes omnium provinciarum adprime scivit et vectigalium. 9 Patrimonium privatum in filiam contulit, sed fructus reipublicae donavit. 10 Species

imperatorias superfluas et praedia vendidit et in suis propriis fundis vixit varie ac pro temporibus. 11 Nec ullas expeditiones obiit, nisi quod ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci. 12 Et tamen ingenti auctoritate apud omnes gentes fuit, cum in urbe propterea sederet, ut undique nuntios, medius utpote, citius posset accipere.

VIII. 1 Congiarium populo dedit, militibus donativum addidit. Puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae Faustianas constituit. 2 Opera eius haec extant : Romae templum Hadriani honori patris dicatum, Graecostadium post incendium restitutum, instauratum amphitheatrum, sepulchrum Hadriani, templum Agrippae, pons Sublicius; 3 Fari restitutio, Caietae portus, Terracinensis portus restitutio, lavacrum Ostiense, Antiatium aquae ductus, templa Lanuviana. 4 Multas etiam civitates adiuvit pecunia, ut opera vel nova facerent vel vetera restituerent, ita ut et magistratus adiuvaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas. 5 Hereditates eorum, qui filios habebant, repudiavit. primus constituit, ne poena causa legatum relictum maneret. 6 Successorem viventi bono iudici nulli dedit nisi Orfito praefecto urbi, sed petenti. 7 Nam Gavius Maximus praefectus praetorii usque ad vicensimum annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimus, cui Tattius Maximus successit. 8 In cuius demortui locum duos praefectos substituit Fabium Repentinum et Cornelium Victorinum. 9 Sed Repentinus <fabula> famosa percussus est, quod per concubinam principis ad praefecturam venisset. 10 Usque adeo sub eo nullus percussus est senator, ut etiam parricida confessus in insula deserta poneretur, quia vivere illi naturae legibus non licebat. 11 Vini, olei et tritici penuriam per aerarii sui damna emendo et gratis populo dando sedavit.

IX. 1. Adversa eius temporibus haec provenerunt : fames, de qua diximus, circi ruina, terrae motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia mirifice instauravit, et Romae incendium, quod trecentas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumpsit. 2 Et Narbonensis civitas et Antiochense oppidum et Carthaginense forum arsit. 3 Fuit et inundatio Tiberis, apparuit et stella crinita, natus estet biceps puer, et uno partu mulieris quinque pueri editi sunt. 4 Visus est in Arabiam iubatus anguis maior solitis, qui se acauda medium comedit. Lues etiam in Arabia fuit. Hordeum in Moesia in culminibus arborum natum est. 5 Quattuor praeterea leones mansueti sponte se capiendos in Arabia praeberunt. 6 Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Lazis dedit. Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit. Abgarum regem ex orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit. 7 Causas regales terminavit. Sellam regiam Parthorum regi repetenti quam Traianus ceperat, pernegavit. 8 Rhoemetalcen in regnum Bosforanum

audito inter ipsum et Eupatorem negotio remisit. 9 Olbiopolitis contra Tauroscythas in Pontum auxilia misit et Tauroscythas usque addandos Olbiopolitis obsides vicit. 10 Tantum sane auctoritatis apud exterarum gentes nemo habuit, cum semper amaverit pacem, eo usque ut Scipionis sententiam frequentarit, qua ille dicebat malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.

X. 1 Mensem Septembrem atque Octobrem Antoninum atque Faustinum appellandos decrevit senatus, sed id Antoninus respuit. 2 Nuptias filiae suae Faustinae, cum Marco Antonino eam coniungeret, usque ad donativum militum celeberrimas fecit. 3 Verum Antoninum post quaesturam consulem fecit. 4 Cum Apollonium, quem e Calchide acciverat, ad Tiberianam domum, in qua habitabat, vocasset, ut ei Marcum Antoninum traderet, atque ille dixisset “non magister ad discipulum debet venire, sed discipulus ad magistrum”, risit eum dicens : “facilius fuit Apollonio a Calchide Romam venire quam a domo sua in palatium.” cuius avaritiam etiam in mercedibus notavit. 5 Inter argumenta pietatis eius et hoc habetur, quod, cum Marcus mortuum educatorem suum fleret vocareturque ab aulicis ministris ab ostentatione pietatis, ipse dixerit : “permittite”, inquit, “illi, ut homo sit. Neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus.” 6 Praefectos suos et locupletavit et ornamentis consularibus donavit. 7 Si quos repetundarum damnavit, eorum liberis bona paterna restituit, ea tamen lege, ut illi provincialibus redderent, quod parentes acceperant. 8 Ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit. 9 Edita munera, in quibus elephantos et corocottas et tigrides et rhinocero(n)tes, crocodillos etiam atque hippopotamos et omnia ex toto orbe terrarum cum tigridibus exhibuit. centum etiam leones una missione edidit.

XI. 1. Amicis suis in imperio suo non aliter usus est quam privatus, quia et ipsi numquam de eo cum libertis per fumum aliquid vendiderunt; si quidem libertis suis severissime usus est. 2 Amavit histrionum artes. Piscando se et venando multum oblectavit et deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone. Vindemias privati modo cum amicis agebat. 3 Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit. Orationes plerique alienas esse dixerunt, quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius proprias fuisse dicit. 4 Convivia cum amicis et privata communicavit et publica 5 nec ullum sacrificium per vicarium fecit, nisi cum aeger fuit. 6 Cum sibi et filiis honores peteret, omnia quasi privatus fecit. 7 Frequentavit et ipse amicorum suorum convivia. 8 Inter alia etiam hoc civilitatis eius praecipuum argumentum est, quod, cum domum Homulli visens miransque columnas porphyreticas requisset, unde eas haberet, atque Homullus ei dixisset : “cum in domum alienam veneris, et mutus et surdus esto”, patienter tulit. Cuius Homulli multa ioca semper

patienter accepit.

XII. 1 Multa de iure sanxit ususque est iuris peritis Vindio Vero, Salvio, Valente, Volusio Maeciano, Ulpio Marcello et Diabolenio. 2 Seditiones ubicumque factas non crudelitate sed modestia et gravitate compressit. 3 Intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit. Sumptum muneribus gladiatorii instituit. Vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit. Omnium, qua gessit, et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit. 4 Perit anno septuagesimo, sed quasi adulescens desideratus est. Mors autem eius talis fuisse narratur : cum Alpinum caseum incena edisset avidius, nocte reiecit atque alia die febre commotus est. 5 Tertia die, cum se gravari videret, Marco Antonino rem publicam et filiam praesentibus praefectis commendavit Fortunamque auream, quae in cubiculo principum poni solebat, transferri ad eum iussit, 6 signum tum tribuno aequanimitatis dedit atque ita conversus quasi dormiret, spiritum reddidit apud Lorum. 7 Alienatus in febre nihil aliud quam de re p. et de his regibus, quibus irascebatur, loquutus est. 8 Privatum patrimonium filiae reliquit. Testamento autem omnes suos legatis idoneis prosecutus est.

XIII. 1 Fuit statura elevata decorus. Sed cum esset longus et senex incurvareturque, tiliacis tabulis in pectore positis fasciatur, ut rectus incederet. 2 Senex etiam, antequam salutatores venirent, panem siccum comedit ad sustentandas vires. Fuit voce rauca et sonorum iocunditate. 3 A senatu divus est appellatus cunctis certatim adnitentibus, cum omnes eius pietatem, clementiam, ingenium, sanctimoniam laudarent. Decreti etiam sunt omnes honores, qui optimis principibus ante delati sunt. 4 Meruit et flaminem et circenses et templum et sodales Antoninianos solusque omnium prope principum prorsus [sine] civili sanguine et hostili, quantum ad se ipsum pertinet, vixit et qui rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem pietatemque et securitatem ceremoniasque semper obtinuit.

VITA MARCI ANTONINI PHILOSOPHI IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Marco Antonino, in omni vita philosophanti viro et qui sanctitate vitae omnibus principibus antecellit, 2 pater Annius Verus, qui in praetura decessit, avus Annius Verus, iterum consul et praefectus urbi, adscitus in patricios a principibus (a) Vespasiano et Tito censoribus, 3 patruus Annius Libo consul, amita Galeria Faustina Augusta, mater Domitia Calvilla, Calvisii Tulli bis consulis filia, 4 proavus paternus Annius Verus praetorius ex Uccubitano municipio ex Hispania factus senator, proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et praefectus urbi, avia paterna Rupilia Faustina, Rupili Boni consularis filia, fuere. 5 Natus est Marcus Romae VI. kl. Maias in monte Caelio in hortis avo suo iterum et Augure consulibus. 6 Cuius familia in originem recurrens a Numa probatur sanguinem trahere, ut Marius Maximus docet; item a rege Sallentino Malemnio, Dasummi filio, qui Lopias condidit. 7 Educatus est in eo loco, in quo natus est, et in domo avi sui Veri iuxta aedes Laterani. 8 Habuit et sororem natu minorem Anniam Cornificiam, uxorem Anniam Faustinam, consobrinam suam. 9 Marcus Antoninus principio aevi sui nomen habuit Catilii Severi, materni proavi. 10 Post excessum vero patris ab Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est, post virilem autem togam Annius Verus. patre mortuo ab avo paterno adoptatus et educatus est.

II. 1 Fuit a prima infantia gravis. at ubi egressus est annos, qui nutricum fovetur auxilio, magnis praeceptoribus traditus ad philosophiae scita pervenit. 2 Usus est magistris ad prima elementa Euforione litteratore et Gemino comoedo, musico Androne eodemque geometra. Quibus omnibus ut disciplinarum auctoribus plurimum detulit. 3 Usus praeterea grammaticis Graeco Alexandro Cotiaensi, Latinis Trosio Apro et Polione et Eutychio Proculo Siccensi. 4 Oratoribus usus est Graecis Aninio Macro, Caninio Celere et Herode Atti(o)co, Latino Frontone Cornelio. 5 Sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui et statuum in senatu petit. Proculum vero usque ad proconsulatum provexit oneribus in se receptis. 6 Philosophiae operam vehementer dedit et quidem adhuc puer. Nam duodecimum annum ingressus habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam, cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo accubaret. 7 Usus est etiam Commodo magistro, cuius ei adfinitas fuerat destinata, usus est et Apollonio Chalcedonio stoico philosopho.

III. 1 Tantum autem studium in eo philosophiae fuit, ut adscitus iam (in) imperatoriam tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. 2 Audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem, Iunium Rusticum, Claudium Maximum et Cinna Catulum stoicos, 3 peripateticae vero studiosus audivit

Claudium Severum, et praecipue Iunium Rusticum, quem et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque pollebat, stoicae disciplinae peritissimum; 4 cum quo omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, cui etiam ante praefectos praetorio semper osculum dedit, quem et consulem iterum designavit, cui post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit. 5 Tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit, ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet ac sepulchra eorum aditu, hostiis, floribus semper honoraret. 6 Studuit et iuri audiens Lucium Volusium Maecianum. 7 Tantumque operis et laboris studiis inpendit, ut corpus adficeret, atque in hoc solo pueritia eius reprehenderetur. 8 Frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque [ex] condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Baebium Longum et Cal(l)enum. 9 In quos maxime liberalis fuit, et ita quidem ut, quos non posset ob qualitatem vitae rei p. praeponere, locupletatos teneret.

IV. 1 Educatus est in Hadriani gremio, qui illum, ut supra diximus, Verissimum nominabat et qui ei honorem equi publici sexenni detulit, 2 octavo aetatis anno in saliorum collegium rettulit. 3 In saliatu omen accepit imperii: coronas omnibus in pulvinar ex more iacentibus aliae aliis locis haeserunt, huius velut manu capiti Martis aptata est. 4 Fuit in eo sacerdotio et praesul et vates et magister et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit nemine praeunte, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset. 5 Virilem togam sumpsit quinto decimo aetatis anno, statimque ei Lucii Ceionii Commodi filia desponsata est ex Hadriani voluntate. 6 Nec multo post praefectus feriarum Latinarum fuit. In quo honore praeclarissime se pro magistratibus agentem et in conviviiis Hadriani principis ostendit. 7 Post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori totum concessit, cum eum ad divisionem mater vocaret, responditque avi bonis se esse contentum, addens, ut et mater, si vellet, in sororem suum patrimonium conferret, ne inferior esset soror marito. 8 Fuit autem vitae indulgentia, ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse. 9 Operam praeterea pingendo sub magistro Diogeneto dedit. Amavit pugilatum luctamina et cursum et aucupatus et pila lusit adprime et venatus est. 10 Sed ab omnibus his intentionibus studium eum philosophiae abduxit seriumque et gravem reddidit, non tamen prorsus abolita in eo comitate, quam praecipue suis, mox amicis atque etiam minus notis exhibebat, cum frugi esset sine contumacia, verecundus sine ignavia, sine tristitia gravis.

V. 1 His ita se habentibus cum post obitum Lucii Caesaris Hadrianus successorem imperii quaereret, nec idoneus, utpote decem et octo annos agens, Marcus haberetur, amitae Marci virum Antoninum Pium Hadrianus ea lege in adoptionem legit, ut sibi Marcum Pius adoptaret, ita tamen ut et Marcus sibi Lucium Commodum adoptaret. 2 Sane ea die, qua adoptatus est, Verus in somnis

se umeros eburneos habere vidit sciscitatusque, an apti essent oneri ferundo, solito repperit fortiores. 3 Ubi autem comperit se ab Hadriano adoptatum, magis est deterritus quam laetatus iussusque in Hadriani privatam domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis recessit. 4 Cumque ab eo domestici quaererent, cur tristis in adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit, quae mala in se contineret imperium. 5 Tunc primum pro Annio Aurelius coepit vocari, quod in Aureliam, hoc est Antonini, adoptionis iure transisset. 6 Octavo decimo ergo aetatis anno adoptatus in secundo consulatu Antonini, iam patris sui, Hadriano ferente gratia aetatis facta questor est designatus. 7 Adoptatus in aulicam domum omnibus parentibus suis tantam reverentiam, quantam privatus exhibuit. 8 Eratque haut secus rei suae quam in privata domo parcus ac diligens, pro instituto patris volens agere, dicere, cogitare.

VI. 1 Hadriano Baias absumpto cum Pius ad advehendas eius reliquias esset profectus, relictus Romae avo iusta implevit et gladiatorium quasi privatus quaestor edidit munus. 2 Post excessum Hadriani statim Pius per uxorem suam Marcum sciscitatus est et eum dissolutis sponsalibus, quae cum Lucii Ceionii Commodi - desponderi voluerat impari adhuc aetate, habita deliberatione velle se dixit. 3 His ita gestis adhuc quaestorem et consulem secum Pius Marcum designavit et Caesaris appellatione donavit et sevrum turmis equitum Romanorum iam consulem designatum creavit et edenti cum collegis ludos sevrales adsedit et in Tiberianam domum transgredi iussit et aulico fastigio renite[n]tem ornavit et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit. 4 Secundum etiam consulem designavit, cum ipse quartum pariter inierit. 5 Per eadem tempora, cum tantis honoribus occuparetur et cum formandus ad regendum statum rei publicae patris actibus interesset, studia cupidissime frequentavit. 6 Post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari addito iure quintae relationis. 7 Tantum apud Pium valuit, [ut] numquam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. 8 Erat autem in summis obsequiis patris Marcus, quamvis non deessent, qui aliqua adversum eum insusurrarent, 9 et prae ceteris Valerius Homullus, qui, cum Lucillam matrem Marci in viridiario venerantem simulacrum Apollinis vidisset, insusurravit: “Illa nunc rogat, ut diem tuum claudas, et filius imperet”. quod omnino apud Pium nihil valuit: 10 tanta erat Marci probitas et tanta in imperatorio participatu modestia.

VII. 1 Existimationis autem tantam curam habuit, ut et procuratores suos puer semper moneret, ne quid arrogantius facerent, et hereditatis delatas reddens proximis aliquando respuerit. 2 Denique per viginti et tres annos in domo patris ita versatus, ut eius cotidie amor cresceret, nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos ab eo mansit diversis vicibus. 3 Ob hoc Antoninus Pius, cum sibi adesse finem

vitae videret, vocatis amicis et praefectis ut successorem eum imperii omnibus commendavit atque firmavit statimque signo aequanimitatis tribuno dato Fortunam auream, quae in cubiculo solebat esse, ad Marci cubiculum transire iussit. 4 Bonorum maternorum partem Mummio Quadrato, sororis filio, quia illa iam mortua erat, tradidit. 5 Post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit, quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit Caesaremque atque Augustum dixit. 6 Atque ex eo pariter coeperunt rem publicam regere. tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos Augustos habere coepit, [cum imperium sibi re]lictum cum alio participasset. Antonini mox ipse nomen recepit. 7 Et quasi pater Lucii Commodi esset, et Verum eum appellavit addito Antonini nomine filiamque suam Lucillam fratri despondit. 8 Ob hanc coniunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt actis igitur, quae agenda fuerant in senatu, 9 pariter castra praetoria petiverunt et vicena milia nummum singulis ob participatum imperium militibus promiserunt et ceteris pro rata. 10 Hadriani autem sepulcro corpus patris intulerunt magnifico exequiarum officio. mox iustitio secuto publici quoque funeris expeditus est ordo. 11 Et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis Aurelianos creavere.

VIII. 1 Adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt, ut lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret, cum eos Marullus, sui temporis mimografus, cavillando inipune perstringeret. 2 Funebre munus patri dederunt. 3 Dabat se Marcus totum et philosophiae, amorem civium adfectans. 4 Sed interpellavit istam felicitatem securitatemque imperatoris prima Tiberis inundatio, quae sub illis gravissima fuit. Quae res et multa urbis aedificia vexavit et plurimum animalium interemit et famem gravissimam peperit. 5 Quae omnia mala Marcus et Verus sua cura et praesentia temperarunt. 6 Fuit eo tempore etiam Parthicum bellum, quod Vologessus paratum sub Pio Marci et Veri tempore indixit fugato Atidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat. 7 Imminebat etiam Brittanicum bellum, et Catthi in Germaniam ac Raetiam intruperant. 8 Et adversus Brittanos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est, contra Catthos Aufidius Victorinus. 9 Ad Parthicum vero bellum senatu consentiente Verus frater est missus; ipse Romam remansit, quod res urbanae imperatoris presentiam postularent. 10 Et Verum quidem Marcus Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus. 11 Sed cum Romam redisset Marcus cognovissetque Verum apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum videndum contendit susceptis in senatu votis; quae, posteaquam Romam redit audita Veri transmissione, statim red[id]it. 12 Et Verus quidem, posteaquam in Syriam venit, in deliciis apud Antiochiam et Daphnen vixit armisque se gladiatoriiis et

venatibus exercuit, cum per legatos bellum Parthicum gerens imperator appellatus esset, 13 cum Marcus horis omnibus rei publicae actibus incubaret patienterque delicias fratris et prope [non] invitus ac volens ferret. 14 Denique omnia, quae ad bellum erant necessaria, Romae positus et disposuit Marcus et ordinavit.

IX. 1 Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum Artaxatis captis, delatumque Armeniacum nomen utrique principum. quod Marcus per verecundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit. 2 Profligato autem bello uterque Parthicus appellatus est. Sed [id] quoque Marcus delatum nomen repudiavit, quod postea recepit. 3 Patris patriae autem nomen delatum (a) fratre absente in eiusdem praesentiam distulit. 4 Medio belli tempore et Civicam, patrum Veri, et filiam suam nupturam commissam sorori suae eandemque locupletatam Brundisium usque deduxit, ad eum misit Romamque statim rediit, 5 revocatus eorum sermonibus, qui dicebant Marcum velle finiti belli gloriam sibimet vindicare atque idcirco in Syriam proficisci. 6 Ad proconsules scripsit, ne quis filiae suae iter facienti occurreret. 7 Inter haec liberales causas ita munivit, ut primus iuberet apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricensimum diem nomine imposito. 8 Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret, quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret, testationes inde ferret. 9 Atque hanc totam legem de adsertionibus firmavit aliasque de mensariis et auctionibus tulit.

X. 1 Senatum multis cognitionibus et maxime ad se pertinentibus iudicem dedit. de statu etiam defunctorum intra quinquennium quaeri iussit. 2 Neque quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit. in senatus autem honorificentiam multis praetoriis et consularibus privatis decidenda negotia delegavit, quo magis eorum cum exercitio iuris auctoritas cresceret. 3 Multos ex amicis in senatum adlegit cum aediliciis aut praetoriis dignitatibus. 4 Multis pauperibus sine crimine senatoribus dignitates tribunicias aediliciasque concessit. 5 Nec quemquam in ordinem legit, nisi quem ipse bene scisset. 6 Hoc quoque senatoribus detulit, ut, quotiens de quorum capite esset iudicandum, secreto pertractaret atque ita in publicum proderet nec pateretur (a)equites Romanos talibus interesse causis. 7 Semper autem, cum potuit, interfuit senatui, etiamsi nihil esset referendum, si Romae fuit; si vero aliquid referre voluit, etiam de Campania ipse venit. 8 Comitibus praeterea etiam usque ad noctem frequenter interfuit neque umquam recessit de curia, nisi consul dixisset : “Nihil vos moramur, p. c.” 9 Senatum appellationibus a consule factis iudicem dedit. 10 Iudicariae rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit. Fastis dies iudiciarios addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis

constitueret. 11 Praetorem tutelarem primus fecit, cum ante tutores a consulibus poscerentur, ut diligentius de tutoribus tractaretur. 12 De curatoribus vero, cum ante non nisi ex lege Laetoria vel propter lasciviam vel propter dementiam darentur, ita statuit, ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent non redditis causis.

XI. 1 Cavit et sumptibus publicis et calumniis quadruplatorum intercessit adposita falsis delatoribus nota. 2 Delationes, quibus fiscus augeretur, contempsit. De alimentis publicis multa prudentur invenit. curatores multis civitatibus, quo latius senatorias tenderet dignitates, a senatu dedit. 3 Italicis civitatibus famis tempore frumentum ex urbe donavit omnique frumentariae rei consuluit. 4 Gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit. temperavit etiam scaenicas donationes iubens, ut quinos aureos scaenici acciperent, ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egrederetur. 5 Vias etiam urbis atque itinerum diligentissime curavit. Rei frumentariae graviter providit. 6 Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum, quo Hadrianus consulares viros reddere iura praeceperat 7 Hispanis exhaustis Italica allectione contra ... Traianique praecepta verecunde consuluit. 8 Leges etiam addidit de vicensima hereditatum, de tutelis libertorum, de bonis maternis et item de filiorum successionibus pro parte materna, utqu(a)e senatores peregrini quartam partem in Italia possiderent. 9 Dedit praeterea curatoribus regionum ac viarum potestatem, ut vel punirent vel ad praefectum urbi puniendos remitterent eos, qui ultra vectigalia quicquam ab aliquo exegissent. 10 Ius autem magis vetus restituit quam novum fecit. habuit secum praefectos, quorum et auctoritate et periculo semper iura dictavit. usus autem est Scaevola praecipue iuris perito.

XII. 1 Cum populo autem non aliter egit, quam est actum sub civitate libera. 2 Fuitque per omnia moderantissimus in hominibus deterrendis a malo, invitandis ad bona, remunerandis copia, indulgentia liberandis fecitque ex malis bonos, ex bonis optimos, moderate etiam cavillationes nonnullorum ferens. 3 Nam cum quendam Vetrasinum famae detestandae honorem petentem moneret, ut se ab opinionibus populi vindicaret, et ille contra respondisset multos, qui secum in harena pugnassent, se praetores videre, patienter tulit. 4 Ac ne in quenquam facile vindicaret, praetorem, qui quaedam pessime egerat, non abdicare se praetura iussit, sed collegae iuris dictionem mandavit. 5 Fisco in causis compendii numquam iudicans favit. 6 Sane, quamvis esset constans, erat etiam verecundus. 7 Posteaquam autem e Syria victor rediit frater, patris patriae nomen ambobus decretum est, cum se Marcus absente Vero erga omnes senatores atque homines moderatissime gessisset. 8 Corona praeterea civica oblata est ambobus; petitque Lucius, ut secum Marcus triumpharet. petit praeterea Lucius, ut filii Marci Caesares appellarentur. 9 Sed Marcus tanta fuit moderatione, ut cum simul triumphasset, tamen post mortem Lucii tantum Germanicum se vocaret, quod

sibi bello proprio pepererat. 10 In triumpho autem liberos Marci utriusque sexus secum vexerunt, ita tamen ut et puellas virgines veherent. 11 Ludos etiam ob triumphum decretos spectaverunt habitu triumphali. 12 Inter cetera pietatis eius haec quoque moderatio praedicanda est: funambulis post puerorum lapsum culcitas subici iussit. Unde hodieque rete praetenditur. 13 Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Marcomannicum, quod diu eorum, qui aderant, arte suspensum est, ut finito iam orientali bello Marcomannicum agi posset. 14 Et cum famis tempore populo insinuasset de bello, fratre post quinquennium reverso in senatu egit, ambos necesarios dicens bello Germanico imperatores.

XIII. 1 Tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit; 2 retardatusque bellica profectione sic celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies. 3 Tanta autem pestilentia fuit, ut vehiculis cadavera sint exportata serracisque. 4 Tunc autem Antonini leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt, quando quidem caverunt, ne quis [ubi] vellet fabricaretur sepulchrum. quod hodieque servatur. 5 Et multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit multosque ex proceribus, quorum amplissimis Antoninus statuas conlocavit. 6 Tantaque clementia fuit, ut et sumptu publico vulgaria funera iuberet (et) efferri et vano cuidam, qui diripiendae urbis occasionem cum quibusdam consciis requirens de caprifici arbore in campo Martio contionabundus ignem de caelo lapsurum finemque mundi affore diceret, si ipse lapsus ex arbore in ciconiam verteretur, cum statuto tempore decidisset atque ex sinu ciconiam emisisset, perducto ad se atque confesso veniam daret.

XIV. 1 Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores et Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus. 2 Nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum Aquileiam usque venissent. Nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt. 3 Quadi autem amisso rege suo non prius se confirmaturos eum, qui erat creatus, dicebant, quam id nostris placuisset imperatoribus. 4 Lucius tamen invitus profectus est, cum plerique ad legatos imperatorum mitterent defectionis veniam postulantes. 5 Et Lucius quidem, quod amissus esset praef. praetorio Furius Victorinus, atque pars exercitus interisset, redeundum esse) censebat; Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et fugam et cetera, quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole premerentur, instandum esse ducebat. 6 Denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant. 7 Placuit autem urgente Lucio, ut praemissis ad senatum litteris Lucius Romam rediret. 8 Biduoque, postquam iter ingressi sunt, sedens cum fratre in vehiculo Lucius apoplexi arreptus perit.

XV. 1 Fuit autem consuetudo Marco, ut in circensium spectaculo legeret audiretque ac suscriberet. ex quo quidem saepe iocis popularibus dicitur lacesitus. 2 Multum sane potuerunt liberti sub Marco et Vero Geminus et Agaclytus. 3 Tanta autem sanctitatis fuit Marcus, ut Veri vitia et celaverit et defenderit, cum ei vehementissime displicerent, mortuumque eum divum appellaverit amitasque eius et sorores honoribus et salariis decretis sublevaverit atque provexerit sacrisque eum plurimis honoraverit. 4 Flaminem et Antoninianos sodales et omnes honores, qui divis habentur, eidem dedicavit. 5 Nemo est principum, quem non gravis fama perstringat, usque adeo ut etiam Marcus in sermonem venerit, quod Verum vel veneno ita tulerit, ut parte cultri veneno lita vulvam inciderit venenatam partem fratri edendam propinans et sibi innoxiam reservans, 6 vel certe per medicum Posidippum, qui ei sanguinem intempestive dicitur emisisse. Cassius post mortem Veri a Marco descivit.

XVI. 1 Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus, ut cum in omnes propin quos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et Commodum quidem - scelestum atque inpurum - cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphii participationem et consulatum. 2 Quo quidem tempore sine - imperator filio ad triumphalem currum in circo pedes cucurrit. 3 Post Veri obitum Marcus Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, 4 multo melior et feracior ad virtutes, quippe qui nullis Veri iam impediretur aut simulatis callidae severitatis, qua ille ingenito vitio laborabat, erroribus aut his, quae praecipue displicebant Marco Antonino iam inde a primo aetatis suae tempore, vel institutis mentis pravae vel moribus. 5 Erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis, ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus stoicae, quam et per optimos quosque magistros acceperat et undique ipse collegerat. 6 Nam et Hadrianus hunc eundem successorem paraverat, nisi ei aetas puerilis obstitisset. 7 Quod quidem apparet ex eo, quod generum Pio hunc eundem delegit, ut ad eum, dignum utpote virum, quandocumque Romanum perveniret imperium.

XVII. 1 Ergo provincias post haec ingenti moderatione ac benignitate tractavit. contra Germanos res feliciter gessit. 2 Speciale ipse bellum Marcomannicum, sed quantum nulla umquam memoria fuit, cum virtute tum etiam felicitate transegit, et eo quidem tempore, quo pestilentia gravis multa milia et popularium et militum interemerat. 3 Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis, V(u)andalis, simul etiam Quadis extinctis servitio liberavit et Romae cum Commodus, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, filio, ut diximus, suo, triumphavit. 4 Cum autem ad hoc bellum omne aerarium exhausisset suum neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem provincialibus aliquid imperaret, in foro divi Traiani auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit vendiditque aurea pocula et

cristallina et murrina, vasa etiam regia et vestem uxoriā sericā et auratā, gemmas quin etiam, quas multas in repostorio sanctiore Hadriani reppererat. 5 Et per duos quidem menses haec venditio celebrata est, tantumque auri redactum, ut reliquias belli Marcomannici ex sententia persecutus postea dederit potestatem emptoribus, ut, si qui vellet empta reddere atque aurum recipere, sciret licere. Nec molestus ulli fuit qui vel non reddidit empta vel reddidit. 6 Tunc viris clarioribus permisit, ut eodem cultu quo et ipse vel ministris similibus convivia exhiberent. 7 In munere autem publico tam magnanimus fuit, ut centum leones una missione simul exhiberet (et) sagittis interfectos.

XVIII. 1 Cum igitur in amore omnium imperasset atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut cuiusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur, octavo decimo anno imperii sui, sexagesimo et primo vitae, diem ultimum clausit. 2 Tantusque illius amor adeo die regii funeris claruit, ut nemo illum plangendum censuerit, certis omnibus, quod ab diis commodatus ad deos redisset. 3 Denique, priusquam funus conderetur, ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam antea factum fuerat neque postea, senatus populusque non divisim locis sed in una sede propitium deum dixit. 4 Hic sane vir tantus et talis ac diis vita et morte coniunctus filium Commodum dereliquit: qui si felix fuisset, filium non reliquisset. 5 Et parum sane fuit, quod illi honores divinos omnis aetas, omnis sexus, omnis conditio ac dignitas dedit, nisi quod etiam sacrilegus iudicatus est, qui eius imaginem in sua domo non habuit, qui per fortunam vel potuit habere vel debuit. 6 Denique hodieque in multis domibus Marci Antonini statuæ consistunt inter deos penates. 7 Nec defuerunt homines qui somniis eum multa praedixisse augurantes futura et vera concinuerunt. 8 Unde etiam templum ei constitutum, dati sacerdotes Antoniniani et sodales et flamines et omnia, quae de sacratis decrevit antiquitas.

XIX. 1 Aiunt quidam, quod et verisimile videtur, Commodum Antoninum, successorem illius ac filium, non esse de eo natum sed de adulterio, ac talem fabellam vulgari sermone contexunt. 2 Faustina quondam, Pii filiam, Marci uxorem, cum gladiatores transire vidisset, unius ex his amore succensam, cum longa aegritudine laboraret, viro de amore confessam. 3 Quod cum ad Chaldaeos Marcus rettulisset, illorum fuisse consilium, ut occiso gladiatore sanguine illius sese Faustina sublavaret atque ita cum viro concumberet. 4 Quod cum esset factum, solutum quidem amorem, natum vero Commodum gladiatorem esse, non principem, 5 qui mille prope pugnas publice populo inspectante gladiatorias imperator exhibuit, ut in vita eius docebitur. 6 Quod quidem verisimile ex eo habetur, quod tam sancti principis filius his moribus fuit, quibus nullus lanista, nullus scaenicus, nullus arenarius, nullus postremo ex omnium decorum ac scelerum conluvione concretus. 7 Multi autem ferunt Commodum omnino ex

adultero natum, si quidem Faustinae satis constet apud Caietam condiciones sibi et nauticas et gladiatorias elegisse. 8 De qua cum diceretur Antonino Marco, ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse fertur : “Si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus et dotem.” 9 Dos autem quid habebatur [nisi] imperium, quod ille ab socero volente Hadriano adoptatus acceperat? 10 Tantum sane valet boni principis vita, sanctitas, tranquillitas, pietas, ut eius famam nullius proximi decolaret invidia. 11 Denique Antonino, cum suos mores semper teneret neque alicuius insusurrante mutaretur, non obfuit gladiator filius, uxor infamis : 12 deusque etiam nunc habetur, ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime imperator Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur, qui eum inter numina vestra non ut ceteros sed specialiter veneramini ac saepe dicitis vos vita et clementia tales esse cupere, qualis fuit Marcus, etiamsi philosophia nec Plato esse possit, si revertatur in vitam. Et quidem haec breviter et congregate.

XX. 1 Sed Marco Antonino haec sunt gesta post fratrem: primum corpus eius Romam devectum est et inlatum maiorum sepulchris. Divini ei honores decreti. 2 Dein cum gratias ageret senatui, quod fratrem consecrasset, occulte ostendit omnia bellica consilia sua fuisse, quibus superati sunt Parthi. 3 Addidit praeterea quaedam, quibus ostendit nunc demum se quasi a principio acturum esse rem publicam amoto eo, qui remissior videbatur. 4 Nec aliter senatus accepit, quam Marcus dixerat, ut videretur gratias agere, quod Verus excessisset vita. 5 Omnibus deinde sororibus et adfinibus et libertis iuris et honoris et pecuniae plurimum detulit. erat enim famae suae curiosissimus, requirens ad verum, quid quisque de se diceret, emendans quae bene reprehensa viderentur. 6 Proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non decurso luctu tempore grandaevo equitis Romani filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antiochensi nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. 7 Sed has nuptias et Faustina et ipsa, quae dabatur, invitae habuerunt.

XXI. 1 Cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent, res per legatos bene gestae sunt. 2 Et cum per Aegyptum Bucolici(s) milites gravia multa fecissent, per Avidium Cassium retunsi sunt, qui postea tyrannidem arripuit. 3 Sub ipsis profectionis diebus in secessu Praenestino agens filium, nomine Verum Caesarem, execto sub aure tubere septennem amisit. 4 Quem non plus quinque diebus luxit consolatusque etiam medicos [se] actibus publicis reddidit. 5 Et quia ludi Iovis Optimi Maximi erant, interpellari eos publico luctu noluit iussitque, ut statuae tantum modo filio mortuo decernerentur, et imago aurea circensibus per pompam ferenda, et ut saluari carmini nomen eius insereretur. 6 Instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum diligentissime restituit et servos, quem ad modum bello Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit, quos voluntarios

exemplo volonum appellavit. 7 Armavit etiam gladiatores, quos obsequentes appellavit. Latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit. Armavit et diogmitas. emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos. 8 Omni praeeterea diligentia paravit legiones ad Germanicum et Marcomannicum bellum. 9 Et, ne provincialibus esset molestus, auctionem rerum aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro divi Traiani, in qua praeter vestes et pocula et vasa aurea etiam signa cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit. 10 Marcomannos in ipso transitu Danuvii delevit et praedam provincialibus reddidit.

XXII. 1 Gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri et Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatae, Lacringes et Burei + hi alique cum Victualis, Sosibes, Sicobotes Roxolani, Basternae, Halani, Peucini, Costoboci. Iminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum. 2 Magno igitur labore etiam duo gentes asperimas vicit militibus sese imitantibus, ducentibus etiam exercitum legatis et praefectis praetorio, accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam traductis. 3 Semper sane cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, contulit. 4 Denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit : “Aequius est, ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur.” 5 Sane quia durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione Marcus ad militiae labores atque ad omnem vitam, graviter carpebatur, 6 sed male loquentum vel sermoni vel litteris respondebat. 7 Et multi nobiles bello Germanico sive Marcomannico immo plurimarum gentium interierunt - quibus omnibus statuas in foro Ulpio colloquavit -; 8 quare frequenter amici suaserunt, ut a bellis discederet [et] Romam veniret, sed ille contempsit ac perstitit nec prius recessit, quam omnia bella finiret. 9 Provincias ex proconsularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares aut praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit. 10 Res etiam in Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit. 11 Compositae res et [in] Hispania, quae per Lusitaniam turbatae erant. 12 Filio Commodum accersito ad limitem togam virilem dedit, quare congiarium populo divisit, et eum ante tempus consulem designavit

XXIII. 1 Si quis umquam proscriptus est a praefecto urbi, non libenter accepit. 2 Ipse in largitionibus pecuniae publicae parcissimus fuit, quod laudi potius datur quam reprehensioni, sed tamen et bonis viris pecunias dedit et oppidis labentibus auxilium tulit et tributa vel vectigalia, ubi necessitas cogebat, remisit. 4 Absens populi Romani voluptates curari vehementer praecepit per ditissimos editores. 5 Fuit enim populo hic sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philosophiam. 6 Iusserat enim, ne mercimonia impedirentur, tardius pantomimos exhiberi, non totis diebus. 7 De amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo, ut superius diximus. Sed

haec omnia per epistolas suas purgavit. 8 Idem Marcus sederi in civitatibus vetuit in equis sive vehiculis. Lavacra mixta summovit. mores matronarum composuit diffuentes et iuvenum nobilium. Sacra Serapis a vulgaritate Pelusiasca summovit. 9 Fama fuit sane, quod sub philosophorum specie quidam rem publicam vexarent et privatos. quod ille purgavit.

XXIV. 1 Erat mos iste Antonino, ut omnia crimina minore supplicio, quam legibus plecti solent, punirent, quamvis nonnumquam contra manifestos et gravium criminum reos inexorabilis permaneret. 2 Capitales causas hominum honestorum ipse cognovit, et quidem summa aequitate, ita ut praetorem reprehenderet, qui cito reorum causas audierat, iuberetque illum iterum cognoscere, dignitatis eorum interesse dicens, ut ab eo audirentur, qui pro populo iudicaret. 3 Aequitatem autem etiam circa captos hostes custodivit. Infinitos ex gentibus in Romano solo collocavit. 4 Fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent. 5 Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam Sarmatiam facere, et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in oriente. 6 Atque imperatorem se appellavit, ut quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae de mariti valetudine desperaret. 7 Alii dicunt, ementita morte Antonini Cassium imperatorem se appellasse, cum divum Marcum appellasset. 8 Et Antoninus quidem non est satis motus defectione Cassii nec [in] eius affectus saevit. 9 Sed per senatum hostis est iudicatus bonaque eius proscripta per aerarium publicum.

XXV. 1 Relicto ergo Sarmatico Marcommannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est. 2 Romae etiam turbae fuerunt, quasi Cassius absente Antonino adventaret. sed Cassius statim interfectus est, caputque eius adlatum est ad Antoninum. 3 Marcus tamen non exultavit interfectione Cassii caputque eius humari iussit. 4 Maecianum etiam, filium Cassii, cui Alexandria erat commissa, exercitus occidit; nam et praef(ectum) praet(orio) sibi fecerat, qui et ipse occisus est. 5 In conscios defectionis vetuit senatum graviter vindicare, 6 simul petit, ne qui senator tempore principatus sui occideretur, eius pollueretur imperium 7 - eos etiam, qui deportati fuerant, revocari iussit, - cum paucissimi centuriones capite essent puniti. 8 Ignovit et civitatibus, quae Cassio consenserant, ignovit et Antiochensibus, qui multa in Marcum pro Cassio dixerant. 9 Quibus et spectacula et conventus publicos tulerat et omnium contionum genus, contra quos edictum gravissimum misit. 10 Seditiosos autem eos et oratio Marci indicat indita a Mario Maximo, qua ille usus est apud amicos. 11 Denique noluit Antiochiam videre, cum Syriam peteret. 12 Nam nec Cyrrum voluit videre, ex qua erat Cassius.

XXVI. 1 Fuit Alexandriae clementer cum his agens. Postea tamen Antiochiam vidit. multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmavit sibi occurrentibus cunctis

regibus et legatis Persarum. 2 Omnibus orientalibus provinciis carissimus fuit. apud multas etiam philosophiae vestigia reliquit. 3 Apud Aegyptios civem se egit et philosophum in omnibus studiis, templis, locis. et cum multa Alexandrini in Cassium dixissent fausta, tamen omnibus ignovit et filiam suam apud eos reli(n)quit. 4 Faustinam suam in radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae exanimatam vi subiti morbi amisit. 5 Petit a senatu, ut honores Faustinae aedemque decernerent, laudata eadem, cum impudicitiae fama graviter laborasset. 6 Quae Antoninus vel nesciit vel dissimulavit. novas puellas Faustianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae. 7 Divam etiam Faustinam a senatu appellatam gratulatus est. 8 Quam secum et in aestivis habuerat, ut matrem castrorum appellaret. 9 Fecit et coloniam vicum, in quo obiit Faustina, et aedem illi extruxit. Sed haec postea aedis Heliogabalo dedicata est. 10 Ipsum Cassium pro clementia occisum passus est, non occidi iussit. 11 Deportatus est Heliodorus, filius Cassi, et alii liberum exilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte. 12 Filii autem Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii, et auro atque argento adiuti, mulieres autem etiam ornamentis: ita ut Alexandria, filia Cassii, et Druncanus gener liberam vagandi potestatem haberent commendati amitae marito. 13 Doluit denique Cassium extinctum, dicens voluisse se sine senatorio sanguine imperium transigere (voluisse se).

XXVII. 1 Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et initialia Cereris adit, ut se innocentem probaret, et sacrarium solus ingressus est. 2 Revertens ad Italiam navigio tempestatem gravissimam passus est. 3 Per Brundisium veniens in Italia togam et ipse sumpsit et milites togatos esse iussit, nec umquam sagati fuerunt sub eo milites. 4 Romam ut venit, triumphavit et inde Lavinium profectus est. 5 Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit, coniarium populo dedit et spectacula mirifica; dein civilia multa correxit. 6 Gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit. 7 Sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit florere civitates, si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes philosopharentur. 8 Filio suo Brutii Praeensis filiam iunxit nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum, quare etiam congiarium dedit populo. 9 Dein ad conficiendum bellum conversus in administratione eius belli obit labentibus iam filii moribus ab instituto suo. 10 Triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis, Hermunduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit et, si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset. 11 Ante biduum quam exspiraret, admissis amicis dicitur ostendisse sententiam de filio eandem quam Philippus de Alexandro, cum de male sentiret, addens minime se aegre ferre [quod moreretur, sed quod moreretur talem] filium superstitem relinquens; 12 nam iam Commodus turpem se et cruentum ostentabat.

XXVIII. 1 Mors autem talis fuit: cum aegrotare coepisset, filium advocavit atque ab eo primum petit, ut belli reliquias non contempneret, ne videretur rem

p. prodere. 2 Et, cum filius ei respondisset cupere se primum sanitatem, ut vellet, permisit, petens tamen, ut expectasset paucos dies, haut simul proficisceretur. 3 Deinde abstinuit victu potuque mori cupiens auxitque morbum. 4 Sexta die vocatis amicis et ridens res humanas mortem autem contempnens ad amicos dixit : “Quid de me fletis et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?” 5 Et cum illi vellent recedere, ingemescens ait : “Si iam me dimittitis, vale vobis dico vos praecedens.” 6 Et cum ab eo quaereretur, cui filium commendaret, ille respondit : “Vobis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus.” 7 Exercitus cognita mala valetudine vehementissime dolebant, quia illum unice amarunt. 8 Septimo die gravatus est et solum filium admisit, quem statim dimisit, ne in eum morbus transiret. 9 Dimisso filio caput operuit quasi volens dormire, sed nocte animam efflavit. 10 fertur filium mori voluisse, cum eum talem videret futurum, qualis exstitit post eius mortem, ne, ut ipse dicebat, similis Neroni, Caligulae et Domitiano esset.

XXIX. 1 Crimini ei datum est, quod adulteros uxoris promoverit, Tertullum et Tutilium et Orfitum et Moderatum, ad varios honores, cum Tertullum et prandentem cum uxore deprehenderit. 2 De quo mimus in scaena praesente Antonino dixit; cum stupidus nomen adulteri uxoris a servo quaereret et ille diceret ter “Tullus”, et adhuc stupidus quaereret, respondit ille : “Iam tibi dixi ter, Tullus dicitur.” 3 Et de hoc quidem multa populus, multa etiam alii dixerunt patientiam Antonini incusantes. 4 ante tempus sane mortis, priusquam ad bellum Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum senatorem se sciente occisum, cum etiam rebelliones dixerit se servaturum fuisse, si scisset; 5 nihil enim magis et timuit et deprecatus est quam avaritiae famam, de qua se multis epistulis purgat. 6 Dederunt ei vitio, quod et fictus fuisset nec tam simplex quam videretur aut quam vel Pius vel Verus fuisset. 7 Dederunt etiam crimini, quod aulicam adrogantiam confirmaverit summovendo amicos a societate communi et a conviviiis. 8 Parentibus consecrationem decrevit. amicos parentum etiam mortuos statuīs ornavit. 9 Suffragatoribus non cito credidit, sed semper diu quaesivit, quoderat verum. 10 Enisa est Fabia, ut Faustina mortua in eius matrimonium coiret. Sed ille concubinam sibi adscivit procuratoris uxoris suae filiam, ne tot liberis superduceret novercam.

VERUS IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Scio plerosque ita vitam Marci ac Veri litteris atque historiae dedicasse, ut priorem Verum intimandum legentibus darent, non imperandi secutos ordinem sed vivendi : 2 ego vero, quod prior Marcus imperare coepit, dein Verus, qui superstite perit Marco, priorem Marcum, dehinc Verum credidi celebrandum. 3 Igitur Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus, qui ex Hadriani voluntate Aelius appellatus est, ex Antonini coniunctione Verus et Antoninus, neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponitur. 4 Quem constat non inhorruisse vitiis, non abundasse virtutibus, vixisse deinde non in suo libero principatu, sed sub Marco in simili ac parvis maiestatis imperio, a cuius secta lascivia morum et vitae licentioris nimietate dissensit. 5 Erat enim morum simplicum et qui adumbrare nihil posset. 6 Huic naturalis pater fuit Lucius Aelius Verus, qui ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus et in eadem statione constitutus perit. 7 Avi ac proavi et item maiores plurimi consulares. 8 Natus est Lucius Romae in praetura patris sui XVIII. kal. Ianuariarum die, quo et Nero, qui rerum potitus est. 9 Origo eius paterna pleraque ex Etruria fuit, materna ex Faventia.

II. 1 Hac prosapia genitus patre ab Hadriano adoptato in familiam Aeliam devenit mortuoque patre Caesare in Hadriani familia remansit. 2 A quo Aurelio datus est adoptandus, cum sibi ille Pium filium, Marcum nepotem esse voluisset posteritati satis providens, 3 et ea quidem lege, ut filiam Pii Verus acciperet, quae data est Marco idcirco, quia hic adhuc impar videbatur aetate, ut in Marci vita exposuimus. 4 Duxit autem uxorem Marci filiam Lucillam. Educatus est in domo Tiberiana. 5 Audivit Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum, Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit, Graecos Telephum atque Hefaeestionem, Harpocratonem, rhetores Apollonium, Celerem Caninium et Herodem Atticum, Latinum Cornelium Frontonem, philosophos Apollonium et Sextum. 6 Hos omnes amavit unice, atque ab his in vicem dilectus est, nec tamen ingeniosus ad litteras. 7 Amavit autem in pueritia versus facere, post orationes. Et melior quidem orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut verius dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor. 8 Nec desunt, qui dicant eum adiutum ingenio amicorum atque ab aliis ei illa ipsa, qualiacumque sunt, scripta; si quidem multos disertos et eruditos semper secum habuisse dicitur. Educatores habuit Nicomedem. 9 Fuit voluptarius et nimis laetus et omnibus deliciis, ludis, iocis decenter aptissimus. 10 Post septimum annum in familiam Aureliam traductus Marci moribus et auctoritate formatus est. Amavit venatus, palaestras et omnia exercitia iuventutis. 11 Fuitque privatus in domo imperatoria viginti et tribus annis.

III. 1 Qua die togam virilem Verus accepit, Antoninus Pius ea occasione, qua patris templum dedicabat, populo liberalis fuit, 2 mediusque inter Pium et Marcum idem [se] resedit, cum quaestor populo munus daret. 3 Post quaesturam statim consul est factus cum Sextio Laterano. Interiectis annis cum Marco fratre iterum factus est consul. 4 Diu autem et privatus fuit et ea honorificentia caruit, qua Marcus ornabatur. 5 Nam neque in senatu ante quaesturam sedit neque in itinere cum patre, sed cum praefecto praetorii vectus est, nec aliud ei honorificentiae ad nomen adiunctum est quam quod Augusti filius appellatus est. 6 Fuit studiosus etiam circensium haut aliter quam gladiatorii muneris. hic cum tantis deliciarum et luxuriae quateretur erroribus, ab Antonino videtur ob hoc retentus, quod eum paterita in adoptionem Pii transire iusserat, ut nepotem appellaret. Cui, quantum videtur, fidem exhibuit, non amorem. 7 Amavit tamen Antoninus Pius simplicitatem ingenii puritatemque vivendi hortatusque est, ut imitaretur, et fratrem. 8 Defuncto Pio Marcus in eum omnia contulit, participatu etiam imperatoriae potestatis indulto, sibi que consortem fecit, cum illi soli senatus detulisset imperium.

IV. 1 Dato igitur imperio et indulta tribunicia potestate, post consulatus etiam honorem delatum Verum vocari praecepit, suum in eum transferens nomen, cum ante Commodus vocaretur. 2 Lucius quidem Marco vicem reddens si [quid] susciperet obsecutus ut legatus proconsuli vel praeses imperatori. 3 Iam primum enim Marcus pro ambobus ad milites est locutus, et pro consensu imperii graviter se et ad Marci mores egit. 4 Ubi vero in Syriam profectus est, non solum licentia vitae liberioris, sed etiam adulteriis et iuventutis amoribus infamatus est, 5 si quidem tantae luxuriae fuisse dicitur, ut etiam, [postea] quam [postea] de Syria redit, popinam domi instituerit, ad quam post convivium Marci devertebat, ministrantibus sibi omni genere turpium personarum. 6 Fertur et nocte perpeti alea luisse, cum in Syria concepisset id vitium, atque in tantum vitiorum Gaianorum et Neronianorum ac Vitellianorum fuisse aemulum, ut vagaretur nocte per tabernas ac lupanaria oblecto capite cucullione vulgari viatorio et comisaretur cum triconibus, committeret rixas, dissimulans quis esset, saepeque efflictum livida facie redisse et in tabernis agnitum, cum sese absconderet. 7 Iaciebat et nummos in popinas maximos, quibus calices frangeret. 8 Amavit et aurigas prasino favens. 9 Gladiatorum etiam frequentius pugnas in convivio habuit trahens cenas in noctem et in toro convivali condormiens, ita ut levatus cum stromatibus in cubiculum perferretur. 10 Somni fuit permodici, digestionis facillimae. 11 Sed Marcus haec omnia [non] nesciens dissimulabat rem pudore illo, ne reprehenderet fratrem.

V. 1 Et notissimum eius quidem fertur tale convivium, in quo primum duodecim accubuisse dicitur, cum sit notissimum dictum de numero convivarum

: “Septem convivium, nevem vero convicium;” 2 donatos autem pueros decoros, qui ministrabant, singulis, donatos etiam structores et lances singulis quibusque, donata et viva animalia vel cicurum vel ferarum avium vel quadripedum, quorum cibi adpositi erant, 3 donatos etiam calices singulis per singulas potiones, myrrinos et crystallinos Alexandrinos, quotiens bibitum est; data etiam aurea atque argentea pocula et gemmata, coronas quin etiam datas lemniscis aureis interpositis et alieni temporis floribus, data et vasa aurea cum unguentis ad speciem alabastrorum, 4 data et vehicula cum mulabus ac mulionibus cum iuncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio redirent. 5 Omne autem convivium aestimatum dicitur sexagies centenis milibus sestertiorum. 6 Hoc convivium posteaquam Marcus audivit, ingemuisse dicitur et doluisse publicum fatum. 7 Post convivium lusum est tesseris usque ad lucem. 8 Et haec quidem post Parthicum bellum, ad quod eum misisse dicitur Marcus, ne vel in urbe ante oculos omnium peccaret, vel ut parsimoniam peregrinatione addiceret, vel ut timore bellico emendatior rediret, vel ut se imperatorem esse cognosceret. 9 Sed quantum profecerit, cum alia vita tum haec, quam narravimus, caena monstrabit.

VI. 1 Circensium tantam curam habuit, ut frequenter provincia litteras causa circensium et miserit et acceperit. 2 Denique etiam praesens et cum Marco sedens multas a venetianis est passus iniurias, quod turpissime contra eos faveret; 3 nam et Volucris equo prasino aureum simulacrum fecerat, quod secum portabat; 4 cui quidem passas uvas et nucleos in vicem hordei in praesepe ponebat, quem sagis fuco tinctis coopertum in Tiberianam adduci iubebat, cui mortuo sepulchrum in Vaticano fecit. 5 In huius equi gratiam primum coeperunt equis aurei velbrabia postulari. 6 In tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut ei a populo prasinianorum saepe modius aureorum postularetur. 7 Profectum eum ad Parthicum bellum Marcus Capuam persecutus est; cumque inde per omnium villas se ingurgitaret, morbo implicatus apud Canusium aegrotavit. Quo ad eum visendum frater contendit. 8 Multa in eius vita ignava et sordida etiam belli tempore deteguntur. 9 Nam cum interfecto legato, caesis legionibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus oriens vastaretur, ille in Apulia venabaturet apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symfonias et cantica navigabatet per singulas maritimas civitates Asiae, Pamphylicae Ciliciaeque clariores voluptatibus immorabatur.

VII. 1 Antiochiam posteaquam venit, ipse quidem se luxuriae dedit. Duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum, Statius Priscus et Avidius Cassius et Martius Verus per quadriennium, ita ut Babylonem et Mediam pervenirent et Armeniam vindicarent. 2 Partumque ipsi nomen est Armenici, Parthici, Medici, quod etiam Marco Romae agenti delatum est. 3 Egit autem per quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiciae, aestatem apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae.

4 Risui fuit omnibus Syris, quorum multa ioca in theatro in eum dicta exstant. 5 Vernas in triclinium Saturnalibus et diebus festis semper admisit. 6 Ad Eufraten tamen impulsu comitum suorum secundo profectus est. 7 Efesum etiam redit, ut Lucillam uxorem missam a patre Marco susciperet, et idcirco maxime, ne Marcus cum ea in Syriam veniret ac flagitia eius adnosceret. nam senatui Marcus dixerat se filiam in Syriam deducturum. 8 Confecto sane bello regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit. 9 Romam inde ad triumphum invitus, quod Syriam quasi regnum suum relinqueret, redit et pariter cum fratre triumphavit suscepta senatu nominibus, quae in exercitu acceperat. 10 Fertur praeterea ad amicae vulgaris arbitrium in Syria posuisse barbam. Unde in eum a Syris multa sunt dicta.

VIII. 1 Fuit eius fati, ut in eas provincias, per quas redit, Romam usque luem secum deferre videretur. 2 Et nata fertur pestilentia in Babylonia, ubi de templo Apollinis ex arcula aurea, quam miles forte inciderat, spiritus pestilens evasit, atque inde Parthos orbemque complexus, 3 et hoc non Lucii Veri vitio sed Cassii, a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quae ut amicos milites nostros receperat, expugnata est. 4 Quod quidem inter ceteros etiam Quadratus, belli Parthici scriptor, incusatis Seleucenis, qui fidem primi ruperant, pugnat. 5 Habuit hanc reverentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina, quae sibi delata fuerant, cum fratre communicaret die triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt. 6 Reversus e Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus; nam et libertis inhonestius indulgit et multa sine fratre disposuit. 7 His accessit, quod, quasi reges aliquos ad triumphum adduceret, sic histriones eduxit e Syria, quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit. 8 Villam praeterea extruxit in via Clodia famosissimam, in qua permultos dies et ipse ingenti luxuria debacchatus est cum libertis suis et amicis Paridis, quorum praesentia Nulla inerat reverentia, 9 et Marcum rogavit, qui venit, ut fratri venerabilem morum suorum et imitandam ostenderet sanctitudinem, et quinque diebus ineadem villa residens cognitionibus continuis operam dedit, aut convivante fratre aut convivia comparante. 10 Habuit et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memfi, quem et ipsum e Syria velut tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit. 11 Adduxerat secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones scurrasque mimarios et praestigiatores et omnia mancipiorum genera, quorum Syria et Alexandria pascitur voluptate, prorsus ut videretur bellum non Parthicum sed histrionicum confecisse.

IX. 1 Et haec vitae diversitas atque alia multa inter Marcum ac Verum simultates fecisse non aperta veritas indicabat, sed occultus rumor inseverat; 2 verum illud praecipuum quod, cum Libonem quendam patruelem suum Marcus legatum in Syriam misisset, atque ille se insolentius quam verecundus senator

efferret dicens ad fratres suos scripturum esse, si quid forte dubitaret, nec Verus praesens pati posset, subitoque morbo notis prope veneni existentibus interisset, visum est nonnullis, non tamen Marco, quod eius fraude putaretur occisus. quae res simultatum auxit rumorem. 3 Liberti multum potuerunt apud Verum ut in vita Marci diximus, Geminus et Agaclytus, cui dedit invito M[arco] Libonis uxorem; 4 denique nuptiis a Vero celebratis Marcus convivio non interfuit. 5 Habuit et alios liberos Verus improbos, Coeden et Eclectum ceterosque. 6 Quos omnes Marcus post mortem Veri specie honoris abiecit Eclecto retento, qui postea Commodum filium eius occidit. 7 Ad bellum Germanicum, Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se vel ad bellum mittere vel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt atque Aquileiam venerunt invitoque Lucio Alpes transgressi, 8 cum Verus apud Aquileiam tantum venatus convivatusque esset, Marcus autem omnia prospexisset. 9 De quo bello - quiddam per legatos barbarorum pacem petentium, partim per duces nostros gestum est - in Marci vita plenissime disputatum est. 10 Conposito autem bello in Pannonia urgente Lucio Aquileiam redire, quodque urbanas desiderabat Lucius voluptates, in urbem festinatum est. 11 Sed non longe ab Altino subito in vehiculo morbo, quem apoplexin vocant, correptus Lucius depositus e vehiculode tracto sanguine Altinum perductus, cum triduo mutus vixisset, apud Altinum perit.

X. 1 Fuit sermo, quod et socrum Faustinam incestasset. et dicitur Faustinae socrus dolo aspersis ostreis veneno extinctus esse, idcirco quod consuetudinem, quam cum matre habuerat, filiae prodidisset. 2 Quamvis et illa fabula, quae in Marci vita posita est, abhorrens a talis viri vita sit exorta, 3 cum multi etiam uxori eius flagitium mortis adsignent et idcirco, quod Fabiae nimium indulserat Verus, cuius potentiam uxor Lucilla ferre non posset. 3 Tanta sane familiaritas inter Lucium et Fabiam sororem fuit, uti hoc quoque usurpaverit rumor, quod inierint consilium ad Marcum e vita tollendum. 5 Idque cum esset per Agaclytum libertum proditum Marco, anteventum Lucium Faustina, ne praeveniret. 6 Fuit decorus corpore, vultu geniatus, barba prope barbarice demissa, procerus et fronte in supercilia adductiore venerabilis. 7 Dicitur sane tantam habuisse curam flaventium capillorum, ut capiti auri ramenta respergeret, quo magis coma inluminata flavesceret. 8 Lingua impeditior fuit, aleae cupidissimus, vitae semper luxuriosae atque in pluribus Nero praeter crudelitatem et ludibria. 9 Habuit inter alium luxuriae apparatus calicem crystallinum nomine Volucrum ex eius equi nomine, quem dilexit, humanae positionis modum supergressum.

XI. 1 Vixit annis quadraginta duobus. Imperavit cum fratre annis undecim. Inlatumque eius corpus est Hadriani sepulchro, in quo et Caesar pater eius naturalis sepultus est. 2 Nota est fabula, quam Marci non capit vita, quod partem

vulvae veneno inlitam, cum eam exsecuisset cultro una parte venenato, Marcus Vero porrexerit. 3 Sed hoc nefas est de Marco putari, quamvis Veri et cogitata et facta mereantur. 4 Quod nos non in medio relinquemus, sed totum purgatum confutatumque respuimus, cum adhuc post Marcum praeter vestram clementiam, Diocletiane Auguste, imperatorem talem nec adulatio videatur potuisse confingere.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.

I. 1 Avidius Cassius, ut quidam volunt, ex familia Cassiorum fuisse dicitur per matrem, [homine] novo genitus Avidio Severo, qui ordines duxerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat; 2 cuius Quadratus in historiis meminit, et quidem graviter, cum illum summum virum et necessarium rei p. adserit et apud ipsum Marcum praevalidum; 3 nam iam eo imperante perisse fatali sorte perhibetur. 4 Hic ergo Cassius ex familia, ut diximus, Cassiorum, qui in C. Iulium conspiraverant, oderat tacite principatum nec ferre poterat imperatorium nomen dicebatque nil esse gravius nomine imperii, quod non posset e re p. tolli nisi per alterum imperatorem. 5 Denique temptasse in pueritia dicitur extorquere etiam Pio principatum, sed per patrem, virum sanctum et gravem, adfectionem tyrannidis latuisse, habitum tamen semper ducibus suspectum. 6 Vero autem illum parasse insidias ipsius Veri epistula indicat, quam inserui. 7 Ex epistula Veri: “Avidius Cassius avidus est, quantum et mihi videtur et iam inde sub avo meo, patre tuo, innotuit, imperii: quem velim observari iubeas. 8 Omnia ei nostra displicent, opes non mediocres parat, litteras nostras ridet. Te philosopham aniculam, me luxuriosum morionem vocat. Vide quid agendum sit. 9 Ego hominem non odi, sed vide, ne tibi et liberis tuis non bene consulas, cum talem inter praecinctos habeas, qualem milites libenter audiunt, libenter vident.”

II. 1 Rescriptum Marci de Avidio Cassio: “Epistulam tuam legi, sollicitam potius [quam] imperatoriam et non nostri temporis. 2 Nam si ei divinitus debetur imperium, non poterimus interficere, etiamsi velimus. — Scis enim proavi tui dictum: “successorem suum nullus occidit” — ; sin minus, ipse sponte sine nostra crudelitate fatales laqueos inciderit. 3 Adde quod non possumus reum facere, quem et nullus accusat et, ut ipse dicis, milites amant. 4 Deinde in causis maiestatis haec natura est, ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur. 5 Scis enim ipse, quid avus tuus Hadrianus dixerit: “misera conditio imperatorum, quibus de affectata tyrannide nisi occisis non potest credi.” 6 Eius autem exemplum ponere [malui] quam Domitiani, qui hoc primus dixisse fertur; tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent tantum auctoritatis, quantum debent. 7 Sibi ergo habeat suos mores, maxime cum bonus dux sit et severus et fortis et rei p. necessarius. 8 Nam quod dicis liberis meis cavendum esse morte illius: plane liberi mei pereant, si magis amari merebitur Avidius quam illi et si rei p. expediet Cassium vivere quam liberos Marci.” Haec de Cassio Verus, haec Marcus.

III. 1 Sed nos hominis naturam et mores breviter explicabimus; neque enim plura de his sciri possunt, quorum vitam et inlustrare nullus audet eorum causa, a

quibus oppressi fuerint. 2 Addemus autem, quemadmodum ad imperium venerit et quemadmodum sit occisus et ubi victus. 3 Proposui enim, Diocletiane Auguste, omnes, qui imperatorium nomen sive [iusta causa sive] iniusta habuerunt, in litteras mittere, ut omnes purpuratos, Auguste, cognosceres. 4 Fuit his moribus, ut nonnumquam trux et asper videretur aliquando mitis et lenis, saepe religiosus, alias contemptor sacrorum, avidus vini item abstinens, cibi adpetens et inediae patiens, Veneris cupidus et castitatis amator. 5 Nec defuerunt qui illum Catilinam vocarent, cum et ipse se ita gauderet appellari, addens futurum se Sergium, si dialogistam occidisset, 6 Antoninum hoc nomine significans, quitantum enituit in philosophia, ut iturus ad bellum Marcomannicum timentibus cunctis, ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus sit non adulatione sed serio, ut praecepta philosophiae ederet. 7 Nec ille timuit, sed per ordinem paraeneseos — hoc est praeceptionum — per triduum disputavit. 8 Fuit praeterea disciplinae militaris Avidius Cassius tenaxet qui se Marium dici vellet.

IV. 1 Quoniam de severitate illius dicere coepimus, multa extant crudelitatis potius quam severitatis eius indicia. 2 Nam primum milites, qui aliquid provincialibus tulissent per vim, in illis ipsis locis, in quibus peccaverant, in crucem sustulit. 3 Primus etiam id supplicii genus invenit, ut stipitem grandem poneret pedum octoginta et centum [id est materiam] et a summo usque ad imum damnatos ligaret et ab imo focum adponeret incensisque aliis alios fumo, cruciatu, timore etiam necaret. 4 Idem denos catenatos in profluentem mergi iubebat vel in mare. 5 Idem multis desertoribus manus excidit, aliis crura incidit ac poplites dicens maius exemplum esse adviventis miserabiliter criminosi quam occisi. 6 Cum exercitum duceret, et inscio ipso manus auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum negligentius agentum in Danuvii ripis occidissent et cum praeda ingenti ad eum redissent sperantibus centurionibus praemium, quod perparva manu tantum hostium segnius agentibus tribunis et ignorantibus occidissent, rapi eos iussit et in crucem tolli servilique supplicio adfici, quod exemplum non extabat, dicens evenire potuisse, ut essent insidiae ac periret Romani imperii reverentia. 7 Et cum ingens seditio in exercitu orta esset, processit nudus campestri solo tectus et ait: “Percutite”, inquit, “Me, si audetis et corruptae disciplinae facinus addite.” 8 Tunc conquiescentibus cunctis meruit timeri, quia ipse non timuit. 9 Quae res tantum disciplinae Romanis addidit, tantum terroris barbaris iniecit, ut pacem annorum centum ab Antonino absente peterent, si quidem viderant damnatos Romani ducis iudicio etiam eos, qui contra fas vicerant.

V. 1 De hoc multa gravia contra militum licentiam facta inveniuntur apud Aemilium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannidis iam inde a veteribus historiae tradidit. 2 Nam et virgis caesos in foro et in mediis castris securi

percussi qui ita meruerunt, et manus multis amputavit. 3 Et praeter laridum ac buccellatum atque acetum militem in expeditione portare prohibuit et, si aliud quippiam repperit, luxuriam non levi supplicio adfecit. 4 Extat de hoc epistula divi Marci ad praefectum suum talis: 5 “Avidio Cassio legiones Syriacas dedi diffuentes luxuria et Daphnidis moribus agentes, quas totas excaudantes se repperisse Caesonius Vectilianus scripsit. 6 Et puto me non errasse, si quidem et tu notum habeas Cassium, hominem Cassianae severitatis et disciplinae. 7 Neque enim milites regi possunt nisi vetere disciplina. Scis enim versum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequentatum : “Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.” 8 Tu tantum fac adsint legionibus abunde commeatus, quos, si bene Avidium novi, scio non perituros.” 9 Praefecti ad Marcum: “Recte consulisti, mi domine, quod Cassium praefecisti Syriacis legionibus. 10 Nihil enim tam expedit quam homo severior Graecanicis militibus. 11 Ille sane omnes excaudationes, omnes flores de capite, collo et sinu militi excutiet. 12 Annona militaris omnis parata est, neque quicquam deest sub bono duce: non enim multum aut quaeritur aut inpenditur.”

VI. 1 Nec fefellit de se iudicium habitum. Nam statim et ad signa edici iussit et programma in parietibus fixit, ut, si quis cinctus inveniretur apud Daphnem, discinctus rediret. 2 Arma militum septima die semper respexit, vestimenta etiam et calciamenta et ocreas, delicias omnes de castris summovit iussitque eos hiemem sub pellibus agere, nisi corrigerent suos mores; et egissent, nisi honestius vixissent. 3 Exercitium septimi diei fuit omnium militum, ita ut et sagittas mitterent et armis luderent. 4 Dicebat enim miserum esse, cum exercebantur athletae, venatores et gladiatores, non exerceri milites; quibus minor esset futurus labor, si consuetus esset. 5 Ergo correcta disciplina et in Armenia et in Arabia et in Aegyptores optime gessit amatusque est ab omnibus orientalibus et speciatim ab Antiochensibus, 6 qui etiam imperio eius consenserunt, ut docet Marius Maximus in vita divi Marci. 7 Nam cum et Bucolici milites per Aegyptum gravia multa facerent, ab hoc retarsi sunt, ut idem Marius Maximus refert in eo libro, quem secundum de vita Marci [et] Antonini edidit.

VII. 1 Hic imperatorem se in oriente appellavit, ut quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae valetudini Marci iam diffidebat et timebat ne infantes filios tueri sola non posset atque aliquis existeret, qui capta statione regia infantes de medio tolleret. 2 Alii autem dicunt hanc artem adhibuisse militibus et provincialibus Cassium contra Marci amorem, ut sibi posset consentiri, quod diceret Marcum diem suum obisse. 3 Nam et divum eum appellasse dicitur, ut desiderium illius leniret. 4 Imperatorio animo cum processisset, eum, qui sibi aptaverat ornamenta regia, statim praefectum praetorii fecit; qui et ipse occisus est Antonino invito ab

exercitu, qui et Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria quique consenserat spe participatus Cassio, invito atque ignorante Antonino interemit. 5 Nec tamen Antoninus graviter est iratus rebellione cognita nec in eius liberos aut affectus saevit. 6 Senatus illum hostem appellavit bonaque eius proscripsit. Quae Antoninus in privatum aerarium congeri noluit, quare senatu praecipiente in aerarium publicum sunt relata. 7 Nec Romae terror defuit, cum quidam Avidium Cassium dicerent absente Antonino, qui nisi a voluptariis unice amabatur, Romam esse venturum atque urbem tyrannice direpturum, maxime senatorum causa. Qui eum hostem iudicaverant bonis proscriptis. 8 Et amor Antonini hoc maxime enituit, quod consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Avidius interemptus est; 9 quem quidem occidi non iussit sed passus est, cum apud cunctos clarum esset, si potestatis suae fuisset, parsurum illi fuisse.

VIII. 1 Caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exultavit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae, cum diceret se vivum illum voluisse capere, ut illi exprobraret beneficia sua eumque servaret. 2 Denique cum quidam diceret reprehendendum Antoninum, quod tam mitis esset in hostem suum eiusque liberos et adfectus atque omnes, quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, addente illo qui reprehendebat “quid si ille vicisset?”, dixisse dicitur: “non sic deos coluimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret.” 3 Enumeravit deinde omnes principes, qui occisi essent, habuisse causas, quibus mererentur occidi nec quemquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno vel occisum, 4 dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem et Vitellium nec imperare voluisse. 5 Nam de Pertinace et Galba paria sentiebat, cum diceret in imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum. 6 Denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel invitis vel insciis extincti. 7 Ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petit, ne graviter in conscios defectionis animadverteretur, eo ipse tempore, quo rogavit, ne quis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adficeretur, quod illi maximum amorem conciliavit; 8 denique paucissimis centurionibus punitis deportatos revocari iussit.

IX. 1 Antiochensis, qui Avidio Cassio consenserant, [non punivit], sed et his et aliis civitatibus, quae illum iuverant, ignovit, cum primo Antiochensibus graviter iratus esset hisque spectacula sustulisset et multa alia civitatis ornamenta, quae postea reddidit. 2 Filios Avidii Cassii Antoninus parte media paterni patrimonii donavit, ita ut filias eius auro, argento et gemmis cohonestaret. 3 Nam et Alexandriae, filiae Cassii, et genero Druentiano liberam evagandi, ubi vellent, potestatem dedit. 4 Vixeruntque non quasi tyranni pignora, sed quasi senatorii ordinis in summa securitate, cum illis etiam in lite obici fortunam propriae vetuisset domus, damnatis aliquibus iniuriarum, qui in eos

petulantes fuissent. Quos quidem amitae suae marito commendavit. 5 Si quis autem omnem hanc historiam scire desiderat, legat Marii Maximi secundum librum de vita Marci, in quo ille ea dicit, quae solus Marcus mortuo iam Vero egit. 6 Tunc enim Cassius rebellavit, ut probat epistula missa ad Faustina, cuius hoc exemplum est: 7 “Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat, quod cuperet imperare. Audisse enim te arbitror, quod Veri statores de eo nuntiarent. 8 Veni igitur in Albanum, ut tractemus omnia dis volentibus. nil timeas.” 9 Hinc autem apparet Faustina ista nescisse, cum dicat Marius infamari eam cupiens, quod ea conscia Cassius imperium sumpsisset. 10 Nam et ipsius epistula extat ad virum, qua urget Marcum, ut in eum graviter vindicet. 11 Exemplum epistulae Faustinae ad Marcum: “Ipsa in Albanum cras, ut iubes, mox veniam: tamen iam hortor, ut, si amas liberos tuos, istos rebelliones acerrime persequaris. 12 Male enim adsuevereunt et duces [et] milites, qui nisi opprimuntur, opprimuntur.”

X. 1 Item alia epistula eiusdem Faustinae ad Marcum: “Mater mea Faustina patrem tuum Pium in defectione Celsi si hortata est, ut pietatem primum circa suos servaret, sic circa alienos. 2 Non enim pius est imperator, qui non cogitat uxorem et filios. 3 Commodus noster vides in qua aetate sit. Pompeianus generet senior est et peregrinus. 4 Vide, quid agas de Avidio Cassio et de eius consciis. 5 Noli parcere hominibus, qui tibi non pepercerunt et nec mihi nec filiis nostris parcerent, si vicissent. 6 Ipsa iter tuum mox consequor: quia Fadilla nostra aegrotabat, in Formianum venire non potui. 7 Sed si te Formis invenire non potuero, adsequar Capuam, quae civitas et meam et filiorum nostrum aegritudinem poterit adiuvere. 8 Soteridam medicum in Formianum ut dimittas, rogo. Ego autem Pisis theon nihil credo, qui puellae virgini curationem nescit adhibere. 9 Signatas mihi litteras Calpurnius dedit: ad quas rescribam, si tardavero, per Caecilium senem spadonem, hominem, ut scis, fidelem. 10 Cui verbo mandabo, quid uxor Avidii Cassii et filii et gener de te iactare dicantur.”

XI. 1 Ex his litteris intellegitur Cassio Faustina consciam non fuisse quin etiam supplicium eius graviter exegisse, siquidem Antoninum quiescentem et clementiora cogitantem ad vindictae necessitatem impulit. 2 Cui Antoninus quid rescripserit, subdita epistula perdocebit: 3 “Tu quidem, mea Faustina, religiose pro marito et pro nostris liberis agis. nam relegi epistulam tuam in Formiano, qua me hortaris, ut in Avidii conscios vindicem. 4 Ego vero et eius liberis parcam et genero et uxori et ad senatum scribam, ne aut proscriptio gravior sit aut poena crudelior. 5 Non enim quicquam est, quod imperatorem Romanum melius commendet gentibus quam clementia. 6 Haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum consecravit, haec patrem tuum specialiter Pii nomine ornavit. 7 Denique si ex mea sententia de bello iudicatum esset, nec Avidius esset occisus. 8 Esto igitur segura: “Di me tuentur, dis pietas mea — cordi es[t].” Pompeianum

nostrum in annum sequentem consulem dixi.” Haec Antoninus ad coniugem.

XII. 1 Ad senatum autem qualem orationem miserit, interest scire. 2 Ex oratione Marci Antonini: “Habetis igitur, p. c., pro gratulatione victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum dico, cuius aetas olim remuneranda fuerat consulatu, nisi viri fortes intervenissent, quibus reddi debuit, quod a re p. debebatur. 3 Nunc quod ad defectionem Cassianam pertineret, vos oro atque obsecro, p.c., ut censura vestra deposita meam pietatem clematiamque servetis, immo vestram neque quemquam ullum senatus occidat. 4 Nemo senatorum puniatur, nullius fundatur viri nobilis sanguis, deportati redeant, proscripti bona recipiant. 5 Utinam possem multos etiam ab inferis ecxitare ! non enim umquam placet in imperatore vindicta sui doloris, quaesi iustior fuerit, acrior videtur. 6 Quare filiis Avidii Cassii et genero et uxori veniam dabit. Et quid dico veniam, cum illi nihil fecerint. 7 Vivant igitur securi scientes sub Marco vivere. Vivant in patrimonio parentum pro parte donato, auro, argento, vestibus fruantur. sint divites, sint securi, sint vagi et liberi et per ora omnium ubique populorum circumferant meae, circumferant vestrae pietatis exemplum. 8 Nec magna haec est, p.c., clementia, veniam proscriptorum liberis et coniugibus dari: 9 ego vero a vobis peto, ut conscios senatorii ordinis et equestris a caede, a proscriptione, a timore, ab infamia, ab invidia et postremo ab omni vindicetis iniuria detisque hoc meis temporibus, 10 ut in causa tyrannidis, qui in tumultu c[a]ecidit, probetur occisus.”

XIII. 1 Hanc eius clementiam senatus his adclamationibus prosecutus est: 2 “Antonine pie, di te servant. Antonine clemens, di te servant. Antonine clemens, di te servant.] tu voluisti quod licebat, nos fecimus quod decebat. 3 Commodus imperium iustum rogamus. Progeniem tua roboras. Fac securi sint liberi nostri. 4 Bonum imperium nulla vis laedit. Commodus Antonino tribuniciam potestatem rogamus, praesentiam tuam rogamus. 5 Philosophiae tuae, patientiae tuae, doctrinae tuae, nobilitati tuae, innocentiae tuae. vincis inimicos, hostes exuperas, di te tuentur.” Et reliqua. 6 Vixerunt igitur posterius Avidii Cassii securi et ad honores admissi sunt. 7 Sed eos Commodus Antoninus post excessum divi patris sui omnes vivos incendi iussit, quasi in factione deprehensos. 8 Haec sunt quae de Cassio Avidio conperimus. 9 Cuius ipsius mores, ut supra diximus, varii semper fuerunt, sed ad censuram crudelitatemque propensiores. 10 Qui si optinuisset imperium, fuisset non modo clemens sed bonus, sed utilis et optimus imperator.

XIV. 1 Nam extat epistola eius ad generum suum iam imperatoris huiusmodi: 2 “Misera res publica, quae istos divitiarum cupidos et divites patitur. 3 Miser Marcus, homo sane optimus, qui, dum clemens dici cupit, eos patitur vivere, quorum ipse non probat vitam. 4 Ubi Lucius Cassius, cuius nos frustra tenet

nomen? Ubi Marcus ille Cato Censorius? Ubi omnis disciplina maiorum? Quae olim quidem intercidit, nunc vero nec quaeritur. 5 Marcus Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de elementis et de animis et de honesto et iusto necsentit pro re p. 6 Vides multis opus esse gladiis, multis elogiis, ut in antiquum statum publica forma reddatur. 7 Ego vero istis praesidibus provinciarum — an ego proconsules, an ego praesides putem, qui ob hoc sibi a senatu et ab Antonino provincias datas credunt, ut luxurientur, ut divites fiant? 8 Audisti praef. praetorii nostri philosophi ante triduum quam fieret mendicum et pauperem, sed subito divitem factum. Unde, quaeso, nisi devisceribus rei p. provincialiumque fortunis? Sint sane divites, sint locupletes: aerarium publicum refercient; tantum difaveant bonis partibus: reddent Cassiani rei p. principatum.” Haec epistola eius indicat, quam severus et quam tristis futurus fuerit imperator.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDI

I. 1 De Comodi Antonini parentibus in vita Marci Antonini satis est disputatum. 2 Ipse autem natus est apud Lanuvium cum fratre Antonino gemino prid(ie) kal. Septemb(res) patre patruoque consulibus, ubi et avus maternus dicitur natus. 3 Faustina cum esset Commodum cum fratre praegnans, visa est in somnis serpentes parere, sed ex his unum ferociorem. 4 Cum autem peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum, Antoninus quadrimus elatus est, quem parem astrorum cursu Commodo mathematici promittebant. 5 Mortuo igitur fratre Commodum Marcus et suis praeceptis et [et] magnorum atque optimorum virorum erudire conatus est. 6 Habuit litteratorem Graecum Onesicraten, Latinum Capellam Antistium; orator ei Ateius Sanctus fuit. 7 Sed tot disciplinarum magistri nihil ei profuerunt. Tantum valet aut ingenii vis aut eorum, qui in aula instituto res habentur. Nam a prima statim pueritia turpis, improbus, crudelis, libidinosus, ore quoque pollutus et constupratus fuit, 8 iam in his artifex, quae stationis imperatoriae non erant, ut calices fingeret, saltaret, cantaret, sibilaret, scurram denique et gladiatorem perfectum ostenderet. 9 Auspiciis crudelitatis apud Centumcellas dedit anno aetatis duodecimo; nam cum tepidius forte lotus esset, balneatorem in fornacem conici iussit; quando a paedagogo, cui hoc iussum fuerat, vervecina pellis in fornace consumpta est, ut fidem poenae de fetore nidoris impleret. 10 Appelatus est autem Caesar puer cum fratre Vero. Quarto decimo aetatis anno in collegium sacerdotum adscitus est.

II. 1 Cooptatus est inter + tressolos... princeps iuventutis, cum togam sumpsit. adhuc in praetexta puerili congiarium dedit atque ipse in basilica Traiani praesedit. 2 Indutus autem toga est nonarum Iuliarum die, quo in terris Romulus non apparuit, et eo tempore, quo Cassius a Marco descivit. 3 Profectus est commendatus militibus cum patre in Syriam et Aegyptum <et cum> eo Romam redit. 4 Post haec venia legis annariae impetrata consul est factus et cum patre imperator est appellatus V. kal. Dec. die Pollione et Apro consulibus et triumphavit cum patre; nam et hoc patres decreverant. 5 Profectus est cum patre et ad Germanicum bellum. 6 Adhibitos custodes vitae suae honestiores ferre non potuit, pessimos quosque detinuit et summos usque ad aegritudinem desideravit. 7 Quibus per patris mollitiem restitutis popinas et ganeas in Palatinis semper aedibus fecit neque umquam pepercit vel pudori vel sumptui. In domo aleam exercuit. 8 Mulierculas formae scitioris ut prostibula mancipia perficiens lupanarium ad ludibrium pudicitiae contraxit. insectatus est propolas circum foranos. Equos currules sibi comparavit. 9 Aurigae habitu currus rexit,

gladiatoribus convixit, aquam gessit lenonum minister, ut probris natum magis quam ei loco eum crederes, ad quem fortuna provexit.

III. 1 Patris ministeria seniora summovit, amicos senes abiecit. 2 Filium Salvi Iuliani, qui exercitibus praeerat, ob inopudicitiam frustra temptavit atque exinde Iuliano tetendit insidias. 3 Honestissimos quosque aut per contumeliam aut per honorem indignissimum abiecit. 4 Appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus eosdemque ita, ut non apparerent, subito deportavit. 5 Bellum etiam, quod pater paene confecerat, legibus hostium addictus remisit ac Romam reversus est. 6 Romam ut redit, subactore suo Saotero post se in curru locato ita triumphavit, ut eum saepius cervice reflexa publice oscularetur. Etiam in orchestra hoc idem fecit. 7 Et cum potaret in lucem helluareturque viribus Romani imperii, vespera etiam per tabernas ad lupanaria volitavit. 8 Misit homines ad provincias regendas vel criminum socios vel acriminosos commendatos. 9 In senatus odium ita venit, ut et ipse crudeliter in tanti ordinis perniciem saeviret fieretque contemptu crudelis.

IV. 1 Vita Commodi Quadratum et Lucillam compulit ad eius interfectionem consilia inire, non sine praefecti praetorii Tarruteni Paterni consilio. 2 Datum [n]autem est negotium peragendae necis Claudio Pompeiano propinquo. 3 Qui ingressus ad Commodum dstricto gladio, cum faciendi potestatem habuisset, in haec verba prorumpens “Hunc tibi pugionem senatus mittit” detexit facinus fatuus nec implevit multis cum eo participantibus causam. 4 Post haec interfecti sunt Pompeianus primo et Quadratus, dein Norbana atque Norbanus et Paralius; et mater eius et Lucilla in exilium exacta. 5 Tum praefecti praetorio cum vidissent Commodum in tantum odium incidisse obtentu Saoteri, cuius potentiam p(opulus) R(omanus) ferre non poterat, urbane Saoterum eductum a palatio sacrorum causa et redeuntem in hortos suos per frumentarios occiderunt. 6 Id vero gravius quam de se ipso Commodo fuit. 7 Paternum autem et huius caedis auctorem et, quantum videbatur, paratae necis Commodi conscium et interventorem, ne coniuratio latius puniretur, instigante Tigidio per lati clavi honorem a praefecturae administratione summovit. 8 Post paucos dies insimulavit eum coniurationis, cum diceret ob hoc promissam Iuliani filio filiam Paterni, ut in Iulianum transferretur imperium. quare et Paternum et Iulianum et Vitruvium Secundu<m>, Paterni familiarissimum, qui epistolas imperatorias curarat, interfecit. 9 Domus praeterea Quintiliorum omnis extincta, quod Sextus Condi[ci]ani filius specie mortis ad defectionem diceretur evasisse. 10 Interfecta et Vitrasia Faustina et Velius Rufus et Egnatius Capito consularis. 11 In exilium autem acti sunt Aemilius Iuncus et Atilius Severus consules. Et in multos alios varie saevitum est.

V. 1 Post haec Commodus nunquam facile in publicum processit neque

quicquam sibi nuntiari passus est nisi quod Perennis ante tractasset. 2 Perennis autem Commodi persciens invenit, quemadmodum ipse potens esset. 3 Nam persuasit Commodus, ut ipse deliciis vacaret, idem vero Perennis curis incumberet; quod Commodus laetanter accepit. 4 Hac igitur lege vivens ipse cum trecentis concubinis, quas ex matronarum meretricumque dilectu ad formae speciem concivit, trecentisque aliis puberibus exoletis, quos aequae ex plebe ac nobilitate vi pretiisque forma disceptatrice collegerat, in palatio per convivia et balneas bacchabatur. 5 Inter haec habitu victimarii victimas immolavit. In harena rudibus, inter cubicularios gladiator[es] pugnavit lucentibus aliquando mucronibus. 6 Tunc tamen Perennis cuncta sibimet vindicavit; quos voluit, interemit, spoliavit plurimos, omnia iura subvertit, praedam omnem in sinum contulit. 7 Ipse autem Commodus Lucillam sororem, cum Capreas mississet, occidit. 8 Sororibus dein suis ceteris, ut dicitur, constupratis, consobrina patris complexibus suis iniuncta uni etiam ex concubinis matris nomen inposuit. 9 Uxorem, quam deprehensam in adulterio exegit, exactam relegavit et postea occidit. 10 Ipsas concubinas suas sub oculis suis stuprari iubebat. 11 Nec inruentium in se iuvenum carebat infamia, omni parte corporis atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus. 12 Occisus est eo tempore etiam Claudius quasi a latronibus, cuius filius cum pugio quondam ad Commodum ingressus est, multique alii senatores sine iudicio interempti, feminae quoque divites. 13 Et nonnulli per provincias a Perenni ob divitias insimulati spoliati sunt vel etiam interempti. 14 His autem, quibus deerat ficti criminis adpositio, obiciebatur, quod scribere noluissent Commodum heredem.

VI. 1 Eo tempore in Sarmatia res bene gestas per alios duces in filium suum Perennis referebat. 2 Hic tamen Perennis, qui tantum potuit, subito, quod bello Britanni comilitibus equestris loci viros praefecerat amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus est deditus. 3 In cuius potentiae locum Cleandrum ex cubiculariis subrogavit. 4 Multa sane post interfectum Perennem eiusque filium quasi a se non gesta rescidit, velut in integrum restituens. 5 Et hanc quidem paenitentiam scelerum ultra XXX dies tenere non potuit, graviora per Cleandrum faciens quam fecerat per supra dictum Perennem. 6 Et in potentia quidem Cleander Perenni successerat, in praefectura vero Niger, qui sex tantum horis praef. praet. fuisse perhibetur; 7 mutabantur enim praef. praet. per horas ac dies Commodus peiora omnia, quam fecerat ante, faciente; 8 fuit Marcius Quartus praef(ectus) praet(orio) diebus quinque. Horum successores ad arbitrium Cleandri aut retenti sunt aut occisi; 9 ad cuius nutum etiam libertini in senatum atque in patricos lecti sunt tuncque primum viginti quinque consules in unum annum venditaeque omnes provinciae. 10 Omnia Cleander pecunia venditabat: revocatos de exilio dignitatibus ornabat, res

iudicatas rescindebat. 11 Qui tantum per stultitiam Commodi potuit, ut Byrrum, sororis Commodivirum, reprehendentem nuntiantemque Commodo, quae fiebant, in suspicionem regni adfectati traheret et occideret multis aliis, qui Byrrum defendebant, pariter interemptis. 12 Praefectus etiam Aebutianus inter hos est interemptus; in cuius locum ipse Cleander cum aliis duobus, quos ipse delegerat, praefectus est factus. 13 Tuncque primum tres praef. praet. fuere, inter quos libertinus, qui a pugione appellatus est.

VII. 1 Sed et Cleandro dignus tandem vitae finis inpositus. Nam cum insidiis illius Arrius Antoninus fictis criminibus in Attali gratiam, quem in proconsulatu Asiae damnaverat, esset occisus nec eam tum invidiam populo saeviente Commodus ferre potuisset, plebi ad poenam donatus est, 2 cum etiam Apolaustus aliique liberti aulici pariter interempti sunt. 3 Cleander inter cetera etiam concubinas eius constupravit, de quibus filios suscepit, qui post eius interitum cum matribus interempti sunt. 4 In cuius locum Iulianus et Regillus subrogati sunt, quos et ipsos postea poenis adfecit. 5 His occisis interemit Servilium et Dulium Silanos cum suis, mox Antium Lupum et Petronios Mamertinum et Suram filiumque Mamertini Antoninum ex sorore sua genitum 6 et post eos sex simul ex consulibus, Allium Fuscum, Caelium Felicem, Lucceium Torquatum, Larcium Eurupianum, Valerium Bassianum, Pactumeium Magnum cum suis, 7 atque in Asia Sulpicium Crassum pro consule et Iulium Proculum cum suis Claudiumque Lucanum consularem et consobrinam patris sui Faustinam Anniam in Achaia et alios infinitos. 8 Destinaverat et alios quattuordecem occidere, cum sumptus eius vires Romani imperii sustinere non possent.

VIII. 1 Inter haec Commodus senatu semet ridente, cum adulterum matris consulem designasset, appellatus est Pius; cum occidisset Perennem, appellatus est Felix, inter plurimas caedes multorum civium quasi quidam novus Sylla. 2 Idem Commodus, ille Pius, ille Felix, finxisse etiam quandam contra se coniurationem dicitur, ut multos occideret. 3 Nec alia ulla fuit defectio praeter Alexandri, qui postea se etsuos interemit, <et> sororis Lucillae; 4 appellatus est Commodus etiam Britannicus ab adulatoribus, cum Brittanni etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere voluerint. 5 Appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules, quod feras Lanuvium in amphitheatro occidisset; erat enim haec illi consuetudo, ut domi bestias interficeret. 6 Fuit praeterea ea dementia, ut urbem Romanam coloniam Commodianam vocari voluerit; qui furor dicitur ei inter delenimenta Marciae iniectus. 7 Voluit etiam in circo quadrigas agitare. 8 Dalmaticatus in publico processit atque ita signum quadrigis emittendis dedit. 9 Et eo quidem tempore, quo ad senatum rettulit de Commodiana facienda Roma, non solum senatus hoc libenter accepit per inrisionem, quantum intellegitur, sed etiam se ipsum Commodianum vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans.

IX. 1 Simulavit se et in Africam iturum, ut sumptum itinerarium exigeret, et exegit eumque in convivia et aleam convertit. 2 Motilenum, praef. praetorii, per ficus veneno interemit. accepit statuas in Herculis habitu, eique immolatum est ut deo. 3 Multos praeterea paraverat interimere. Quod per parvolum quendam proditum est, qui tabulam e cubiculo eiecit, in qua occidendorum erant nomina scripta. 4 Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim portaret. 5 Bellonae servientes vere exsecare brachium praecepit studio crudelitatis. 6 Isiacos vero pineis usque ad perniciem pectus tundere cogebat. Cum Anubin portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter obtundebat ore simulacri. Clava non solum leones in veste muliebri et pelle leonina, sed etiam homines multos adflixit. Debiles pedibus et eos, qui ambulare non possent, in gigantum modum formavit, ita ut a gentibus de pannis et linteis quasi dracones tegerentur, eisdemque sagittis confecit. Sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat.

X. 1 Iam puer et gulosus et impudicus fuit. Adulescens omne genus hominum infamavit, quod erat secum, et ab omnibus est infamatus. 2 Inridentes se feris obiciebat. Eum etiam, qui Tranquilli librum vitam Caligulae continentem legerat, feris obici iussit, quia eundem diem natalis habuerat, quem et Caligula. 3 Si quis sane se mori velle praedixisset, hunc invitum praecipitari iubebat. 4 In iocis quoque perniciosus. Nam eum, quem vidisset albescentes inter nigros capillos quasi vermiculos habere, sturno adposito, qui se vermes sectari crederet, capite suppuratum reddebat obtusione oris. 5 Pinguem hominem medio ventre dissicuit, ut eius intestina subito funderentur. 6 Monopodios et luscinos eos, quibus aut singulos oculos tulisset aut singulos pedes fregisset, appellabat. 7 Multos praeterea passim extinxit alios, quia barbarico habitu occurrerant, alios quia nobiles et speciosiores erant. 8 Habuit in deliciis homines appellatos nominibus verendorum utriusque sexus, quos libentius suis osculis applicabat. 9 Habuit et hominem pene prominentem ultra modum animalium, quem non appellabat, sibi carissimum. quem et ditavit et sacerdotio Herculis rustici praeposuit.

XI. 1 Dicitur saepe pretiosissimis cibis humana stercora miscuisse nec abstinuisse gustum aliis, ut putabat, inrasis. 2 Duos gibbos retortos in lance argentea sibi sinapi perfusos exhibuit eisdemque statim promovit ac ditavit. 3 Praef. praet. suum Iulianum togatum praesente officio suo in piscinam detrussit. Quem saltare etiam nudum ante concubinas suas iussit quatientem cymbala deformato vultu <vario> genere leguminum coctorum. 4 Ad convivium propter luxuriae continuationem raro vocavit. 5 Lavabat per diem septies atque octies et in ipsis balneis edebat. 6 <adibat> deorum templa pollutus stupris et humano sanguine. 7 Imitatus est et medicum, ut sanguinem hominibus emitteret scalpris

feralibus. 8 Menses quoque in honorem eius pro Augusto Commodum, pro Septembri Herculem, pro Octobri Invictum, pro Novembri Exsuperatorium, pro Decembri Amazonium ex signo ipsius adulatores vocabant. 9 Amazonius autem vocatus est ex amore concubinae suae Marciae, quam pictam in Amazone diligebat, propter quam et ipse Amazonico habitu in harenam Romanam procedere voluit. 10 Gladiatorium etiam certamen subiit et nomina gladiatorum recepisse gaudio, quasi acciperet triumphalia. 11 Iudum semper ingressus est et, quotiens ingrederetur, publicis monumentis indi iussit. 12 Pugnassem autem dicitur septingentes tricies quinquies. 13 Nominatus inter Caesares quartum iduum Octobrium, quas Herculeas postea nominavit, Pudente et Pollione cons. 14 Appellatus Germanicus idibus Herculeis Maximo et Orfito consulibus.

XII. 1 Adsumptus est in omnia collegia sacerdotalia sacerdos XIII.kl. Invictas Pisone <et> Iuliano consulibus. 2 Profectus in Germaniam XIII.kal. Aelias, ut postea nominavit. 3 Isdem cons. togam virilem accepit. 4 Cum patre appellatus imperator V. kal. Exsuperatorias Pollione iterum [a]et Apro <iterum> consulibus. 5 Triumphavit X. kal. Ian. isdem consulibus. 6 Iterum profectus III. non. Commodias Orfito et Rufo consulibus. 7 Datus in perpetuum ab exercitu et senatu in domo Palatina Commodiana conservandus XI. kal. Romanas Praesente iterum consule. 8 Tertio meditando de profectioe a senatu et populo suo retentus est. 9 Vota pro eo facta sunt nonis Piis Fusciano iterum consule. 10 Inter haec refertur in litteras pugnassem illum sub patre trecenties sexagies quinquies, 11 item postea tantum palmarum gladiatoriarum confecisse vel victis retiariis vel occisis, ut mille contingeret. 12 Ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut <vel> elephantos occideret, multa milia. et haec fecit spectante saepe populo Romano.

XIII. 1 Fuit autem validus ad haec, alias debilis et infirmus, vitio etiam inter inguina prominente, ita ut eius tumorem per sericas vestes populus Romanus agnosceret. 2 Versus ideo multi scripti sunt, de quibus etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur. 3 Virium ad conficiendas feras tantarum fuit, ut elephantum conto transigeret et orygis cornu basto transmiserit et singulis ictibus multa milia ferarum ingentium conficeret. 4 Inpudentiae tantae fuit, ut cum muliebri veste in amphitheatro vel theatro sedens publice saepissime biberit. 5 Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per legatos Mauri, victi Daci <et> Pannoniae quoque compositae, Brittania, in Germania et in Dacia imperium eius recusantibus provincialibus; 6 quae omnia ista per duces sedata sunt. 7 Ipse Commodus in subscribendo tardus et negligens, ita ut libellis una forma multis subscriberet, in epistolis autem plurimis “Vale” tantum scriberet. 8 Agebanturque omnia per alios, qui etiam condemnationes in sinum vertisse dicuntur.

XIV. 1 Per hanc autem negligentiam, cum et annonam vastarent hi, qui tunc

rem p. gerebant, etiam inopia ingens Romae exorta est, cum fruges non deessent. 2 Et eos quidem, qui omnia vastabant, postea Commodus occidit atque proscripsit. 3 Ipse vero saeculum aureum Commodianum nomine ad simulans vilitatem proposuit, ex qua maiorem penuriam fecit. 4 Multi sub eo et alienam poenam et suam salutem pecunia redemerunt. 5 Vendidit etiam suppliciorum diversitates et sepulturas et inminutiones malorum et alios pro aliis occidit. 6 Vendidit etiam provincias et administrationes, cum hi, per quos venderet, partem acciperent, partem vero Commodus. 7 Vendidit nonnullis et inimicorum suorum caedes. Vendiderunt subeo etiam eventus litium liberti. 8 Praefectos Paternum et Perennem non diu tulit, ita tamen ut etiam de his praefectis, quos ipse fecerat, triennium nullus impleret, quorum plurimos interfecit vel veneno vel gladio. Et praefectos urbi eadem facilitate mutavit.

XV. 1 Cubicularios suos libenter occidit, cum omnia ex nutu eorum semper fecisset. 2 Eclectus cubicularius cum videret eum tam facile cubicularios occidere, praevenit eum et factioni mortis eius interfuit. 3 Spectator gladiatoria sumpsit arma, panno purpureo nudos humeros advelans. 4 Habuit praeterea morem, ut omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae lenonie faceret, actis urbis indi iuberet, ut Marii Maximi scripta testantur. 5 Commodianum etiam p. R. dixit, quo saepissime praesente gladiator pugnavit. 6 Sane cum illi saepe pugnanti ut deo populus favisset, in risum se credens populum Romanum a militibus classiariis, qui vela ducebant, in amphitheatro interimi praeceperat. 7 Urbem incendi iusserat, utpote coloniam suam; quod factum esset, nisi Laetus praef. praet. Commodum deterruisset. 8 Appellatus est sane inter cetera triumphalia nomina etiam sescenties vices Palus primus secutorum.

XVI. 1 Prodigia eius imperio et publice et privatim haec facta sunt: crinita stella apparuit. 2 Vestigia deorum in foro visa sunt exeuntia. Et ante bellum desertorum caelum arsit. Et repentina caligo ac tenebra in circo kalendis Ianuariis oborta. Et ante lucem fuerant etiam incendiariae aves ac dirae. 3 De Palatio ipse ad Caelium montem in Vectilianas aedes migravit negans se in Palatio posse dormire. 4 Ianus geminus sua sponte apertus est et Anubis simul acrum marmoreum moveri visum est. 5 Herculis signum aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies. Bubo et iam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est tam Romae quam Lanuvii. 6 Ipse autem prodigium non leve sibi fecit: nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnus manum misisset, ad caput sibi deterisit et contra consuetudinem paenulatos iussit spectatores, non togatos ad munus convenire, quod funeribus solebat, ipse in pullis vestimentis praesidens. 7 Galea eius bis per portam Libitinensem elata est. 8 Congiarium dedit populo singulis denarios septingenos vicosquinos. Circa alios omnes parcissimus fuit, quod luxuriae

sumptibus aerarium minueret. 9 Circenses multos addidit ex libidine potius quam religione et ut dominos factionum ditaret.

XVII. 1 His incitati, licet nimis sero, Quintus Aemilius Laetus praef. et Marcia concubina eius inierunt coniurationem ad occidendum eum. 2 Primumque ei venenum dederunt; quod cum minus operaretur, per athletam, cum quo exerceri solebat, eum strangularunt. 3 Fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu insubido, ut ebriosi solent, et sermone incondito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis inluminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris. 4 Corpus eius ut unco traheretur atque in Tiberim mitteretur, senatus et populus postulavit, sed postea iussu Pertinacis in monumentum Hadriani translatum est. 5 Opera eius praeter lavacrum, quod Cleander nomine ipsius fecerat, nulla exstant. 6 Sed nomen eius alienis operibus incisum senatus erasit. 7 Nec patris autem sui opera perfecit. Classem Africanam instituit, quae subsidio esset, si forte Alexandrina frumenta cessassent. 8 Ridicule etiam Carthaginem Alexandriam Commodianam togatam appellavit, cum classem quoque Africanam Commodianam Herculeam appellasset. 9 Ornamenta sane quaedam colosso addidit, quae postea cuncta sublata sunt. 10 Colossi autem caput dempsit, quod Neronis esset, ac suum inposuit et titulum more solito subscripsit, ita ut illum gladiatorium et effeminatum non praetermitteret. 11 Hunc tamen Severus, imperator gravis et vir nominis sui, odio, quam videtur, senatus inter deos rettulit flamine addito, quem ipse vivus sibi paraverat, Herculaneo Commodiano. 12 Sorores tres superstites reliquit. ut natalis eius celebraretur, Severus instituit.

XVIII. 1 Adclamationes senatus post mortem Commodi graves fuerunt. 2 Ut autem sciretur, quod iudicium senatus de Commodo fuerit, ipsas adclamationes de Mario Maximo indidi et sententiam senatus consulti : 3 “Hosti patriae honores detrahantur, parricidae honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur. Hostis patriae, parricida, gladiator in spoliario lanietur. 4 Hostis deorum carnifex senatus, hostis deorum parricida senatus: hostis deorum, hostis senatus. Gladiatorem in spoliario. 5 Qui senatum occidit, in spoliario ponatur: qui senatum occidit, unco trahatur: qui innocentes occidit, unco trahatur: hostis parricida, vere vere. Qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco trahatur. 6 Qui te occisurus fuit, unco trahatur. 7 Nobiscum timuisti, nobis cum periclitatus es. Ut salvi simus, Iuppiter optime maxime, serva nobis Pertinacem. 8 Fidei praetorianorum feliciter. praetoriis cohortibus feliciter. Exercitibus Romanis feliciter. 9 Pietati senatus feliciter. 10 Parricida trahatur. Rogamus Auguste, parricida trahatur. Hoc rogamus, parricida trahatur. Exaudi Caesar: delatores ad leonem. exaudi Caesar: Speratum ad leonem. 11 Victoriae populi R. feliciter. Fidei militum feliciter. Fidei praetorianorum feliciter. Cohortibus praetoriis feliciter. 12 Hostis statuas undique, parricidae statuas undique, gladiatoris statuas

undique. Gladiatoris et parricidae statuae detrahantur. Necator civium trahatur, parricida civium trahatur. 13 Gladiatoris statuae detrahantur. 14 Te salvo salvi et securi sumus, vere, vere, modo vere, modo digne, modo vere, modo libere. 15 Nunc securi sumus: delatoribus metum. Ut securi simus, delatoribus metum. <Ut> salvi simus, delatores de senatu, delatoribus fustem. Te salvo delatores ad leonem. 16 Te imperante delatoribus fustem.

XIX. 1 Parricidae gladiatoris memoria aboleatur, parricidae gladiatoris statuae detrahantur. Impuri gladiatoris memoria aboleatur. Gladiatorem in spoliario. Exaudi Caesar : carnifex unco trahatur. 2 Carnifex senatus more maiorum unco trahatur. Saevior Domitiano, impurior Nerone. Sic fecit, sic patiatur. Memoriae innocentium serventur. honores innocentium restituas, rogamus. 3 Parricidae cadaver unco trahatur, gladiatoris cadaver unco trahatur, gladiatoris cadaver in spoliario ponatur. Perroga, perroga, omnes censemus unco trahendum. 4 Qui omnes occidit, unco trahatur. Qui omnem aetatem occidit, unco trahatur. Qui utrumque sexum occidit, unco trahatur. Qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco trahatur. Qui templa spoliavit, unco trahatur. 5 Qui testamenta delevit, unco trahatur. Qui vivos spoliavit, unco trahatur. Servis serviimus. 6 Qui pretia vitae exegit, unco trahatur. Qui pretia vitae exegit et fidem non servavit, unco trahatur. Qui senatum vendidit, unco trahatur. Qui filiis abstulit hereditatem, unco trahatur. 7 Indices de senatu. Delatores de senatu. Servorum subornatores de senatu. 8 Et tu nobiscum timuisti, omnia scis, et bonos et malos nosti. Omnia scis, omnia emenda, pro te timuimus. O nos felices, te viro imperante. De parricida refer, refer, perroga. Praesentiam tuam rogamus. 9 Innocentes sepulti non sunt: parricidae cadaver trahatur. Parricida sepultos eruit: parricidae cadaver trahatur.”

XX. 1 Et cum iussu Pertinacis Livius La[u]rensis, procurator patrimonii, Fabio Chiloni consuli designato dedisset, per noctem Commodi cadaver sepultum. 2 Senatus adclamavit : “Quo auctore sepelierunt? 3 Parricida sepultus eruatur, trahatur.” Cingius Severus dixit : “Iniuste sepultus est. Qua pontifex dico, hoc collegium pontificum dicit. 4 Quoniam laeta iam percensui, nunc convertar ad necessaria : censeo, quae is, qui non nisi ad perniciem civium et ad dedecus suum vixit, ob honorem suum decerni coegit, abolenda. 5 Statuas, quae undique sunt, abolendas, nomenque ex omnibus privatis publicisque monumentis eradendum mensesque his nominibus nuncupandos, quibus nuncupabantur, cum primum illud malum in republica incubuit.”

HELVIUS PERTINAX IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Publi(c)o Helvio Pertinaci pater libertinus Helvius Successus fuit, qui filio nomen ex continuatione lanariae negotiationis, quod pertinaciter eam rem generet, inpossuisse fatetur. 2 Natus est Pertinax in Appennino in villa matris. equus pullus ea hora, qua natus est, in tegulas ascendit atque ibi breviter commoratus decidit exspiravit. 3 Hac re motus pater ad Chaldaeum venit. Qui cum illi futura ingentia praedixisset, stipem se perdidisse dixit. 4 Puer litteris elementariis et calculo inbutus, datus etiam Graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari, post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est. 5 Sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum, patris patronum, ducendi ordinis dignitatem petit. 6 Dein praefectus cohortis in Syriam profectus, Tito Aurelio imperatore a praeside Syriae, quod sine diplomatibus cursum usurpaverat, pedibus ab Antiochia ad legationem suam iter facere coactus est.

II. 1 Bello Parthico industria sua pro meritis in Britanniam translatus ea cretensus. Post in Moesia rexit alam. 2 Deinde alimentis dividendis in via Aemilia procuravit. Inde classem Germanicam rexit. 3 Mater eum usque in Germaniam prosecuta est ibique obiit; cuius etiam sepulchrum stare nunc dicitur. 4 Inde ad ducenum sestertiorum stipendium translatus in Daciam suspectusque a Marco quorundam impar artibus remotus est et postea per Claudium Pompeianum, generum Marci, quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est. 5 In quo munere adprobatus lectus est in senatum. 6 Postea iterum re bene gesta prodita est factio, quae illi concinnata fuerat, Marcusque imperator, ut compensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae legioni regendae inposuit, statimque Raetias et Noricum ab hosti vindicavit. 7 Ex quo eminente industria studio Marci imperatoris consul est designatus. 8 Extat oratio apud Marium Maximum laudes eius continens et omnia, vel quae fecit vel quae perpessus est. 9 Et praeter illam orationem, quam longum fuit conectere, saepissime Pertinax a Marco et in contione militari et in senatu laudatus est, doluitque palam Marcus quod senator esset, praef. praet. fieri a se non posse. 10 Cassiano motu composito e Syria ad Danubii tutelam profectus est atque inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit. 11 Bene gestis his provinciis Syriam meruit.

III. 1 Integre se usque ad Syriae regimen Pertinax tenuit. Post excessum Marci pecuniae studuit; quare etiam dictis popularibus lacessitus. 2 Curiam Romanam post quattuor provincias consulares, quia consulatu absens gesserat, iam dives ingressus est, cum eam senator antea non vidisset. 3 Iussus est praeterea statim a

Perenne in Liguriam secedere in villam paternam; nam pater eius tabernam coactiliariam in Liguria exercuerat. 4 Sed posteaquam in Liguriam venit, multis agris coemptis tabernam manente forma priore infinitis aedificiis circumdedit; fuitque illic per triennium et mercatus est per suos servos. 5 Occiso sane Perenni Commodus Pertinaci satisfecit eumque petit <per> litteras, ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur. 6 Profectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, cum illi quem cum imperatorem vellent haberet ipsum specialiter Pertinacem. 7 Tunc Pertinax malivolentiae notam subit, quod dictus est insimulasse apud Commodum adfectati imperii Antistium Burrum et Arrium Antoninum. 8 Et seditiones quidem contra Commodum ipse conpescuit in Britannia, verum ingens periculum adit seditione legionis paene occisus, certe inter occisos relictus. 9 Quam quidem rem idem Pertinax acerrime vindicavit. 10 Denique postea veniam legationis petit dicens sibi ob defensam disciplinam infestas esse legiones.

IV. 1 Accepto successore alimentorum ei cura mandata est. 2 Dein pro consule Africae factus est. In quo proconsulatu multas seditiones perpessus dicitur vaticinationibus canum, quae templo Caelestis emergunt. Post hoc praef. urbi factus. 3 In qua praefectura post Fuscianum, hominem severum, Pertinax mitissimus et humanissimus fuit et ipsi Commodus plurimum placuit, quia - illi esse iterum consul Pertinax factus est. 4 Tunc Pertinax interficiendi Commodi conscientiam delatam sibi ab aliis non fugit. 5 Commodus autem interempto Laetus praef. praet. et Eclectus cubicularius ad eum venerunt, ut eum confirmarent, atque in castra duxerunt. 6 Illic Pertinax milites adlocutus est, donativum promisit, ingeri sibi imperium a Laeto et Eclecto dixit. 7 Fictum est autem, quod morbo esset Commodus extinctus, quia et milites, ne temptarentur, pertimescebant. Denique a paucis primum est Pertinax imperator appellatus. 8 Factus est autem sexagenario maior imp(erator) p(ridie) kal.Ian. 9 De castris nocte cum ad senatum venisset et cellam curiae iussisset aperiri, neque inveniretur aedituus, in templo Concordiae resedit. 10 Et cum ad eum Claudius Pompeianus, gener Mar(i)ci, venisset casumque Commodi lacrimasset, hortatus Pertinax, ut imperium sumeret. Sed ille recusavit, quia iam imperatorem Pertinacem videbat. 11 Statim ergo omnis magistratus cum consule ad curiam venerunt ingre Pertinacem nocte imperatorem appellaverunt.

V. 1 Ipse autem Pertinax post laudes suas a consulibus dictas et post vituperationem Commodi adclamationibus senatus ostensam egit gratias senatui et praecipue Laeto, praefecto praetorii, quo auctore et Commodus interemptus et ipse imperator est factus. 2 Sed cum Laeto gratias egisset Pertinax, Falco consul dixit : “ Qualis imperator es futurus, hinc intellegimus, quod Laetum et Marciam ministros scelerum Commodi, post te videmus.” 3 Cui Pertinax respondit : “ Iuvenis es consul nec parendi scis necessitates. Paruerunt inviti Commodus, sed

ubi habuerunt facultatem, quid semper voluerint, ostenderunt.” 4 Eadem die, qua Augustus est appellatus, et Flavia Titiana uxor eius Augusta est appellata, his horis quibus ille in Capitolio vota solvebat. 5 Primus sane omnium ea die, qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam patris patriae nomen recepit, 6 (nec) simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec <non> ius quartae relationis; quod ominis loco fuit Pertinaci. 7 Ad Palatium ergo Pertinax profectus, quod tunc vacuum erat, quia Commodus in Vectilianis occisus est, petenti signum prima die tribuno dedit “militemus” exprobrans utique segnitiam temporum superiorum; quod quidem etiam ante in omnibus ducatibus dederat.

VI. 1 Exprobrationem autem istam milites non tulerunt statimque de imperatore mutando cogitarunt. 2 Ea die etiam ad convivium magistratus et procures senatus rogavit quam consuetudinem Commodus praetermiserat. 3 Sane cum postero kalendarum die statuae Commodi deicerentur, gemuerunt milites, simul quia iterum signum idem dederat imperator. Timebatur autem militia sub sene imperatore. 4 Denique tertium nonarum diem Votis ipsis milites Triarium Maternum Lascivium, senatorem nobilem, ducere in castra voluerunt, ut eum rebus Romanis inponerent. 5 Sed ille nudus fugit atque ad Pertinacem in Palatium venit et post ex urbe decessit. 6 Timore sane Pertinax coactus omnia, quae Commodus militibus et veteranis dederat, confirmavit. 7 Suscipere se etiam imperium a senatu dixit, quod iam sponte inierat. 8 Quaestionem maiestatis penitus tulit cum iureiurando, revocavit etiam eos, qui deportati fuerant crimine maiestatis, eorum memoria restituta, qui occisi fuerant. 9 Filium eius senatus Caesarem appellavit. Sed Pertinax nec uxoris Augustae appellationem recepit et de filio dixit : “Cum meruerit”. 10 Et cum Commodus allectionibus innumeris praetorias miscuisset, senatus consultum Pertinax fecit iussitque eos, qui praeturas non gessissent sed allectione accepissent, post eos esse, qui vere praetores fuissent. 11 Sed hinc quoque grande odium sibi multorum commovit. Census retractari iussit.

VII. 1 Delatores cunctos graviter puniri iussit et tamen mollius quam priores imperatores, unicuique dignitati, si delationis crimen incurreret, poenam statuens. 2 Legem sane tulit, ut testamenta priora non prius essent inrita quam alia perfecta essent, neve ob hoc fiscus aliquando succederet; 3 ipseque professus est nullius se aditurum hereditatem, quae aut adulatione alicuius delata esset aut lite (aut) perplexa, ut legitimi heredes et necessarii privarentur. Addiditque senatus consulto haec verba : 4 “ Satius est, p.c., inopem rem p. optinere quam ad divitiarum cumulum per discriminum atque dedecorum vestigia pervenire.” 5 Donativa et congiaria, quae Commodus promiserat, solvit. 6 Annonae consultissime providit. Et cum tantam penuriam aerarii haberet, ut praeter decies sestertium non se invenisse fateretur, coactus est ea exigere, quae

Commodus indixerat, contra quam professus fuerat. 7 Denique adgressus eum Lollianus Gentianus consularis, quod contra promissum faceret, necessitatis rationem accepit. 8 Auctionem rerum Commodi habuit, ita ut et pueros et concubinas vendi iuberet, exceptis his qui per vim Palatio videbantur inserti. 9 Et de his, quos vendi iussit, multi postea reducti ad ministerium oblectarunt senem. Quidam per alios principes usque ad senatorim dignitatem pervenerunt. 10 Scurras turpissimorum nominum dedecora perferentes proscripsit ac vendidit. 11 Cuius nundinationis pecuniam, quae ingens fuit, militibus donativo dedit.

VIII. 1 A libertis etiam ea exegit, quibus Commodus vendente ditati fuerant. 2 Auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit : vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis (insignior) prae>er tunicas paenulasque lacernas et chirodytas Dalmatarum et cirratas militares purpureasque clamydes Graecanicas atque castrenses, 3 et cuculli Bardaici et saga armaque gladiatoria gemmis auroque composita 4 <vendidit> et maceras Herculaneas et torques gladiatorias vasaque electro, auro, ebore, argento vitroque composita 5 atque etiam phando vitrobuli ex materie eadem et vasa Samnitica calfactandae resinae ac pici devellendis hominibus ac leviginandis. 6 Nec non vehicula arte fabricae nova perplexis diversisque rotarum orbibus et exquisitis sedilibus nunc ad solem declinandum nunc ad spiritus opportunitatem per vertiginem; 7 et alia iter metientia horasque monstrantia et cetera vitiis eius convenientia. 8 Reddidit praeterea dominis eos, qui se exprivatis domibus in aulam contulerant. 9 Convivium imperatorium ex inmenso ad certum revocavit modum. 10 Sumptus etiam omnes Commodi recidit. Exemplo autem imperatoris, cum ille parcius se ageret, ex omnium continentia vilitas nata est; 11 nam imperatorium sumptum pulsus non necessariis ad soliti dimidium detraxit.

IX. 1 Praemia militibus posuit. Aes alienum, quod primo imperii tempore contraxerat, solvit. Aerarium in suum statum restituit. 2 Ad opera publica certum sumptum constituit. Reformandis viis pecuniam contulit. Stipendia plurimis retro debita exolvit. Obeundis postremo cunctis muneribus fiscum parem fecit. 3 Alimentaria etiam compendia, quae novem annorum ex instituto Traiani debebantur, obdurata verecundia sustulit. 4 Avaritiae suspitione privatus non caruit, cum apud vada Sabatia oppressis fenore possessoribus latius suos tenderet fines. 5 Denique ex versu Luciliano agrarius mergus est appellatus. 6 Multi autem eum etiam in provinciis, quas consularis gessit, sordide se egisse in litteras rettulere; nam vacationes et legationes militares dicitur vendidisse. 7 Denique cum parentum minimum esset patrimonium et nulla hereditas obvenisset, subito dives est factus. 8 Omnibus sane possessiones suas reddidit, quibus Commodus ademerat, sed non sine pretio. 9 Senatui legitimo semper inter fuit ac semper aliquid rettulit. Civilem se salutantibus et interpellantibus

semper exhibuit. Eos, qui calumniis adpetiti per servos fuerant, damnatis (servis) delatoribus liberavit in crucem sublatis talibus servis, aliquos etiam mortuos vindicavit.

X. 1 Insidias paravit ei Falco - conquestus est in senatu - volens imperare. 2 Quo quidem - credidit, dum sibi quidam servus, quasi Fabiae - setiqui filius ex Ceioni Commodi familia, Palatinam domum ridicule vindicasset - cognitusque iussus est flagellis caesus domino restitui. 3 In cuius vindicta hi, qui oderant Pertinacem, occasionem seditionis invenisse dicuntur. 4 Falconi tamen pepercit et a senatu inpunitatem eius petit. 5 Denique Falco in rebus suis securus vixit et herede filio periit. 6 Quamvis multi Falconem nescisse dixerint imperium sibi parari. 7 Alii etiam servis, qui rationes interverterant, falsis testimoniis adpetitum eum esse dixerunt. 8 Sed Pertinaci factio praeparata est per Laetum praefectum praetorii et eos, quos Pertinacis sanctimonia offenderat. 9 Laetum enim paenituerat, quod imperatorem fecerat Pertinacem, idcirco quia eum velut stultum intimatorem nonnullarum rerum reprehendebat. 10 Grave praeterea militibus visum, quod in causa Falconis multos milites ad unius servi testimonium occidi praeceperat.

XI. 1 Trecenti igitur de castris armati ad imperatorias aedes cuneo milites venere. 2 Eadem tamen die immolante Pertinace negatur in hostia cor repertum cum id vellet procurare, caput extorum non deprehendit. Et tunc quidem omnes milites in castris manebant. 3 Qui cum castris ad obsequium principis convenissent et Pertinax eo die processionem, <quam> ad Athenaeum paraverat, ut audiret poetam, ob sacrificii praesagium distulisset, hi, qui ad obsequium venerant, redire in castra coeperunt. 4 Sed subito globus ille in Palatium pervenit neque aut arceri potu aut imperatori nuntiari. 5 Enimvero tantum odium in Pertinacem omnium aulicorum fuit, ut ad facinus milites hortarentur. 6 Supervenerunt Pertinaci, cum ille aulicum famulitium ordinaret, ingressique porticus Palatii usque ad locum, qui appellatur Sicilia et Iovis cenatio. 7 Hoc cognito Pertinax Laetum praef. praet. ad eos misit. Sed ille declinatis militibus per porticus egressus adoperto capite domum se contulit. 8 Verum cum ad interiora prorumperent, Pertinax ad eos processit eosque longa et gravi oratione placavit. 9 Sed cum Tausius quidam, unus e Tungris, in iram et in timorem milites loquendo adduxisset, hastam inpectus Pertinacis obiecit. 10 Tunc ille precatus Iovem Ultorem toga caput operuit atque a ceteris confossus est. 11 Et Eclectus quidem confossis duobus cum eodem perit, 12 reliqui autem cubicularii palatini (nam suos statim, ut imperator factus est, filiis emancipatis dederat) diffugerunt. 13 Multi sane dicunt etiam cubiculum milites inrupisse atque illic circa lectum fugientem Pertinacem occidisse.

XII. 1 Fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba, reflexo capillo, habitudine

corporis pinguiore, ventre prominulo, statura imperatoria, eloque mediocri et magis blandus quam benignus nec umquam creditus simplex. 2 Et cum verbis esset affabilis, re erat inliberalis ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas et cardus in privata vita convivii adponeret. 3 Et nisi quid missum esset edulium, quotquot essent amici, novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. 4 Si autem plus aliquid missum esset, etiam in alium diem differebat, cum semper ad convivium multos vocaret. 5 Imperator etiam, si sine convivis esset, eadem consuetudine cenitabat. 6 Amicis si quando de prandio suo mittere voluit, misit offulas binas aut omasi partem, aliquando lumbos gallinacios. Fasianum numquam privato convivio comedit aut alicui misit. 7 Cum sine amicis cenaret, adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum, qui cum eodem docuerat, <ut> fabulas litteratas haberet. 8 Sane nullum ex his, quos Commodus rebus gerendis inposuerat, mutavit, expectans urbis natalem, quod eum diem rerum principium volebat esse, atque ideo etiam in balneis ei Commodiani ministri necem parasse dicuntur.

XIII. 1 Imperium et omnia imperialia sic horruit, ut sibi semper ostenderet displicere. Denique non alium se, quam fuerat, videri volebat. 2 Fuit in curia honorificentissimus, ita ut senatum faventem adoraret et quasi praefectus urbi cum omnibus sermonem participaret. 3 Voluit etiam imperium deponere atque ad privatam vitam redire. 4 Filios suos in Palatio nutriri noluit. Tam parcus autem et tam lucri cupidus fuit, ut apud Vada Sabatia mercaturas exerecuerit imp(erator) per homines suos, non aliter quam privatus solebat. 5 Nec multum tamen amatus est, si quidem omnes, qui libere fabulas conferebant, male Pertinacem loquebantur, chrestologum eum appellantes, qui bene loqueretur et male faceret. 6 Nam et cives sui, qui ad eum confluxerant iam imperatorem et nihil de eo meruerant, sic eum appellabant. Munera quoque lucri libidine libenter accepit. 7 Reliquit filium et filiam superstites et uxorem, Flavi Sulpiciani filiam, quem praef. urbi loco suo fecerat. 8 Circa uxoris pudicitiam minus curiosus fuit, cum palam citharoedum illa diligeret. Ipse praeterea Cornificiam infamissime dicitur dilexisse. 9 Libertos aulicos vehementissime compressit, unde grande quoque odium contraxit.

XIV. 1 Signa interitus haec fuerunt : ipse ante triduum quam occideretur in piscina sibi visus est videre hominem cum gladio infestantem. 2 Et ea die, qua occisus est, negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus, quas reddunt spectantibus, visas. 3 Et cum apud lares sacrificaret, carbones vivacissimi extincti sunt, cum inflammari soleant. Et, ut supra dictum est, cor et caput in hostiis non est repertum. Stellae etiam iuxta solem per diem clarissimae visa ante diem quam obiret. 4 Et ipse omen de Iuliano successore dedisse dicitur. Nam cum ei Didius Iulianus fratris filium obtulisset, cui despondebat filiam suam,

adhortatus (est) iuvenem ad patrum observationem, adiecit : “Observa collega et successorem meum”; 5 nam ante Iulianus ei et in consulatu collega fuerat et in proconsulatu successerat. 6 Milites eum et aulici odio habuerunt, populus mortem eius indigni tulit, quia videbat omnia per eum antiqua posse restitui. 7 Caput eius conto fixum milites, qui eum occiderant, per urbem in castra pertulerunt. 8 Reliquiae eius recuperato capite in sepulchro avi uxoris locatae sunt. 9 Et Iulianus, successor illius, corpus eius quanto potuit honore funeratus est, cum id in Palatio repperisset. 10 Qui numquam eius ullam mentionem vel apud populum vel apud senatum publice fecit, sed cum ipse quoque a militibus desertus iam esset, per senatum et populum Pertinax in deos relatus est.

XV. 1 Sub Severo autem imperatore cum senatus ingens testimonium habuisset Pertinax, funus imaginarium ei et censorium ductum est, et ab ipso Severo funebri laudatione ornatus est. 2 Ipse autem Severus amore boni principis a senatu Pertinacis nomen accepit. 3 Filius Pertinacis patri flamen est factus. 4 Marciani sodales, qui divi Marci sacra curabant, Helviani sunt dicti propter Helvium Pertinacem. 5 Circenses et imperii natalis additi, qui a Severo postea sublatis sunt, et geniticii, qui manent. 6 Natus autem kal. Augustis Vero et Bibulo cons. Interfectus est V kal. Apr. Falcone et Claro cons. Vixit annis LX mensibus VII diebus XXVI. Imperavit mensibus II diebus XXV. 7 Congiarium dedit populo denarios centenos. Praetorianis promisit milia nummum, sed dedit sena. Quod exercitibus promissum est, datum non est, quia mors eum praevenit. 8 Horruisse autem illum imperium epistula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita est. Quam ego inseri ob nimiam longitudinem nolui.

DIDIUS IULIANUS IULI CAPITOLINI

I. Didio Iuliano qui post Pertinacem imperium adeptus est, proavus fuit Salvius Iulianus, bis consul, praefectus urbi et iuris consultus, quod magis eum nobilem fecit. 2 Mater Clara Aemilia, pater Petronius Didius Severus, fratres Didius proculus et Nummius Albinus, avunculus Salvius Iulianus, avus paternus Insubris Mediolanensis, maternus ex Adrumetina colonia. 3 Educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam, matrem Marci imperatoris. 4 Inter viginti viros lectus est suffragio matris Marci. quaestor ante annum, quam legitima aetas sinebat, designatus est. 5 Aedilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. 6 Praetor eiusdem suffragio fuit. Post praeturam legioni praefuit in Germania vicensimae secundae Primigeniae. 7 Inde Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. Ibi Cauchis, Germaniae populis, qui Albam fluvium adcolebant, erumpentibus restitit tumultuariis auxiliis provincialium. 8 Ob quae consulatum meruit testimonio imperatoris. 9 Catts etiam debellavit. inde Dalmatiam regendam accepit eamque a confinibus hostibus vindicavit. Post Germaniam inferiorem rexit.

II. 1 Post hoc curam alimentarium in Italiam meruit. Tunc factus est reus per quendam Severum clarissarium militem coniurationis cum Salvio contra Commodum. Sed a Commodum, quia multos iam senatores occiderat et quidem nobiles ac potentes in causis maiestatis, ne tristius gravaretur, Didius liberatus est accusatore damnato. 2 Absolutus iterum ad regendam provinciam missus est. 3 Bithyniam deinde rexit, sed non ea fama qua ceteras. Fuit consul cum Pertinace et in proconsulatu Africae eidem successit et semper ab eo collega est et successor appellatus. Maxime eo die, cum filiam suam Iulianus despondens adfini suo ad Pertinacem venisset idque intimasset, dixit : “Observaque debita reverentia, quia collega et successor meus est.” statim enim mors Pertinacis secuta est. 4 Quo interfecto cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari vellet et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset, quem indictum acceperat, cumque clausas valvas invenisset atque illic duos tribunos repperisset, Publicium Florianum et Vectium Aprum, coeperunt cohortari tribuni, ut locum arriperet. 5 Quibus cum diceret iam alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad praetoria castra duxerunt. 6 Sed posteaquam in castra ventum est, cum Sulpiciano praef. urbi, socero Pertinacis, contionante sibique imperium vindicante Iulianum e muro ingentia pollicentem nullus admitteret, primum Iulianus monuit praetorianos, nec eum facerent imperatorem, qui Pertinacem vindicaret; deinde scripsit in tabulis se Commodi memoriam restitutum. 7 Atque ita et admissus est et imperator appellatus rogantibus praetorianis, ne Sulpiciano aliquid noceret, quod imperator esse voluisset.

III. 1 Tunc Iulianus Flavium Genialem et Tullium Crispinum suffragio praetorianorum praef. praetorii fecit stipatusque est caterva imperatoria per Maurentium, qui et ante se Sulpiciano coniunxerat. 2 Sane cum vicena quina milia militibus promississet, tricina dedit. 3 Inde habita contionem militari vespera in senatum venit totumque se senatui permisit factoque senatus consulto imperator est appellatus et tribuniciam potestatem, ius proconsulare in patricias familias relatus emeruit. 4 Uxor etiam Mallia Scantilla et filia eius Didia Clara Augustae sunt appellatae. 5 Inde se ad Palatium recepit uxore ac filia illuc vocatis, trepidis invitis eo transeuntibus quasi iam imminens exitium praesagirent. 6 Praef. urbi Cornelium Repentinum, generum suum, fecit in locum Sulpiciani. 7 Erat interea in odio populi Didius Iulianus ob hoc, quod creditum fuerat emendationem temporum Commodi Pertinacis auctoritate reparandam, habebaturque ita, quasi Iuliani consilio esset Pertinax interemptus. 8 Et iam hi primum, qui Iulianum odisse coeperant, disseminarunt prima statim die Pertinacis cena despecta luxuriosum parasse convivium ostreis et altilibus et piscibus adornatum. quod falsum fuisse constat; 9 nam Iulianus tantae parsimoniae fuisse perhibetur, ut per triduum porcellum, per triduum leporem divideret, si quis ei forte misisset, saepe autem nulla existente religione holeribus leguminibusque contentus sine carne cenaverit. 10 Deinde neque cenavit, priusquam sepultus esset Pertinax, et tristissimus cibum ob eius necem sumpsit et primam noctem vigiliis continuavit de tantas necessitates sollicitus.

IV. 1 Ubi vero primum inluxit, senatum et equestrem ordinem in Palatium venientem admisit atque unumquemque, ut erat aetas, vel fratrem vel filium vel parentem adfatus blandissime est. 2 Sed populus in rostris atque ante curiam ingentibus eum conviciis lacessebat sperans deponi ab eo posse imperium, quod milites dederant. Lapidationem quoque fecere. 3 Descendenti cum militibus et senatu in curiam diras imprecati sunt, rem divinam facienti, ne litaret, optarunt. 4 Lapides etiam in eum iecerunt, cum Iulianus manu eos semper placare cuperet. 5 Ingressus autem curiam, placide et prudenter verba fecit. Egit gratias, quod esset adscitus, quod et ipse et uxor et filia eius Augustorum nomen acceperunt. Patris patriae quoque nomen recepit, argenteam statuam respuit. 6 e senatu in Capitolium pergenti populus obstitit, sed ferro et vulneribus et pollicitationibus aureorum, quos digitis ostendebat ipse Iulianus, ut fidem faceret, summotus atque depulsus est. 7 Inde ad circense spectaculum itum est. Sed occupatis indifferenter omnium subsilliis populus geminavit convicia in Iulianum: Pescennium Nigrum, qui iam imperare dicebatur, ad urbis praesidium vocavit. 8 Haec omnia Iulianus placide tulit totoque imperii sui tempore mitissimus fuit; populus autem in milites vehementissime invehebatur, qui ob pecuniam Pertinacem occidissent. multa igitur, quae Commodus statuerat, Pertinax tulerat,

ad conciliandum favorem populi restituit. 9 De ipso Pertinace neque male neque bene quicquam egit, quod gravissimum plurimis visum est. 10 Constitit autem propter metum militum de honore Pertinacis tacitum esse.

V. 1 Et Iulianus quidem neque Britannicos exercitus neque Illyricos timebat, Nigrum vero misso primipilario occidi praeceperat timens praecipue Syriacos exercitus. 2 Ergo Pescennius Niger in Illyrico, Septimius Severus in Syria cum exercitibus, quibus praesidebant a Iuliano descivere. 3 Sed cum ei nuntiatum esset Severum descivisse, quem suspectum non habuerat, pertubatus est: ad senatum venit impetravitque, ut hostis Severus renuntiaretur; 4 militibus etiam, qui Severum secuti fuerant, dies praestitutus, ultra quam si cum Severo fuissent, hostium numero haberentur. 5 Missi sunt praeterea legati a senatu consulares ad milites, qui suaderent, ut Severus repudiaretur, et is esset imperator), quem senatus elegerat. 6 Inter ceteros legatus est Vespronius Candidus, vetus consularis, olim militibus invisus ob durum et sordidum imperium. 7 Missus est successor Severo Valerius Catulinus, quasi posset ei succedi, qui militem iam sibi tenebat. 8 Missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret. 9 Ipse autem Iulianus praetorianos in campum deduci iubet, muniri tures, sed milites desides et urbana luxuria dissolutos invitissimos ad exercitum militare produxit, ita ut vicarios operis, quod uni cuique praescribatur, mercede conducerent.

VI. 1 Et Severus quidem ad urbem infesto agmine veniebat, sed Didius Iulianus nihil cum exercitu praetoriano proficiebat, quem cottidie populus et magis oderat et ridebat. 2 Et Iulianus sperans Laetum fautorem Severi, cum per eum Commodi manus evasisset, ingratus tanto beneficio iussit eum occidi. Iussit etiam Marciam unam interfici. 3 Sed dum haec egit Iulianus, Severus classem Ravennatem occupat, legati senatus, qui Iuliano promiserant operam suam, ad Severum transierunt. 4 Tullius Crispinus, praef. praetorio, contra Severum missus, ut classem produceret, repulsus Romam redit. 5 Haec cum Iulianus videret, senatum rogavit, ut virgines Vestales et ceteri sacerdotes cum senatu obviam exercitui Severi prodirent et praetentis infulis rogarent, inanem ... contra barbaros milites parans. 6 Haec tamen agenti Iuliano Plaustius Quintillus consularis augur contradixit adserens non debere imperare eum, qui armis adversario non posset resistere. 7 Cui multi senatores consenserunt. Quare iratus Didius milites e castris petit, qui senatum ad obsequium cogerent aut obtruncarent. 8 Sed id consilium displicuit. Neque enim decebat, ut, cum senatus hostem Severum Iuliani causa iudicasset, eundem Iulianum pateretur infestum. 9 Quare meliore consilio ad senatum venit petitque, ut fieret senatus consultum de participatione imperii; quod statim factum est.

VII. 1 Tunc omen, quod sibi Iulianus, cum imperium acciperet, fecerat,

omnibus venit in mentem. 2 Nam cum consul designatus de eo sententiam dicens ita pronuntiasset: “Didium Iulianum imperatorem appellandum esse censeo,” Iulianus suggestit “adde et Severum,” quod cognomentum habvi et proavi sibi Iulianus adsciverat. 3 Sunt tamen qui dicant, nullum fuisse Iuliani consilium de obtruncando senatu, cum tanta in eum senatus consulisset. 4 Post senatus consultum statim Didius Iulianus unum ex praefectis, Tullium Crispinum, misit. 5 Ipse autem tertium fecit praefectum Veturium Macrinum; ad quem Seuerus litteras miserat, ut esset praef. 6 Sed pacem simulatam esse mandatamque caedem Severi Tullio Crispino, praef. praetorii, et populus locutus est et Severus suspicatus. 7 Denique hostem se Iuliano Severus esse maluit quam participem consensu militum. 8 Severus autem statim et ad plurimos Romam scripsit et occulte misit edicta, quae proposita sunt. 9 Fuit praeterea in Iuliano haec amentia, ut per magos pleraque faceret, quibus putaret vel odium populi deleniri vel militum arma compesci. 10 Nam et quasdam non convenientes Romanis sacris hostias immolaverunt et carmina profana incantaverunt et ea, quae ad speculum dicunt fieri, in quod pueri praeligatis oculis incantato vertice respicere dicuntur, Iulianus fecit. 11 Tuncquem puer vidisse dicitur et adventum Severi et Iuliani decessionem.

VIII. 1 Et Crispinus quidem cum occurrisset praecursoribus Severi, Iulio Laeto auctore a Severo interemptus est. 2 Deiecta sunt etiam consulta senatus Iulianus convocato senatu quaesitisque sententiis, quid facto opus esset, certi nihil comperit a senatu. 3 Sed postea sponte sua gladiatores Capuae 0 iussit armari per Lollianum Titianum, et Claudium Pompeianum ad participatum evocavit, quod et gener imperatoris fuisset et diu militibus praefuisset. Sed hoc ille recusavit senem se et debilem luminibus respondens. 4 Transierant et ex Umbria milites ad Severum. 5 Et praemiserat quidem litteras Severus, quibus iubebat interfectores Pertinacis servari. 6 Brevi autem desertus est ab omnibus Iulianus et remansit in Palatio cum uno de praefectis suis Geniali et genero Repentino. 7 Actum est denique, ut Iuliano senatus auctoritate abrogaretur imperium. Et abrogatum est, appellatusque statim Severus imperator, cum fingeretur quod veneno se absumpsisset Iulianus. 8 Missi tamen a senatu, quorum curam per militem gregarium in Palatio idem Iulianus occisus est fidem Caesaris implorans, hoc est Severi. 9 Filiam suam potitus imperio dato patrimonio emancipaverat, quod ei cum Augustae nomine statim sublatum est. 10 Corpus eius a Severo uxori Manliae Scantillae ac filiae ad sepulturam est redditum et in proavi monumenta translatum militario quinto via Labicana.

IX. 1 Obiecta sane sunt Iuliano haec : quod gulosus fuisset, quod aleator, quod armis gladiatoriiis exercitus esset. Eaque omnia senex fecerit, cum antea numquam adulescens his esset vitiis infamatus. Obiecta est etiam superbia, cum

ille etiam in imperio fuisset humillimus. 2 Fuit autem contra humanissimus ad convivia, benignissimus ad suscriptiones, moderatissimus ad libertatem. 3 Vixit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus quattuor. 2 Imperavit mensibus duobus diebus quinque. 4 Reprehensum in eo praecipue, quod eos, quos regere auctoritate sua debuerat, regendae rei p. sibi praesules ipse fecisset.

AELI SPARTIANI SEVERUS

I. 1 Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus imperium optinuit. 2 Cui civitas Lepti, pater Geta, maiores equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus datam; mater Fulvia Pia, patruus magni Aper et Severus, consulares, avus maternus Macer, paternus Fulvius Pius fuere. 3 Ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et Severo cons. VI. idus apriles. 4 In prima pueritia, priusquam Latinis Graecisque litteris imbueretur quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros ludum nisi adiudices executi, cum ipse praelatis fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante sederet ac iudicaret. 5 Octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. Postea studiorum causa Romam venit, latum clavum a divo Marco petit et accepit favente sibi Septimo Severo adfini suo, bis iam consulari. 6 Cum Romam venisset, hospitem nactus, qui Hadriani vitam imperator iam eadem hora legeret, quod sibi omen futurae felicitatis arripuit. 7 Habuit et aliud omen imperii. Cum rogatus ad cenam imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuerat, togam praesidiariam ipsius imperatoris accepit. 8 Eadem nocte somniavit lupae se uberibus ut Remum inhaerere vel Romulum. 9 Sedit et in sella imperatoria temere a ministro posita, ignarus quod non liceret. 10 Dormienti etiam in stabulo serpens caput cinxit et sine noxa experge factis et adclamantibus familiaribus abiit.

II. 1 Iuventam plenam furorum, nonnumquam et criminum habuit. 2 Adulterii causam dixit absolutusque est a Iuliano proconsule, cui et in proconsulatu successit et in consulatu collega fuit et in imperio item successit. Quaesturam diligenter egit omisso tribunatu militari. 3 Post quaesturam sorte Baeticam accepit atque inde Africam petit, ut mortuo patre rem domesticam conponeret. 4 Sed dum in Africa est, pro Baetica Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baeticam Mauri populabantur. 5 Acta igitur quaestura Sardiniensi legationem proconsulis Africae accepit. 6 In qua legatione cum eum quidam municipum suorum Lepcitanus praecedentibus fascibus ut antiquum contubernalem ipse plebeius amplexus esset, fustibus eum sub elogio eiusdem praeconis cecidit: "Legatum p. R. homo plebeius temere amplecti noli." 7 Ex quo factum, ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent, qui ante pedibus ambulabant. 8 Tunc in quadam civitate Africana, cum sollicitus mathematicum consuluisse et positaque hora ingentia vidisset, astrologus dixit ei: 9 "Tuam non alienam pone genituram", cumque Severus iurasset suam esse, omnia ei dixit, quae postea facta sunt.

III. 1 Tribunatum plebis Marco imperatore decernente promeruit eumque severissime exertissimeque egit. 2 Uxorem tunc Marciam duxit, de qua tacuit in historia vitae privatae. Cui postea in imperio statuas conlocavit. 3 Praetor

designatus a Marco est non in candida, sed in conpetitorum grege anno aetatis XXXII. 4 Tunc ad Hispaniam missus somniavit primo sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod iam labebatur, restitueret; 5 deinde ex altissimi montis vertice orbem terrarum Romamque despexit concinentibus provinciis lyra, voce vel tibia. Ludos absens edidit. 6 Legioni IIII. Scythicae dein praepositus est circa Massiliam. 7 Post hoc Athenas petit studiorum sacrorumque causa et operum ac vetustatum. Ubi cum iniurias quasdam ab Atheniensibus pertulisset, inimicus his factus minuendo eorum privilegia iam imperator se ultus est. 8 Dein Lugdunensem provinciam legatus accepit. 9 Cum amissa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituras sponsarum requirebat, ipse quoque matheseos peritissimus, et cum audisset esse in Syria quandam, quae id geniturae haberet, ut regii ungeretur, eandem uxorem petit, Iuliam scilicet, et accepit interventu amicorum. Ex qua statim pater factus est.

IV. 1 A Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est. 2 Dein Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexit. Post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit. 3 Suscepitque Romae alterum filium. In Sicilia quasi de imperio vel vates vel Chaldaeos consulisset, reus factus est. A praefect praet., quibus audiendus datus fuerat, iam Commodus in odium veniente absolutus est calumniatore in crucem acto. 4 Consulatum cum Apuleio Rufino primum egit, Commodus se inter plurimos designante. Post consulatum anno ferme fuit otiosus; dein Laeto suffragante exercitui Germanico praeponitur. 5 Proficiscens ad Germanicos exercitus hortos spatiosos comparavit, cum antea aedes brevissimas Romae habuisset et unum fundum [in] Veientanum. 6 In his hortis cum humi iacens epularetur cum filiis parca cena pomaque adposita maior filius, qui tunc quinquennis erat, consoloribus puerulis manu largiore divideret paterque illum reprehendens dixisset : “Parcius divide, non enim regias opes possides”, quinquennis puer respondit : “Sed possidebo” inquit. 7 In Germaniam profectus ita se in ea legatione egit, ut famam, nobilitatem iam ante, cumlaret.

V. 1 Et hactenus rem militarem privatus egit. Dehinc a Germanicus legionibus, ubi auditum est Commodum occisum, Iulianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus repugnans imperator est appellatus apud Carnuntum idibus Augustis. 2 Qui etiam — sestertia, quod nemo umquam principum, militibus dedit. 3 Dein firmatis, quas post tergum relinquebat, provinciis Romam iter contendit cedentibus sibi cunctis, quacumque iter fecit, cum iam Illyriciani exercitus et Gallicani cogentibus ducibus in eius verba iurassent; 4 excipiebatur enim ab omnibus quasi ultor Pertinacis. 5 Per idem tempus auctore Iuliano Septimius Severus a senatu hostis est appellatus legatis ad exercitum senatus verbis missis qui iuberent, ut ab eo milites senatu praecipiente discederent. 6 Et Severus quidem cum audisset senatus consentientis auctoritate missos legatos,

primo pertimuit, postea id egit corruptis legatis, ut apud exercitum pro se loquerentur transirentque in eius partes. 7 His compertis Iulianus senatus consultum fieri fecit de participando imperio cum Severo. 8 Incertum, vere id an dolo fecerit, cum iam ante misisset notos ducum interfectores quosdam, qui Severum occiderent, ita ut ad Pescennium Nigrum interficiendum miserat, qui et ipse imperium contra eum susceperat auctoribus Syriacis exercitibus. 9 Verum Severus evitatis eorum manibus, quos ad se interficiendum Iulianus miserat, missis ad praetorianos litteris signum vel deserendi vel occidendi Iuliani dedit statimque auditus est. 10 Nam et Iulianus occisus est in Palatio, et Severus Romam invitatus. 11 Ita, quod nulli umquam contigit, nutu tantum Severus victor est factus armatusque Romam contendit.

VI. 1 Occiso Iuliano cum Severus in castris et tentoriis quasi per hostium veniens adhuc maneret, centum senatores legatos ad eum senatus misit ad gratulandum rogandumque. 2 Qui ei occurrerunt Interamnae armatumque circumstantibus armatis salutarunt excussi, ne quid ferri haberent. 3 Et postera die occurrente omni famulatio aulico septingenos vicens aureos legatis dedit 4 eosdemque praemisit facta potestate, si qui velent remanere ac secum Romae redire. 5 Fecit etiam statim praefectum praetorii Falvium Iuvenalem, quem etiam Iulianus tertium praefectum sibi adsumpserat. 6 Interim Romae ingens trepidatio militum civiumque, quod armatus contra eos Severus veniret, qui se hostem iudicassent. 7 His accessit quod comperit Pescennium Nigrum a Syriacis legionibus imperatorem appellatum. 8 Cuius edicta et litteras ad populum vel senatorum interceptis per eos, qui missi fuerant, ne vel proponerentur populo vellegerentur in curia. 9 Eodem tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo cogitavit, cui Caesarianum decretum a Commodus iam videbatur imperium. 10 Sed eos ipsos pertimescens, de quibus recte iudicabat, Heraclitum ad optinendas Britannias, Plautianum ad occupandos Nigri liberos misit. 11 Cum Romam Severus venisset, praetorianos cum subarmatis inermes sibi iussit occurrere. Eisdem sic ad tribunal vocavit armatis undique circumdatis.

VII. 1 Ingressus deinde Romam armatus cum armatis militibus Capitolium ascendit. Inde in Palatium eodem habitu perrexit praelatis signis, quae praetorianis ademerat, supinis, non erectis. 2 Tota deinde urbe milites in templis, in porticibus, in aedibus Palatinis quasi in stabulis manserunt, 3 fuitque ingressus Severi Odiosus atque terribilis, cum milites inempta diriperent vastationem urbi minantes. 4 Alia die armatis stipatus non solum militibus, sed etiam amicis in senatum venit. In curia reddidit rationem suscepti imperii causatusque est, quod ad se occidendum Iulianus notos ducum caedibus misisset. 5 Fieri etiam senatus consultum coegit, ne liceret imperatori in consulto senatu occidere senatorem. 6 Sed cum in senatu esset, milites per seditionem dena milia poposcerunt a senatu

exemplo eorum, qui Augustum Octavianum Romam deduxerant tantumque acceperant. 7 Et cum eos voluisset comprimere Severus nec potuisset, tamen mitigatos addita liberalitate dimisit. 8 Funus deinde censorium Pertinacis imagini duxit eumque inter divos sacrauit addito flamine et sodalibus Helvianis, qui Marciani fuerant. 8 Se quoque Pertinacem vocari iussit, quamvis postea id nomen aboleri voluerit quasi omen. Amicorum dehinc eas alienum dissolvit.

VIII. 1 Filias suas dotatas maritis Probo et Aetio dedit. et cum Probo genero suo praefecturam urbi optulisset, ille recusavit dixitque minus sibi videri praefectum esse quam principis generum. 2 Utrumque autem generum statim consulem fecit, utrumque ditavit. 3 Alia die ad senatum venit et amicos Iuliani incusatos proscriptioni ac neci dedit. 4 Causas plurimas audivit. accusatos a provincialibus indices probatis rebus graviter punivit. 5 Rei frumentariae, quam minimam reppererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita septem annorum canonem p. R. relinqueret. 6 Ad orientis statum confirmandum profectus est nihil adhuc de Nigro palam dicens. 7 Ad Africam tamen legiones misit, ne per Libyam atque Aegyptum Niger Africam occuparet ac p. R. penuria rei frumentariae perurgeret. 8 Domitium Dextrum in locum Bassi praefectum urbi reliquit atque intra triginta dies, quam Romam venerat, est profectus. 9 Egressus ab urbe ad Saxa rubra seditionem ingentem ob locum castrorum metandorum ab exercitu passus est. 10 Occurrit ei et statim Geta frater suus, quem provinciam sibi creditam regere praecepit aliud sperantem. 11 Nigri liberos ad se adductos in eo habuit honore, quo suos. 12 Miserat sane legionem, quae Graeciam Thraciamque praeciperet, ne eas Pescennius occuparet, sed iam Byzantium Niger tenebat. 13 Perinthum etiam Niger volens occupare plurimos de exercitu interficit atque ideo hostis cum Aemiliano est appellatus. 14 Cumque Severum ad participatum vocaret, contemptus est. 15 Promisit sane Nigro tutum exilium, si vellet, Aemiliano autem non ignovit. 16 Aemilianus dehinc in Hellesponto a Severi ducibus Cyzicum primum confugit atque inde in aliam civitatem, in qua eorum iussus occisus est. 17 Fusae sunt item copiae ab isdem ducibus etiam Nigri.

IX. 1 His auditis ad senatum Severus quasi confectis rebus litteras misit. Dein confligit cum Nigro eumque apud Cyzicum interemit caputque eius pilo circumtulit. 2 Filios Nigri post hoc, quos suorum liberorum cultu habet, in exilium cum matre misit. 3 Litteras ad senatum de victoria dedit neque quemquam senatorum, qui Nigri partium fuerant, praeter unum supplicio adfecit. 4 Antiochensibus iratior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente inriserant et Nigrum etiam victum iuverant. Denique multa his ademit. 5 Neapolitanis etiam Palaestinensibus ius civitatis tulit, quod pro Nigro diu in armis fuerunt. 6 In multos s<aev>e animadvertit, praeter ordinem senatorium, qui Nigrum fuerant secuti. 7 Multas etiam civitates eiusdem partis iniuriis adfecit et damnis. 8 Eos

senatores occidit, qui cum Nigro militaverant ducum vel tribunorum nomine. 9 Deinde circa Arabiam plura gessit. Parthis etiam in dicionem redactis nec non etiam Adiabenis, qui quidem omnes cum Pescennio senserant. 10 Atque ob hoc reversus triumpho delato appellatus est Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus. 11 Sed triumphum respuit, ne videretur de civili triumphare victoria. Excusavit et Parthicum nomen, ne Parthos lacesseret.

X. 1 Redeunti sane Romam post bellum civile Nigri aliud bellum civile Clodi Albinus nuntiatum est, qui rebellavit in Gallia. Quare postea occisi sunt <filii eius> cum matre. 2 Albinus igitur statim hostem iudicavit et eos, qui ad illum mollius vel scripserunt vel rescripserunt. 3 Et cum iret contra Albinum, in itinere apud Viminacium filium suum maiorem Bassianum adposito Aurelii Antonini nomine Caesarem appellavit, ut fratrem suum Getam ab spe imperii, quam ille conceperat, summoeveret. 4 Et nomen quidem Antonini idcirco filio adposuit, quod somniaverat Antoninum sibi successurum. 5 Unde Getam etiam quidam Antoninum putant dictum, ut et ipse succederet in imperio. 6 Aliqui putant idcirco illum Antoninum appellatum, quod Severus ipse in Marci familiam transire voluerit. 7 Et primo quidem ab Albinianis Severi duces victi sunt. Tunc sollicitus cum consuleret, a Pannonicianis auguribus comperit se victorem futurum, adversarium vero nec in potestatem venturum neque evasurum, sed iuxta aquam esse periturum. 8 Multi statim amici Albinus deserentes venere, multi duces capti sunt, in quos Severus animadvertit.

XI. 1 Multis interim varie gestis in Gallia primo apud Tinurtum contra Albinum felicissime pugnavit Severus; 2 cum quidem ingens periculum equi casu adit, ita ut mortuus ictu plumbeae crederetur, ut alius iam paene imperator ab exercitu diligeretur. 3 Eo tempore lectis actis, quae de Clodio Celsino laudant, qui Adrumetinus et adfinis Albinus erat, facta sunt, iratus senatus Severus, quasi hoc Albino senatus praestitisset, Commodum inter divos referendum esse censuit, quasi hoc genere se de senatu posset ulcisci. 4 Priusque inter milites divum Commodum pronuntiavit idque ad senatum scripsit addita oratione victoriae. 5 Senatorum deinde, qui in bello erant interempti, cadavera dissipari iussit. 6 Deinde Albinus corpore adlato paene seminecis caput abscidi iussit Romamque deferri idque litteris prosecutus est. 7 Victus est Albinus die XI. kal. Martias. reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum propriam exponi ac dui iacere iussit. 8 Equum praeterea ipse residens supra cadaver Albinus egit expascentemque admonuit, ut et effrenatus audacter protereret. 9 Addunt alii, quod idem cadaver in Rhodanum abici praecepit, simul etiam uxoris liberorumque eius.

XII. 1 Interfectis innumeris Albinus partium viris, inter quos multi principes civitatis, multae feminae inlustres fuerunt, omnium bona publicata sunt

aerariumque auxerunt; cum et Hispanorum et Gallorum proceres multi occisi sunt. 2 Denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo principum dedit. 3 Filiis etiam suis ex hac proscriptione tantum reliquit quantum nullus imperatorum, cum magnam partem auri per Gallias, per Hispanias, per Italiam imperatoriam fecisset. 4 Tuncque primum privatarum rerum procuratio constituta est. 5 Multi sane post Albinum fidem ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt. 6 Eodem tempore etiam legio Arabica defecisse ad Albinum nuntiata est. 7 Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem interfectis plurimis, genere quoque eius extincto iratus Romam et populo et senatoribus venit. 8 Commodum in senatu et contione laudavit, deum appellavit, infamibus displicuisse dixit, ut appareret eum apertissime furere. 9 Post hoc de sua clementia disseruit, cum crudelissimus fuerit et senatores infra scriptos occiderit.

XIII. 1 Occidit autem sine causae dictione hos nobiles: Mummium Secundinum, Asellium Claudianum, 2 Claudium Rufum, Vitalium Victorem, Papium Faustum, Aelium Celsum, Iulium Rufum, Lollium Professum, Aurunculeium Cornelianum, Antonium Balbum, Postumium Severum, 3 Sergium Lustralem, Fabium Paulinum, Nonnium Gracchum, Masticium Fabianum, Casperium Agrippinum, Caeionium Albinum, Claudium Sulpicianum, 4 Memmium Rufinum, Casperium Aemilianum, Cocceium Verum, Erucium Clarum, L. Stilonem, 5 Clodium Rufinum, Egnatuleium Honoratum, 6 Petronium Iunioem, Pescennios Festum et Veratianum et Aurelianum et Materialium et Iulianum et Albinum, Cerellios Macrinum, et Faustinianum et Iulianum, 7 Herennium Nepotem, Sulpicium Canum, Valerium Catullinum, Novium Rufum, Claudium Arabianum, Marcum Asellionem. 8 Horum igitur tantorum ac tam inlustrium virorum — nam multi in his consulares, multi praetorii, omnes certe summi viri fuere — interfector ab Afris ut deus habetur. 9 Cincium Severum calumniatus est, quod se veneno adpetisset, atque ita interfecit.

XIV. 1 Narcissum dein, Commodi strangulatorem, leonibus obiecit. Multos praeterea obscuri loci homines interemit praeter eos, quos vis proelii absumpsit. 2 Post haec, cum se vellet commendare hominibus, vehicularium munus privatis ad fiscum traduxit. 3 Caesarem dein Bassianum Antoninum a senatu appellari fecit decretis imperatoriis insignibus. 4 Rumor deinde belli Parthici extitit. patri, matri, avo et uxori priori per se statuas conlocavit. 5 Plautianum ex amicissimo cognita eius vita ita odio habuit, ut et hostem publicum appellaret et depositis statuīs eius per orbem terrae gravi eum insigniret iniuria, iratus praecipue, quod inter propinquorum et adfinium Severi simulacra suam statuam ille posuisset. 6 Palaestinis poenam remisit, quam ob causam Nigri meruerant. 7 Postea iterum cum Plautiano in gratiam redit et veluti ovans urbem ingressus

Capitolium petit, quamvis et ipsum procedenti tempore occiderit. 8 Getae minori filio togam virilem dedit, maiori Plautiani filiam uxorem iunxit. Hi, qui hostem publicum Plautianum dixerant, deportati sunt. 9 Ita omnium rerum semper quasi naturali lege mutatio est. 10 Filios dein consules designavit. Getam fratrem extulit. 11 Profectus dehinc ad bellum Parthicum est edito gladiatorio munere et congiario populo dato. 12 Multos inter haec causis vel veris simulatis occidit. 13 Damnabantur autem plerique, cur iocati essent, alii, cur tacuissent, alii, pleraque figurata dixissent, ut “Ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax, vere Severus”.

XV. 1 Erat sane in sermone vulgari Parthicum bellum adfectare Septimium Severum gloriae cupiditate, non aliqua necessitate deductum. 2 Traiecto denique exercitu a Brundisio continuato itinere venit in Syriam Parthosque sommovit. 3 Sed postea in Syriam redit, ita ut se pararet ac bellum Parthis inferret. 4 Inter haec Pescennianas reliquias Plautiano auctore persequabatur, ita ut nonnullos etiam ex amicis suis quasi vitae suae insidiatores appeteret. 5 Multos etiam, quasi Chaldaeos aut vates de sua salute consuluissent, interemit, praecepit suspectans unumquemque idoneum imperio, cum ipse parvulos adhuc filios haberet idque dici ad his vel crederet vel audiret, qui sibi augurabantur imperium. 6 Denique cum occisi essent nonnulli, Severus se excusabat et post eorum mortem negabat fieri iussisse, quod factum est. Quod de Laeto praecipue Marius Maximus dicit. 7 Cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum venisset vix Latine loquens ac de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clavo atque ipsi multis muneribus redire mulierem in patriam praecepit, et quidem cum filio, qui brevi vita defunctus est.

XVI. 1 Aestate igitur iam exeunte Parthiam ingressus Ctesifontem pulso rege pervenit et cepit hiemali prope tempore, quod in illis regionibus melius per hiemem bella tractantur, cum herbarum radicibus milites viverent atque inde morbos aegritudinesque contraherent. 2 Quare cum obsistentibus Parthis, fluente quoque per insuetudinem cibi alvo militum longius ire non posset, tamen perstitit et oppidum cepit et regem fugavit et plurimos interemit et Parthicum nomen meruit. 3 Ob quae etiam filium eius Bassianum Antoninum, qui Caesar appellatus iam fuerat, annum XIII. agentem participem imperii dixerunt milites. 4 Getam quoque, minorem filium, Caesarem dixerunt, eundem Antoninum, ut plerique in litteras tradunt, appellantes. 5 Harum appellationum causa donativum militibus largissimum dedit concessa omni praeda oppidi Parthici, quod milites quaerebant, inde in Syriam redit victor et Parthicus. 6 Deferentibus sibi patribus triumphum idcirco recusavit, quod consistere in curru affectus articulari morbo non posset. 7 Filio sane concessit, ut triumpharet; cui senatus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo.

8 Dein cum Antiochiam transisset, data virili toga filio maiori secum eum consulem designavit, et statim in Syria consulatum inierunt. 9 Post hoc dato stipendio cumulatioribus militibus Alexandriam petit.

XVII. 1 In itinere Palaestinis plurima iura fundavit. Iudaeos fieri subgravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. 2 Deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant uno iudice contenti, quem Caesar dedisset. 3 Multa praeterea his iura mutavit. 4 Iucundam sibi peregrinationem hanc propter religionem dei Sarapidis et propter rerum antiquarum cognitionem et propter novitatem animalium vel locorum fuisse Severus ipse postea semper ostendit; nam et Memfim et Memnonem et pyramides et labyrinthum inspexit. 5 Et quoniam longum est minora persequi, huius magnifica illa, quod victo et occiso Iuliano praetorianas cohortes exauctoravit, Pertinacem contra voluntatem militum in deos rettulit, Salvii Iuliani decreta iussit aboleri; quod non optinuit. 6 Denique cognomentum Pertinacis non tam ex sua voluntate quam ex morum parsimonia videtur habuisse. 7 Nam et infinita multorum caede crudelior habitus et, cum quidam ex hostibus eidem se suppliciter optulisset atque dixisset, ille quod facturus esset, non est mollitus tam prudenter dicto interfici eum iussit. 8 Fuit praeterea delendarum cupidus factionum, prope a nullo congressu <digressus> nisi victor.

XVIII. 1 Persarum regem Abgarum subegit. Arabas in dicionem accepit. Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. 2 Britanniam, quod maximum eius imperii decus est, muro pertransversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit. 3 Unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit. Tripolim, unde oriendus erat, contusis bellicosissimis gentibus securissimam reddidit ac p. R. diurnum oleum gratuitum et fecundissimum in aeternum donavit. 4 Idem cum implacabilis delictis fuit, tum ad erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis. 5 Philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae quoque nimis cupidus. Latronum ubique hostis. 6 Vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse composuit ad finem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans. 7 De hoc senatus ita iudicavit illum aut nasci non debuisse aut mori, quod et nimis crudelis et nimis utilis rei publicae videretur. 8 Domi tamen minus cautus, qui uxorem Iuliam famosam adulteriis tenuit, ream etiam coniurationis. 9 Idem, cum pedibus aeger bellum moraretur idque milites anxie ferrent eiusque filium Bassianum, qui una erat, Augustum fecissent, tolli se atque in tribunal ferri iussit, adesse deinde omnes tribunos, centuriones, duces et cohortes, quibus auctoribus id acciderat, sisti deinde filium, qui Augusti nomen acceperat. 10 Cumque animadverti in omnes auctores facti praeter filium iuberet rogareturque omnibus ante tribunal prostratis, caput manu contingens ait : 11 “Tandem sentitis caput imperare, non pedes.” huius dictum est, cum eum ex humili per litterarum et militiae officia ad

imperium plurimis gradibus fortuna duxisset : “Omnia”, inquit, “fui et nihil expedit.”

XIX. 1 Perit Eboraci in Brittannia subactis gentibus, quae Brittanniae videbantur infestae, anno imperii XVIII., morbo gravissimo extinctus, iam senex. 2 Reliquit filios duos, Antonium Bassianum et Getam, cui et ipsi in honorem Marci Antonini nomen inposuit. 3 Inlatus sepulchro Marci Antonini, quem ex omnibus imperatoribus tantum coluit, ut et Commodum in divos referret et Antonini nomen omnibus deinceps quasi Augusti ad scribendum putaret. 4 Ipse a senatu agendis liberis, qui ei funus amplissimum exhibuerant, inter divos est relatus. 5 Opera publica praecipua eius extant Septizonium et thermae Severianae, eiusdemque Septimianae in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui, quarum forma intercidens statim usum publicum invidit. 6 Iudicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit, maxime quod diu neca filiis eius boni aliquid rei p. venit et postea invadentibus multis rem p. Romana praedonibus direptui fuit. 7 Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est, ut vix et tunica eius aliquid purpurae haberet, cum hirta clamys umeros velaret. 8 Cibi parcissimus, leguminis patrii avidus, vini aliquando cupidus, carnis frequenter ignarus. 9 Ipse decorus, ingens, promissa barba, cano capite et crispo, vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans. 10 Ac multum post mortem amatus vel invidia deposita vel crudelitatis metu.

XX. 1 Legisse me apud Aelium Maurum Phlegontis Hadriani libertum memini Septimium Severum immoderatissime, cum moreretur, laetatum, quod duos Antoninos pari imperio rei p. relinqueret exemplo Pii, qui Verum et Marcum Antoninos per adoptionem filios rei p. reliquit, 2 hoc melius quod ille filios per adoptionem, hic per se genitos rectores Romanae rei p. daret : Antoninum scilicet Bassianum quidem ex priore matrimonio susceperat et Getam de Iulia genuerat. 3 Sed illum multum spes fefellit. nam unum parricidium, alterum sui mores rei p. inviderunt, sanctumque illud nomen in nullo diu bene mansit. 4 Et reputanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem facile magnorum virorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse satis claret. 5 Denique aut sine liberis viri interierunt aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere.

XXI. 1 Et ut ordiamur a Romulo: hic nihil liberorum reliquit, nihil Numa Pompilius, quod utile posset esse rei p. Quid Camillus ? Num sui similes liberos habuit ? Quid Scipio ? Quid Catones qui magni fuerunt ? 2 Iam vero quid de Homero, Demosthene, Vergilio, Crispo et Terentio, Plauto ceterisque aliis loquar ? Quid de Caesare ? Quid de Tullio, cui soli melius fuerat liberos non habere ? 3 Quid de Augusto, qui nec adoptivum bonum filium habuit, cum illi legendi potestas fuisset ex omnibus ? Falsus est etiam ipse Traianus in suo munice ac

nepote diligendo. 4 Sed ut omittamus adoptivos, ne nobis Antonini Pius et Marcus, numina rei publicae, occurrant, veniamus ad genitos. 5 Quid Marco felicius fuisset, si Commodum non reliquisset heredem ? 6 Quid Severo Septimio, si Bassianum nec genuisset ? Qui statim insimulatum fratrem insidiarum contra se cogitatarum parricidali etiam figmento interemit; 7 qui novercam suam- et quid novercam ? matrem quin immo, in cuius sinu Getam filium eius occiderat, uxorem duxit; 8 qui Papinianum, iuris asyllum et doctrinae legis thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectumquidem, ne homini per se et per scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas. 9 Denique, ut alia omittam, ex huius moribus factum puto, <ut> Severus tristior vir ad omnia, immo etiam crudelior pius et dignus deorum altaribus duceretur. 10 Qui quidem divinam Sallusti orationem, qua Micipsa filios ad pacem hortatur, ingravatus morbo misisse filio dicitur maiori. Idque frustra. Et — hominem tantum valetudine. 11 Vixit denique in odio populi diu Antoninus, nomenque illud venerabile diu minus amatum est, quamvis et vestimenta populo dederit, unde Caracalus est dictus, et thermas magnificentissimas fecerit. 12 Extat sane Romae Severi porticus gesta eius exprimens a filio, quantum plurimi docent, structa.

XXII. 1 Signa mortis eius haec fuerunt: ipse somniavit quattuor aquilis et gemmato curru praevolante nescio qua ingenti humana specie ad caelum esse raptum; cumque raperetur, octoginta et novem numeros explicuisse, ultra quot annos ne unum quidem annum vixit, nam ad imperium senex venit; 2 cumque positus esset in circulo ingenti aereo, diu solus et destitutus stetit. Cum vereretur autem, ne praeceps rueret a Iove se vocatum vidit atque inter Antoninos locatum. 3 Die circensium cum tres Victoriolae more solito essent locatae gypseae cum palmis, media, quae ipsius nomine adscriptum orbem tenebat, vento icta de podio stans decidit et humi constitit; ea quae Getae nomine inscripta erat, corrui et omnis comminuta est; illa vero, quae Bassiani titulum praeferebat, amissa palma venti turbine vix constitit. 4 Post murum apud vallum visum in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata volvens animo, quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta idem occurrit. 5 Quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset et coloris eius tactus omine et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa : “Totum fuisti isti, totum vicisti, iam deus esto victor.” 6 Et civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore haruspici rustici, deinde hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae. 7 Quod cum esset aspernatus atque ad palatium se reciperet, negligentia ministrorum nigrae hostiae, et usque ad limen domus Palatinae, imperatorem secutae sunt.

XXIII. 1 Sunt per plurimas civitates opera eius insigna. Magnum vero illud in civilitate eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum. 2 Moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut cottidiana septuaginta quinque milia modium expendi possent, reliquit; olei verotantum, ut per quinquennium non solum <urbis> usibus, sed et totius Italiae, quae oleo eget, sufficeret. 3 Ultima verba eius dicuntur haec fuisse : “Turbatam rem p. ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Brittannis relinquo, senex ac pedibus aeger firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt, imbecillum. si mali.” 4 Iussit deinde signum tribuno dari “laboremus”, quia Pertinax, quando in imperium adscitus est, signum dederat “militemus”. 5 Fortunam deinde regiam, quae comitari principes et in cubiculis poni solebat, geminare statuerat, ut sacratissimum simulacrum utrique relinqueret filiorum; 6 sed cum videret se perurgueri sub hora mortis, iussisse fertur, ut alternis diebus apud filios imperatores in cubiculis Fortuna poneretur. 7 Quod Bassianus prius contempsit quam faceret parricidium.

XXIV. 1 Corpus eius a Britannia Romam usque cum magna provincialium reverentia susceptum est; 2 quamvis aliqui urnulam auream tantum fuisse dicant Severi reliquias continentem eandemque Antoninorum sepulchro inlatam, cum Septimius illic, ubi vita functus est, esset incensus. 3 Cum Septizodium faceret, nihil aliud cogitavit quam ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurreret 4 et, nisi absente eo per praefectum urbis medium simulacrum eius esset locatum, aditum Palatinis aedibus, id est <in> regium atrium, ab ea parte facere voluisse perhibetur. 5 Quod etiam post Alexander cum vellet facere, ab aruspibus dicitur esse prohibitus, cum hoc sciscitans non litasset.

PESCENNIUS NIGER AELI SPARTIANI

I. 1 Rarum atque difficile est, ut, quos tyrannos aliorum victoria fecerit, bene mittantur in litteras, atque ideo vix omnia de his plene in monumentis atque annalibus habentur. 2 Primum enim, quae magna sunt in eorum honorem, ab sriptoribus depravantur; deinde alia supprimuntur, postremo non magna diligentia in eorum genere av cita requiretur, cum satis sit audacium eorum et bellum, in quo victi fuerint, ac poenam proferre. 3 Pescennius Niger, ut alii tradunt, modicis parentibus, ut alii, nobilibus fuisse dicitur, patre Annio Fusco, matre Lampridia, avo curatore Aquini, ex qua familia originem ducebat; quod quidem dubium etiam nunc habetur. 4 Hic eruditus mediocriter litteris, moribus ferox, divitiis inmodicus, vita parcus, libidinis effrenatae ad omne genus cupiditatum, 5 ordines diu duxit multisque ducatus pervenit, ut exercitus Syriacos, iussu Commodi regert, suffragio maxime athletae qui Commodum strangulavit, ut omnia tunc fiebant.

II. 1 Is postquam comperit occisum Commodum, Iulianum imperatorem appellatum eundemque iussu Severi et senatus occisum, Albinum etiam in Gallia sumpsisse nomen [eius] imperatoris, ab exercitibus Syriacis, quos regebat, appellatus est imperator, ut quidam dicunt, magis in Iuliani odium quam in aemulationem Severi. 2 Huic ob detestationem Iuliani primis imperii diebus ita Romae fautum est, a senatoribus dum taxat, qui et Severum oderant, ut inter lapidationes execrationesque omnium illi feliciter optaretur, “Illum principem superi et illum Augustum” populus adclamaret. 3 Iulianum autem oderant populares, quod Pertinacem milites occidisset et illum imperatorem adversa populi voluntate appellassent. Denique ingentes ob hoc seditiones fuerunt. 4 Ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum qui haberet exercitus, se tueri posset, proinde quasi qualis libet imperator a primipilario posset occidi. 5 Eadem autem dementia etiam Severo iam principi Iulianus successorem miserat. 6 Denique etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum miserat <quasi imperat> ob tantus a centurione posset occidi. 7 Par denique insania fuit, quod cum Severo ex interdicto de imperio egisse fertur, ut iure videretur principatum praevenisse.

III. 1 Et de Pescennio Nigro iudicium populi ex eo apparuit, quod cum Iudos circenses Iulianus Romae daret, et indiscrete [se] subsellia circi maximi repleta essent ingentique iniuria populus adfectus esset, per omnes uno consensu Pescennius Niger ad tutelam urbis est expetitus, odio, ut diximus, Iuliani et amore occisi Pertinacis; 2 cum quidem Iulianus dixisse fertur neque sibi neque Pescennio longum imperium deberi, sed Severo, qui magis esset odio habendus a

senatoribus, militibus, provincialibus, popularibus. Quod <res> probavit. 3 Et Pescennius quidem Severo eo tempore, quo Lugdunensem provinciam regebat, amicissimus fuit; 4 nam ipse missus erat ad comprehendendos desertores, qui innumeri Gallias tunc vexabant. 5 In quo officio quod se honeste gessit, iucundissimum fuit Severo, ita ut de eo ad Commodum Septimius referret adserens necessarium rei p. virum. Et revera in re militari vehemens fuit. 6 Numquam sub eo miles provinciali lignum, oleum, operam extorsit. 7 Ipse a milite nihil accepit. Cum tribunatus ageret, nihil accipi passus est. 8 Nam et imperator iam tribunos duos, quos constitit stellaturas accepisse, lapidibus obtrui ab auxiliariis iussit. 9 Extat epistula Severi, qua scribit ad Ragonium Celsum Gallias regentem : “Miserum est, ut imitari eius disciplinam militarem non possimus, quem bello vicimus : 10 milites tui vagantur tribuni medio die lavant, pro tricliniis popinas habent, pro cubuculis meritoria : saltant, bibunt, cantant et mensuras conviviorum vocant [cum] hoc sine mensura potare. 11 Haec, si ulla vena paternae disciplinae viveret, fierent ? Emenda igitur primum tribunos, deinde militem. Quem, quamdiu timuerit, tamdiu tenebis. 12 Sed scias idque de Nigro militem timere non posse, nisi integri fuerint tribuni et duces militum”.

IV. 1 Haec de Pescennio Severus Augustus, <de hoc> adhuc milite Marcus Antoninus ad Cornelium Balbum : “Pescennium mihi laudas : agnosco; nam et decessor tuus eum manu strenuum, vita gravem et iam tum plus quam militem dixit. 2 Itaque misi litteras recitandas ad signa, quibus eum trecentis Armenicis et centum Sarmatis et mille nostris praesse iussi. 3 Tuum est ostendere hominem non ambitione, quod nostris non convenit moribus, sed virtute venisse ad eum locum, quem avus meus Hadrianus, quem Traianus proavus non nisi exploratissimis dabat”. 4 De hoc eodem Commodus : “Pescennium fortem virum novi et ei tribunatus iam duos dedi : ducatum mox dabo, ubi per senectutem Aelius Corduenus rem p. recusaverit”. Haec de eo iudicia omnium fuerunt. 5 Severus ipse saepe dixit ignotum se Pescennio, nisi perseveraret. 6 A Commodo denique Pescennius consul declaratus Severo praepositus est, et quidem irato, quod primipilaribus commendantibus consulatum Niger mereretur. 7 In vita sua Severis dicit se, priusquam filii sui id aetatis haberent, ut imperare possent, aegrotantem id in animo habuisse, ut, si quid forte sibi accidisset, Niger Pescennius eodem et Claudius Albinus succederent, qui ambo Severo gravissimi hostes extiterunt. 8 Unde apparet, quod etiam Severi de Pescennio iudicium fuerit.

V. 1 Si Severo credimus, fuit gloriae cupidus Niger, vita fictus moribus turpis, aetatis provectae, cum in imperium invasit — ex quo cupiditates eius incusat -, proinde quasi Severus minor ad imperium venerit, qui annos suos contrahit, cum decem octo annis imperavit et octogesimo nono periit. 2 Sane Severus

Heraclitum ad optinendam Bithyniam misit, Fulvium autem ad occupandos adultos Nigri filios. 3 Nec tamen in senatu quicquam de Nigro Severus dixit, cum iam audisset de eius imperio, ipse autem profisceretur ad componendum orientis statum. 4 Sane illud fecit profiscens, ut legiones ad Africam mitteret, ne eam Pescennius occuparet et fame populum Romanum perurgeret. 5 Et videbatur autem id facere posse per Libyam Aegyptumque vicinas Africae, difficili licet itinere ac navigatione. 6 Et Pescennius quidem veniente ad orientem Severo Graeciam, Thracias, Macedoniam interfectis multis inlustribus viris tenebat, ad participatum imperii Severum vocans. 7 A quo causa eorum, quos occiderat, cum Aemiliano hostis est appellatus. Dein a ducibus Severi per Aemilianum pugnans victus est. 8 Et cum illi tutum exilium promitteret, si ab armis recederet, persistens iterum pugnavit et victus est atque Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus et sic ad Severum adductus atque statim mortuus.

VI. 1 Huius caput circumlatum pilo Romam missum, filii occisi necat uxor, patrimonium publicatum, familia omnia extincta. 2 Sed haec omnia, postquam de Albini rebellione cognitum est, facta sunt; nam prius et filios Nigri et matrem in exilium miserat. 3 Sed exarsit secundo civili bello, immo iam tertio et factus est durior, 4 tunc cum innumeros senatores interemit Severus et ab aliis Syllae Punici, ab aliis Marii nomen accepit. 5 Fuit statura prolixa, forma decorus, capillo in verticem ad gratiam reflexo, vocis raucae sed canorae, ita ut in campo loquens per mille passus audiretur, nisi ventus adversaretur, oris verecundi et semper rubudi, cervice adeo nigra, ut, quemadmodum multi dicunt, ab ea Nigri nomen acceperit, 6 cetera corporis parte candidus et magis pinguis, vini avidus, cibi parcus, rei veneriae nisi ad creandos liberos prorsus ignarus. 7 Denique etiam sacra quaedam in Gallia, quae castissimis decernunt, consensu publico celebranda suscepit. 8 Hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum de musio inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra Isidis ferentem; 9 quibus Commodus adeo deditus fuit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim portaret et omnis pausas expleret. 10 Fuit ergo miles optimus, tribunus singularis, dux praecipuus, legatus severissimus, consul insignis, vir domi forisque conspicuus, imperator infelix; usui denique rei p. sub Severo homine tetrico, esse potuisset, si cum eo esse voluisset.

VII. 1 Sed deceptus est consiliis scaevis Aureliani, qui filias suas eius filiis despondens persistere eum fecit in imperio. 2 His tantae fuit auctoritatis, ut ad Marcum primum deinde ad Commodum scriberet, cum videret provincias facili administrationum mutatione subverti, primum ut nulli ante quinquennium succederetur provinciae praesidi vel legato vel proconsuli, quod prius deponerent potestatem quam scirent administrare. 3 Deinde ne novi ad regendam rem p. accederet praeter militares administrationes, intimavit, ut assessores, in quibus

provinciis adsedissent, in his administrarent. 4 Quod postea Severus et deinceps multi tenuerunt, ut probant Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset, statim praefecti facti sunt. 5 Huius etiam illud fuit, ut nemo adsideret in sua provincia, nemo administraret, nisi Romae Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe. 6 Addidit praeterea consiliaris salaria, ne eos gravarent, quibus adsidebant, dicens iudicem nec dare debere nec accipere. 7 Hic erga milites tanta fuit censura, ut, cum apud Aegyptum ab eo limitanei vinum peterent, responderit : “Nilum habetis et vinum quaeritis?”, si quidem tanta illius fluminis dulcitus, ut accolae vina non quaerant. 8 Idem tumultuantibus his, qui a Saracenis victi fuerant, et dicentibus : “Vinum non accepimus, pugnare non possumus”, “Erubescite”, inquit, “illi, qui vos vincunt, aquam bibunt”. 9 Idem Palaestinis rogantibus, ut eorum censio levaretur, idcirco quod esset gravata, respondit : “Vos terras vestras levare censitione vultis : ergo vero etiam aerem vestrum censere vellem”.

VIII. 1 Denique Delfici Apollinis vates in motu rei p. maximo, cum nuntiaretur tres esse imperatores, Severum Septimium, Pescennium Nigrum, Clodium Albinum, consultus quem expediret rei publicae imperare, verum Graecum huius modi fudisse dicitur :

Optimus est Fuscus, bonus Afer, pessimus Albus.

2 Ex quo intellectum Fuscum Nigrum appellatum vaticinatione, Severum Afrum, Album vero Albinum dictum. 3 Nec defuit alia curiositas, qua requisitum est, qui esset obtenturus rem publicam. Ad quod ille respondit alium verum talem :

Fundetur sanguis albi nigrique animantis
imperium mundi Poena reget urbe profectus.

4 Item cum quaesitum esset, quis illi successurus esset, respondisse itidem Graeco verso dicitur :

Cui dederint superi nomen habere Pii.

5 Quod omnino intellectum non est, nisi cum Bassianus Antonini, quod verum signum Pii fuit, nomen accepit. 6 Item cum quaereretur quamdiu imperaturus esset, respondisse Graece dicitur :

Bis denis Italum conscendit navibus aequor
si tamen una ratis transiliet pelagus.

Ex quo intellectum Severum viginti annos expleturum.

IX. 1 Haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum, quae de Pescennio

didicimus ex pluribus libris. Non enim facile, ut in principes in re p. non fuerunt aut a senatu, appellati non sunt imperatores, aut occisi citius ad famam venire nequiverunt. 2 Inde quod latet Vindex, quod Piso nescitur, quod omnes illi, qui aut tantum adoptati sunt aut a militibus imperatores appellati, ut sub Domitiano Antonius, aut cito interempti vitam cum imperii usurpatione posuerunt. 3 Sequitur nunc, ut de Clodio Albino dicam, qui quasi socius huius habetur, quod et pariter contra Severum rebellarunt et ab eodem victi atque occisi sunt. 4 De quo ipso neque satis clara extant, quia eadem fortuna illius fuit quae Pescennii, etiamsi vita satis dispar. 5 Ac quid ex his, quae ad Pescennium pertinent, praeterisse videamur, licet aliis libris cognosci possint, de hoc Severo Septimio vates dixerunt, quod neque vivus neque mortuus in potestatem Severi venturus esset, sed iuxta aquas illi pereundum esset. 6 Quod quidam dicunt ipsum Severum de mathesi, qua callebat, dixisse. Nec abfuit responsis veritas, cum ille inventus sit iuxta paludem semivivus.

X. 1 Hic tantae fuit severitatis, ut, cum milites quosdam in cauco argenteo expeditionis tempore bibere vidisset iussit omne argentum summoeri de usu expeditionali, addito eo ut ligneis vasis uterentur. Quod quidem illi odium militare concitavit. 2 Dicebat enim posse fieri, ut sarcinae militares in potestatem hostium venirent, nec se barbarae nationes argento nostro gloriosiores facerent, cum alia minus apta hosticam viderentur ad gloriam. 3 Idem iussit vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed aceto universos esse contentos. 4 Idem pistores sequi expeditionem prohibuit, bucellato iubens milites et omnes contentos esse. 5 Idem ob unius gallinacei direptionem decem commanipulones, qui raptum ab uno comederant, securi percuti iussit, et fecisset, nisi ab omni exercitu prope usque ad metum seditionis esset rogatus. 6 Et cum perpecisset, iussit, ut denorum gallinaceorum pretia provinciali redderent decem, qui simul furto convixerant, addito eo ut tota in expeditione in commannipulatione nemo focum faceret, ne umquam recens coctum cibum sumerent, sed pane ac frigida vescerentur, adpositis speculatoribus, qui id curarent. 7 Idem iussit, ne zona milites ad bellum ituri aureos vel argenteos nummos portarent, sed publice commandarent, recepturi post proelia quod dederant, addens liberis eorum et uxoribus, heredibus certe reddendum, quibus obvenisset, ne ad hostes aliquid praedae perveniret, si quid forte adversi fortuna fecisset. 8 Sed haec omnia, ut se habuerat Commodi temporum dissolutio, adversa eidem fuere. 9 Denique etiamsi nemo fuit, qui suis temporibus dux severior videretur, perniciem illi magis ista quam — mortuo, ubi et invidia et odium deposita erant, talia exempla valuerunt.

XI. 1 Idem in omni expeditione ante omnes militarem cibum sumpsit ante papilionem nec sibi umquam vel contra solem vel contra imbres quaesivit tecti

suffragium, si miles non habuit. 2 Tantum denique belli tempore ratione militibus demonstrata sibi et servis suis vel contubernalibus por<ndum pu>tavit, quantum a militibus ferebatur, cum servos suos annona oneraret, ne illi securi ambularent et onusti milites idque ab exercitu cum suspirio videretur. 3 Idem in contione iuravit se, quamdiu in expeditionibus fuisset essetque adhuc futurus, non aliter egisse acturumque esse quam militem, Marium ante oculos habentem et duces tales. 4 Nec alias fabulas umquam habuit nisi <de> Annibale ceterisque talibus. 5 Denique cum imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei : “Scribe laudes Marii vel Annibalis <vel ali>cuius ducis optimi vita functi et dic, quid ille fecerit, ut eum nos imitemur. 6 Nam viventes laudare inrisio est, maxime imperatores, a quibus speratur, qui timentur, qui praestare publice possunt, qui possunt necare, qui proscribere”. Se autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudari.

XII. 1 Amavit de principibus Augustum Vespasianum, Titum, Traianum, Pium, Marcum, reliquos feneos vel veneratos vocans; maxime tamen [in] historiis Marium et Camillum et Quinctium [et] Marcium Coriolanum dilexit. 2 Interrogatus autem, quid de Scipionibus sentiret, dixisse fertur felices illos fuisse magis quam fortes; isque probare domesticam vitam et iuventutem, quae in utroque minus speciosa domi fuisset. 3 Apud omnes constat, quod si rerum potitus fuisset, omnia correcturus fuerit, quae Severus vel non potuit emendare vel noluit, et quidem sine crudelitate, immo etiam cum lenitate, sed militari, non remissa et inepta atque ridicula. 4 Domus eius hodie Romae visitur in campo Iovis, quae appellatur Pescenniana, in qua simulacrum eius in trichoro constitutum post annum ex Thebaico marmore, quod ille ad similitudinem sui factum a rege Thebaeorum acceperat. 5 Extat etiam epigramma Graecum, quod Latine hanc habet sententiam :

6 Terror Aegyptiaci Niger astat militis ingens,
Thebaidos socius, aurea saecula volens.
Hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma.
hic Antoninus carus [et] imperio.
Nigrum nomen habet, nigrum formavimus ipsi,
ut consentiret forma, metallo, tibi.

7 Quos quidem versus Severus eradi noluit, cum hoc ei et praefecti suggererent et officiorum magistri, addens : 8 “Si talis fuit, sciant omnes, qualem vicerimus; si talis non fuit, putent omnes nos talem vicisse : immo sic sit, quia fuit talis”.

VITA CLODII ALBINI IULII CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Uno eodemque prope tempore post Pertinacem, qui auctore Albino interemptus est, Iulianus a senatu Romae, Septimius Severus ab exercitu in Syria, Pescennius Niger in Oriente, Clodius Albinus in Gallia imperatores appellati. 2 Et Clodium quidem Herodianus dicit Severi Caesarem fuisse. Sed cum alter alterum indignaretur imperare nec Galli ferre possent aut Germaniciani exercitus, quod et ipsi suum specialem principem haberent, undique cuncta turbata sunt. 3 Fuit autem Clodius Albinus familia nobili, Hadrumetinus tamen ex Africa. 4 Quare sortem illam, quae Severum laudatum in Pescennii vita diximus, ad se traherat, nolens intellegi “pessimus Albus”, quod eodem versu continebatur, quo et Severi laus et adprobatio Nigri Pescennii. 5 Sed priusquam vel de vita eius vel de morte dissero, etiam hoc discendum est, quod eum nobilem fecit.

II. 1 Nam ad hunc eundem quondam Commodus, cum [eum] successorem Albino daret, litteras dederat, quibus iusserat, ut Caesar esset. exemplum indidi : “Imperator Commodus Clodio Albino. Alias ad te publice de successione atque honore tuo misi, sed hanc familiarem et domesticam, omnem, ut vides, mea manu scriptam, qua tibi do facultatem, ut, si necessitas fuerit, ad milites prodeas et tibi Caesareanum nomen adsumas. 3 Audio enim et Septimium Severum et Nonium Marcum male de me apud milites loqui, ut sibi parent stationis Augustae procurationem. 4 Habebis praeterea, cum id feceris, dandi stipendii usque ad tres aureos liberam potestatem, quia et super hoc ad procuratores meos litteras misi, quas ipse signatas excipies signo Amazonio et, cum opus fuerit, rationalibus dabis, ne te non audiant, cum de aerario volueris imperare. 5 Sane ut tibi insigne aliquod imperialis maiestatis accedat, iam habebis utendi coccini pallii facultatem vel me praesente et ad me et cum mecum fueris, habiturus et purpuram sed sine auro, quia ita et proavus meus Verus, qui puer vita functus, ab Hadriano, qui eum adoptavit, accepit.”

III. 1 His litteris acceptis [Albinus] facere id, quod iubebat, noluit, videns Commodum propter mores suos, quibus rem pub. perdiderat et se dedecoraverat, quandocumque ferendum et timens, ne ipse pariter occideretur. 2 Extat denique illius contio, qua, cum accepit imperium et quidem Severi, ut quidam, voluntate firmatum, huius rei memoriam facit. 3 Cuius hoc exemplum est : “ Invitum me, conmilitiones, ductum ad imperium etiam illud probat, quod Commodum donantem me Caesareano nomine contempsit; sed et vestrae voluntati et Severi Augusti parendum est, quia credo sub homine optimo et viro forti posse benemerere regi.” 4 Nec negari potest, quod etiam Marius Maximus dicit, hunc animum

Severo primum fuisse, ut si quid ei contingeret, Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium Albinum sibi substitueret. 5 Sed postea et filiis iam maiusculis studens et Albini amoris invidens sententiam mutasse atque illorum utrumque bello oppressisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus. 6 Denique Severus eum et consulem designavit, quod utique nisi de optimo viro non fecisset, homo in legendis magistratibus diligens.

IV. 1 Sed ut ad eum redeam, fuit, ut dixi, Albinus Hadrumetinus oriundo, sed nobilis apud suos et originem a Romanis familiis trahens, Postumiorum scilicet et Albinorum et Ceioniorum. 2 Quae familia hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est et per te aucta et augenda, quae per Gallienum et Gordianos plurimum crevit. 3 Hic tamen natus lare modico, patrimonio pertenui, parentibus sanctis, patre Ceionio Postumo, matre Aurelia Messalina, primus suis parentibus fuit. 4 Cum exceptus utero, quod contra consuetudinem puerorum, qui nascuntur solent rubere, esset candidissimus, Albinus est dictus. 5 Quod verum esse patris epistula ad Aelium Bassianum tunc proconsulem Africae data designat, ad finem, quantum videtur, eorum ipsorum. 6 Epistula Ceioni Postumi ad Aelium Bassianum : “ Filius mihi natus est VII. kal. Decembres, ita candidus statim toto corpore, ut lintheamen, quo exceptus est, vinceret. 7 Quare susceptum eum Albinorum familiae, quae mihi tecum communis est, dedi, Albini nomine inposito. Fac, ut rem publicam et te et nos, ut facis, diligas.”

V. 1 Hic ergo omnem pueritiam in Africa transegit, eruditus litteris Graecis ac Latinis mediocriter, quod esset animi iam inde militaris et superbi. 2 Nam fertur in scholis saepissime cantasse inter puerulos :

Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis
repetens :
arma amens capio.

3 Huic multa imperii signa, cum esset natus, facta dicuntur; nam et bos albus purpureis ad plenum colorem cornibus natus est, quod mirandum fuit cum cornibus [tum colore]. 4 Quae tamen in templo Apollinis Cumani ab eodem posita iam tribuno diu fuisse dicuntur, quod, cum illic sortem de fato suo tolleret, his versibus eidem dicitur esse responsum :

Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem.

5 Et in Gallia quidem eum multas gentes domuisse constat. Ipse autem suspicabatur de Severo sibi praedictum “sternet Poenos”, quod Septimius Afer esset. Fuit et aliud signum futuri imperii. 6 Nam cum Caesareana familia hoc speciale habuerit, ut parvuli domus eius in testudineis alveis lavarentur, nato

infantulo testudo ingens patri eius munere piscatoris adlata est : 7 quod ille homo litteratus omen accipiens et testudinem libenter accepit et eam curari iussit atque infantulo ad excaitationes pueriles dicari, nobilitandum etiam hinc sperans. 8 Cum rarum esset aquilas in his locis videri, in quibus natus est Albinus, septima eius die hora convivii, quod celebritati pueri deputabatur, cum ei fierent nomina, septem aquilae parvulae denidis adlatae sunt et quasi ad iocum circa cunas pueri constitutae: ne hoc omen pater abnuat, iussit aquilas alii et diligenter curari. 9 Accessit omen, quod, cum pueri eius familiae russulis fasciis inligarentur, quod forte lotae atque udae essent russulae fasciulae, quas mater praegnas paraverat, purpurea matris [fasces] inligatus est fasces: unde illi ioco nutricis etiam Porfyri nomen inditum est. 10 Haec atque alia signa imperii futuri fuere. quae qui volet nosse, Aelium Cordum legat, qui frivola super huius modi ominibus cuncta persequitur.

VI. 1 Adulescens igitur statim se ad militiam contulit atque Antoninis per Lollium Serenum et Baebium Maecianum et Ceionium Postumianum suos adfines innotuit. 2 Egit tribunus equites Dalmatas; egit et legionem quartanorum et primanorum; Bithynicos exercitus eo tempore, quod Avidius rebellabat, fideliter tenuit. 3 Dein per Commodum ad Galliam translatus, in qua fuscis gentibus Transrenanis celebre nomen suum et apud Romanos et apud barbaros fecit. 4 Quibus rebus accensus Commodus Caesareanum ei nomen obtulit et dandi stipendii facultatem et pallii coccini utendi. 5 Quibus omnibus ille prudenter abstinuit dicens Commodum quaerere, qui aut cum eo perirent, aut quos cum causa ipse posset occidere. 6 Quaesturae gratia illi facta est. Qua concessa aedilis non amplius quam decem diebus fuit, quod ad exercitum festino mitteretur. 7 Dein praeturam egit sub Commodus famosissimam. Nam eiusdem ludis Commodus et in foro et in theatro pugnas exhibuisse perhibetur. 8 Consul a Severo declaratus est eo tempore, quo illum sibi paraverat cum Pescennio subrogaret.

VII. 1 Ad imperium venit natus iam grandior et maior Pescennio Nigro, ut Severus ipse in vita sua loquitur. 2 Sed victo Pescennio, cum et filiis suis imperium servare cuperet et ingentem senatus amorem circa Clodium Albinum videret, quod esset viranti quae familiae, litteras ad eum per quosdam summi amoris ac summae affectionis misit, quibus hortabatur, ut, quoniam occisus esset Pescennius Niger, ipse cum eo fideliter rem publicam regeret. Quarum exemplum hoc esse Cordus ostendit : 3 “Imperator Severus Augustus Clodio Albino Caesari, fratri amantissimo et desiderantissimo, salutem. 4 Victo Pescennio litteras Romam dedimus, quas senatus tui amantissimus libenter accepit. Te quaeso, ut eo animo rem publicam regas, quo dilectus es frater animi mei, frater imperii. 5 Bassianus et Geta te salutant. Iulia nostra et te et sororem salutat. Infantulo tuo -

Pescennio Princo munera digna suo loco tuoque mittemus. 6 Tu velim exercitus rei p. ac nobis retentes, mi unanime, mi carissime, mi amantissime.”

VIII. 1 Et has quidem litteras missis stipatoribus fidelissimis dedit, quibus praecepit, ut epistolam publice darent, postea vero dicerent se velle pleraque occulte suggerere, quae ad res bellicas pertinerent et ad secreta castrorum atque aulicam fidem; ubi vero in secretum venissent quasi mandata dicturi, quinque validissimi eum interimerent gladiolis infra vestem latentibus. 2 Nec illorum quidem fides defuit; nam cum ad Albinum venissent et epistolam dedissent, qua lecta cum dicerent quaedam secretius suggerenda et locum se motum ab omnibus arbitris postularent, et cum omnino neminem paterentur ad porticum longissimam cum Albino progredi ea specie, ne mandata proderentur, Albinus intellexit insidias. 3 Denique indulgens suspicionibus eos tormentis dedit. Qui diu primo pernegarunt, sed postea victi necessitate confessi sunt ea, quae Severus isdem praeceperat. 4 Tunc iam proditis rebus et apertis insidiis ea, quae suspicabatur, Albinus clara esse intellegens exercitu ingenti collecto contra Severum atque eius duces venit.

IX. 1 Et primo quidem conflictu habito contra duces Severi potior fuit, post autem Severus ipse, cum id egisset apud senatum, ut hostis iudicaretur Albinus, contra eum profectus acerrime fortissimeque pugnavit in Gallia non sine varietate fortunae. 2 Denique cum sollicitus augures consuleret, responsum illi est, ut dicit Marius Maximus, venturum quidem in potestatem eius Albinum, sed non vivum nec mortuum. Quod et factum est. 3 Nam cum ultimo proelio commissum esset, innumeris suorum caesis, plurimis fugatis, multis etiam deditis Albinus fugit et, ut multi dicunt, se ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussus semivivus ad Severum deductus est - unde confirmatum est augurium, quod fuerat ante praedictum -, multi praeterea dicunt, a militibus, qui eius nece a Severo gratiam requirebant. 5 Fuit Albino unus, ut aliqui dicunt, filius; Maximus dicit, duo. Quibus primum veniam dedit, postea vero eos cum matre percussit et in profluentem abici iussit. 6 Caput eius excisum pilo circumtulit Romanque misit litteris ad senatum datis, quibus insultavit, quod Albinum tantopere dilexissent, ut eius adfines et fratrem praecipue ingenti honore cumularent. 7 Iacuisse ante praetorium Severi Albini corpus per dies plurimos dicitur usque ad fetorem, Ianiatumque a canibus in profluentem abiectum est.

X. 1 De moribus eius varia dicuntur. Et Severus quidem ipse haec de eodem loquitur, ut eum dicat turpem, malitiosum, improbum, inhonestum, cupidum, luxuriosum. 2 Sed haec belli tempore vel post bellum, quando ei iam de hoste credi non poterat, 3 cum et ipse ad eum quasi ad amicissimum frequentes miserit litteras et multi de Albino bene senserint et Severus ipse Caesarem suum eundem appellari voluerit et, cum de successore cogitaret, hunc primum habuerit ante

oculos. 4 Extant praeterea Marci epistolae de hoc eodem, quae testimonium et virtutum eius ferant et morum. 5 Quarum unam inserere ad praefectos datam super eius nomine absurdum non fuit. 6 “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus praefectis suis salutem. Albino ex familia Ceioniorum, Afro quidem homini sed non multa ex Afris habenti, Plautilli genero, duas cohortes alares regendas dedi. 7 Est homo exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus. puto eum rebus castrensibus profuturum, certe offuturum [non] esse [non] satis novi. 8 Huic salarium duplex decrevi, vestem militarem simplicem, sed loci sui, stipendium quadruplum. Hunc vos adhortamini, ut se rei p. ostendet, habiturus praemium quod merebitur.” 9 Est et alia epistula, qua idem Marcus Avidii Cassi temporibus de hoc eodem scripsit, cuius exemplum hoc est : 10 “Laudanda est Albini constantia, qui graviter deficientes exercitus tenuit, cum ad Avidium Cassium confugerent. Et nisi hic fuisset, omnes fecissent. 11 Habemus igitur virum dignum consulatu, quem sufficiam in locum Cassi Papiri, qui mihi exanimis prope iam nuntiatus est. 12 Quod interim a te publicari nolo, ne aut ad ipsum Papirium aut ad eius affectus perveniat nosque videamur in locum viventis consulem subrogasse.”

XI. 1 Et istae igitur epistolae constantem virum Albinum fuisse indicant, et illud praecipue, quod ad eas civitates instaurandas, quas Niger adtriverat, pecuniam misit, quo facilius sibi earum accolae conciliaret. 2 Gulosum eum Cordus, qui talia persequitur in suis voluminibus, fuisse dicit, et ita quidem ut pomorum tantum hauserit, quantum ratio humana non patitur. 3 Nam et quingentas ficus passarias, quas Graeci callistruthias vocant, ieiunum comedissa dicit et centum persica Campana et melones Ostienses decem et uvarum Labicanarum pondo viginti et ficadulas centum et ostrea quadringenta. 4 Vini sane parcum fuisse dicit, quod Severus negat, qui eum adserit ebrium etiam in bello fuisse. 5 Cum suis ei numquam convenit vel propter vinulentiam, ut dicit Severus, vel propter morum [vi] acrimoniam. 6 Uxori odiosissimus fuit, servis iniustus, atrox circa militem, nam saepe etiam ordinarios centuriones, ubi causae qualitas non postulavit, in crucem sustulit. Verberavit certe virgis saepissime neque umquam delictis pepercit. 7 In vestitu nitidissimus fuit, in convivio sordidissimus et soli studens copiae, mulierarius inter primos amatores, aversae Veneris semper ignarus et talium persecutor, agri colendi peritissimus, ita ut etiam Georgica scripserit. 8 Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter scriptae sint.

XII. 1 A senatu tantum amatus est, quantum nemo principum, in odium speciatim Severi, quem vehementer ob crudelitatem oderant senatores. 2 Denique victo eo plurimi senatores a Severo interfecti sunt, qui eius partium vel vere fuerant vel esse videbantur. 3 Denique cum apud Lugdunum eundem interfecisset, statim litteras requiri iussit, ut inveniret vel ad quos ipse scripsisset,

vel qui ad eum rescripsissent, omnesque illos, quorum epistolas repperit, hostes iudicari a senatu fecit; 4 nec his pepercit, sed et ipsos interemit et bona eorum proposuit atque in aerarium publicum rettulit. 5 Extat epistola Severi, quae ostendit animum suum, missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est : 6 “Nihil mihi gravius potest evenire, p. c., quam ut vestrum iudicium Albinus haberet potius quam Severus. 7 Ego frumenta rei p. detuli, ego multa bella pro re p. gessi, ego populo Romano tantum olei detuli, quantum rerum natura vix habuit. Ego interfecto Pescennio Nigro vos a malis tyrannicis liberavi. 8 Magnam sane mihi reddidistis vicem, magnam gratiam: unum ex Afris et quidem Hadrumetinis, fingentem, quod de Ceioniorum stemmate sanguinem duceret, usque adeo extulistis, ut eum principem habere velletis me principe, salvis liberis meis. 9 Defuitne quaeso tanto senatu, quem amare deberetis, qui vos amaret? Huius fratrem honoribus extulistis, ab hoc consulatus, ab hoc praeturas, ab hoc speratis cuiusvis magistratus insignia. 10 Non eam gratiam mihi redditis quam maiores vestri contra Pisonianam factionem, quam item pro Traiano, quam nuper contra Avidium Cassium praestiterunt : fictum illum et ad omnia mendaciorum genera paratum, qui nobilitatem quoque mentitus est, mihi praeposuistis. 11 Quin etiam audiendus in senatu fuit Statilius Corfulenus, qui honores Albino et eius fratri decernendos ducebat, cui hoc superfuit, ut de me ille decerneret homo nobilis et triumphum. 12 Maior fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret.” 13 Hinc apparet, quanta severitate factionem vel Pescennianam vel Clodianam vindicaverit. 14 Quae quidem omnia in vita eius posita sunt. Quae qui diligentius scire velit, legat Marium Maximum de Latinis scriptoribus, de Graecis scriptoribus Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt.

XIII. 1 Fuit statura procerus, capillo renodi et crispo, fronte lata, candore mirabili et [stupendo], ut plerique putent, quod ex eo nomen acceperit, voce muliebri et prope ad eunuchorum sonum, motu facili, iracundiam gravi, furore tristissimo, in luxurie varius, nam saepe appetens vini, frequenter abstinens, 2 armorum sciens, prorsus ut non male sui temporis Catilina diceretur. 3 Non ab re esse credimus causas ostendere, quibus amorem senatus Clodius Albinus meruerit: 4 cum Britannicos exercitus regeret iussu Commodi atque illum interemptum adhuc falso comperisset, cum sibi ab ipso Commodio Caesareanum nomen esset delatum, processit ad milites et hac contione usus est : 5 “Si senatus p. R. suum illud vetus haberet imperium nec in unius potestate res tanta consisteret, non ad Vitellios neque ad Neronas neque ad Domitianos publica fata venissent. [essent] in imperio consulari nostrae illae gentes Ceioniorum, Albinorum, Postumiorum, de quibus patres vestri, qui et ipsi ab avis suis

audierant, multa didicerunt. 6 Et certe Africam Romano imperio senatus adiunxit, Galliam [senatus addidit], senatus sebegit Hispanias, orientalibus populis senatus dedit leges, Parthos temptavit senatus; subegisset, nisi tam avarum principem Romano exercitui fortuna rei p. tunc dixisset. 7 Britannias Caesar subegit, certe senator nondum tamen dictator. Hic ipse Commodus quanto melior fuisset, si timuisset senatum? 8 Et usque ad Neronem quidem senatus auctoritas valuit, qui sordidum et inpurum principem damnare non timuit, cum sententiae in eum dictae sint, qui vitae necisque potestatem atque imperium tunc tenebat. 9 Quare, conmilites, ego Caesareanum nomen, quod mihi Commodus detulit, nolo. di faxint, ut ne alii quidem velint. 10 Senatus imperet, provincias dividat, senatus nos consules faciat. Et quid dico senatus? Vos ipsi et patres vestri; eritis enim ipsi senatores.”

XIV. 1 Haec contio vivo adhuc Commodus Romam delata est. Quae Commodum in Albinum exasperavit, statimque successorem misit Iulium Severum, unum ex contubernalibus suis. 2 Senatui autem tantum placuit, ut miris adclamationibus absentem eum ornaret et vivo Commodus et deinceps interempto, ita ut nonnulli etiam Pertinaci auctores fuerint, ut eum sibi socium adscisceret, [et] apud Iulianum de occidendo Pertinace ipsius plurimum auctoritas valuerit. 3 Ut autem hoc verum intellegatur, epistolam Commodi ad praef. praet. suos datam inserui, qua de occidendo Albino significavit suam mentem : 4 “Aurelius Commodus praefectis salutem. Audisse vos credoprimum fictum esse, quod ego meorum consilio interfectus essem, deinde contionem Clodii Albini apud milites meos habitam, qui semultum senatui commendat, idque, quantum videmus, non frustra. 5 Nam qui principem unum in re p. negat esse debere quique adserit a senatu oportere totam rem p. regi, is senatum sibi petit imperium. Cavete igitur diligentissime; iam enim hominem scitis vobis, militibus populoque vitandum.” Has litteras cum Pertinax invenisset, in Albini odium publicavit. Quare Albinus occidendi Pertinacis Iuliano auctor fuit.

ANTONINUS CARACALLUS AELI SPARTIANI

I. 1 Ex duobus liberis, quos Septimius Severus reliquit, quorum unum <Antoninum> exercitus, alterum pater dixit, Geta hostis est iudicatus, Bassianum notum optinuisse imperium. 2 De cuius maioribus frustra putamus iterandum, cum omnia in Severi vita satis dicta sint. 3 Huius igitur pueritia blanda, ingeniosa, parentibus adfabilis, amicis parentum iucunda, populo accepta, grata senatui, ipsi etiam ad amorem conciliandum salutaris fuit. 4 Non ille in litteris tardus, non in benivolentis segnis, non tenax in largitate, non lentus in clementia, sed parentibus, visus. 5 Denique, si quando feris obiectos damnatos vidit, flevit aut oculos avertit. Quod populo plus quam amabile fuit. 6 Septennis puer, cum conlusorem suum puerum ob Iudaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum neque patrem pueri velut auctores verberum diu respexit. 7 Antiochensibus et Bysantiis interventu suo iura vetusta restituit, quibus iratus fuit Severus, quod Nigrum iuverant. Plautiani odium crudelitatis causa concepit. 8 Quod a parentibus gratia sigillarium acceperat, id vel clientibus vel magistris sponte donavit. Sed haec puer.

II. 1 Egressus vero pueritiam seu patris monitis seu calliditate ingenii sive quod se Alexandro Magno Macedoni aequandum putabat, restrictior, gravior, vultu etiam truculentior factus est, prorsus ut eum, quem puerum scierant, multi esse non crederent. 2 Alexandrum Magnum eiusque gesta in ore semper habuit. Tiberium et Syllam in conventu plerumque laudavit. 3 Patris superbior fuit; fratrem magna eius humilitate despexit. 4 Post patris mortem in castra praetoria pergens apud milites conquestus est circumveniri se fratris insidiis, atque ita fratrem in palatio fecit occidi. Eius corpus statim cremari praecepit. 5 Dixit praeterea in castris fratrem sibi venenum parasse, matri eum inreverentem fuisse; egitque publice his gratias, qui eum occiderunt. 6 Addidit denique his quasi fidelioribus erga se stipendium. 7 Pars militum apud Albam Getam occisum aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus se fidem, promisisse liberis Severi, duobus servare debere, 8 clausisque portis diu imperator non admissus nisi delenitis animis, non solum querellis de Geta et criminationibus editis, sed inormitate stipendii militibus, ut solet, placatis, atque inde Romam redit. 9 Tunc sub veste senatoria lorica habens cum armatis militibus curiam ingressus est. Hos in medio inter subsellia duplici ordine conlocavit sic verba fecit. 10 Questus est de fratris insidiis in volute et incondite ad illius accusationem [et excusationem] sui. 11 Quod quidem nec senatus libenter accepit, cum ille dixisset fratri se omnia permisisse, fratrem ab insidias fecisse nec vicem amoris reddidisse fraterno.

III. 1 Post hoc relegatis deportatisque reditum in patriam restituit. Inde ad praetorianos processit et in castris mansit. 2 Altera die Capitolium petit, [ad] eos, quos occidere parabat, adfabuliter est locutus innitensque Papiniano et Ciloni ad Palatium redit. 3 Cum flentem matrem Getae vidisset aliasque mulieres post necem fratris, mulieres occidere conatus est, sed ob hoc retentus, ne augeretur fratris occisi crudelitas. 4 Laetum ad mortem coegit misso a se veneno: ipse enim inter suasores Getae mortis primus fuerat, qui et primus interemptus est. 5 Ipse mortem eius saepissime flevit. Multos, qui caedis eius conscii fuerant, interemit, sed et eum, qui imaginem eius honoravit. 6 Post hoc fratrem patruelem Afrum, cui pridie partes de cena miserat, iussit occidit. 7 Qui cum se praecipitasset percussorum timore et ad uxorem crure fracto erepisset, tamen per ludibrium percussoribus deprehensus est et occisus. 8 Occidit etiam Pompeianum, Marci nepotem, ex filia natum et ex Pompeiano, cui nupta fuerat Lucilla post mortem Veri imperatoris, quem et consulem bis fecerat et omnibus bellis praeposuerat, quae gravissima tunc fuerunt, et ita quidem ut videretur a latronibus interemptus.

IV. 1 Dein in conspectu eius Papinianus securi percussus a militibus et occisus est. Quo facto percussori dixit : “Gladio te exequi oportuit meum iussum.” 2 Occisus est etiam eius iussu Patruinus ante templum divi Pii, tractaque sunt eorum per plateam cadavera sine aliqua humanitatis reverentia. Filium etiam Papiniani, qui ante triduum quaestor opulentum munus ediderat, interemit. 3 Isdem diebus occisi sunt innumeri, qui fratris eius partibus faverant. Occisi etiam liberti, qui Getae administraverant. 4 Caedes deinde in omnibus locis. Et in balneis factae caedes, occisique nonnulli etiam cenantes, inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri plurimi ad doctrinam extant. 5 In summum discrimen etiam Chilo iterum praefectus et consul venit ob hoc, quod concordiam inter fratres suaserat. 6 Et cum idem Chilo sublata veste senatoria nudis pedibus ab urbanicianis raptus esset, Antoninus seditionem compressit. 7 Multas praeterea postea caedes in urbe fecit, passim raptis amilitibus nonnullis hominibus et occisis, quasi seditionem vindicans. 8 Helvium Pertinacem, suffectum consulem, ob hoc solum, quod filius esset imperatoris, occidit. 9 Neque cessavit umquam sub diversis occasionibus eos interficere, qui fratris amici fuissent. 10 Saepe in senatum, saepe in populum superbe invectus est aut edictis propositis aut orationibus editis, Syllam se etiam ostendens futurum.

V. 1 His gestis Galliam petit atque ut primum in eam venit, Narbonensem proconsulem occidit. 2 Cunctis deinde turbatis, qui in Gallia res gerebant, odium tyrannicum meruit quamvis aliquando fingeret et benignum, cum esset natura truculentus. 3 Et cum multas contra homines et contra iura civitatum fecisset, morbo implicatus graviter laboravit. Circa eos, qui eum curabant, crudelissimus

fuit. 4 Dein ad orientem profectionem parans omisso itinere in Dacia resedit. Circa Raetiam non paucos barbaros interemit militesque suos quasi Syllae milites et cohortatus est et donavit. 5 Deorum sane se nominibus appellari vetuit, [quod] Commodus fecerat, cum illum, quod leonem aliasque feras occidisset, Herculem dicerent. 6 Et cum Germanos subegisset, Germanicum se appellavit vel ioco vel serio, ut erat stultus et demens, adserens, si Lucanos vicisset, Lucanicum se appellandum. 7 Damnati sunt eo tempore qui urinam in eo loco fecerunt, in quo statucae aut imagines erant principis, et qui coronas imaginibus eius detraxerunt, ut alias ponerent, damnatis et qui remedia quartanis tertianisque collo adnexa gestarunt. 8 Per Thracias cum praef. iter fecit; inde cum in Asiam traiceret, naufragi periculum adit antemna fracta, ita ut in scfam cum protectoribus [ita] descenderet. Unde in triremem a praef. classis receptus evasit. 9 Excepit apros frequenter, contra leonem etiam stetit. Quando etiam missis ad amicos litteris gloriatus est seque ad Herculis virtutem accessisse [se] iactavit.

VI. 1 Post hoc ad bellum Armeniacum Parthicumque conversus ducem bellicum, qui suis conpetebat moribus, fecit. 2 Inde Alexandriam petit, in gymnasium populum convocavit eumque obiurgavit; legi etiam validos ad militiam praecepit. 3 Eos autem, quos legerat, occidit exemplo Ptolomaei Euergetis, qui octavus hoc nomine appellatus est. Dato praeterea signo militibus, ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam caedem Alexandreae fecit. 4 Dehinc per Cadusios et Babylonios ingressus tumultuarie cum Parthorum satrapis manum contulit, feris etiam bestiis in hostes immissis. 5 Datis ad senatum quasi post victoriam litteris Parthicus appellatus est; nam Germanici nomen patre vivo fuerat consecutus. 6 Deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre atque hibernaret Edessae atque inde Carras Luni dei gratia venisset, die natalissui, octavo idus Apriles, ipsis Megalensibus, cum ad requisita naturae discessisset, insidiis a Macrino praef. praet. positis, qui post eum invasit imperium, interemptus est. 7 Conscii caedis fuerunt Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris Triccianusque, qui praef. legionis secundae Parthicae militabatet qui equitibus extraordinariis praeerat, et praeterea plerisque officialium impulsu Martialis.

VII. 1 Occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carras et Edessam, cum lavandae vessicae gratia ex equo descendisset atque inter protectores suos, coniuratos caedis, ageret. 2 Denique cum illum in equum strator eius levaret, pugione latus eius confodit, conclamatumque ab omnibus est id Martialem fecisse. 3 Et quoniam dei Luni fecimus mentionem, sciendum doctissimis quibusqueid memoriae traditum atque ita nunc quoque a Carrenis praecipue haberi, ut qui Lunam femineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam, is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; 4 qui vero marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori neque ullas mulierbres patiatur insidias. 5 Unde, quamvis

Graeci vel Aegyptii eo genere quo feminam hominem, etiam Lunam deum dicant, mystice tamen Lunum dicunt.

VIII. 1 Scio de Papiniani nece multos ita in litteras rettulisse, ut caedis non adsciverint causam, aliis alia referentibus; sed ego malui varietatem opinionum edere quam de tanti viri caede reticere. 2 Papinianum amicissimum fuisse imperatori Severo, ut aliqui loquuntur, adfinem etiam per secundam uxorem, memoriae traditur; et huic praecipue utrumque filium a Severo commendatum, atque ob hoc concordia fratrum Antoninorum fuisse; 4 egisse quin etiam, ne occideretur, cum iam de insidiis eius Bassianus quereretur; atque ideo una cum his, qui fautores fuerant Getae, a militibus non solum permittente verum etiam suadente Antonino occisum. 5 Multi dicunt Bassianum occiso fratre illi mandasse, ut et in senatu per se et apud populum facinus dilueret, illum autem respondisse non tam facile parricidium excusari posse quam fieri. 6 Est etiam haec fabella, quod dictare noluerit orationem, qua invehendum erat in fratrem, ut causa eius melior fieret, qui occiderat; illum autem negantem respondisse aliud esse [excusare] parricidium, aliud accusare innocentem occisum. 7 Sed hoc omnino non convenit: nam neque praef. poterat dictare orationem, et constat eum quasi fautorem Getae occisum. 8 Et fertur quidem Papinianus, cum raptus a militibus ad Palatium traheretur occidendus, praedivinasse dicens e(u)m stultissimum fore, qui in suum subrogaretur locum, nisi adpetitam crudeliter praefecturam vindicaret. 9 Quod factum est: nam Macrinus Antoninum occidit, ut supra exposuimus. Qui cum filio factus in castris imperator filium suum, qui Diadumenus vocabatur, Antoninum vocavit, idcirco quod a praetorianis multum Antoninus desideratus est.

IX. 1 Bassianus vixit annis quadraginta tribus. Imperavit annis sex. publico funere elatus est. 2 Filium reliquit, qui postea et ipse Marcus Antoninus Heliogabalus dictus est; ita enim nomen Antoninorum inoleverat, ut velli ex animis hominum non posset, quod omnium pectora velut Aug(usti) nomen obsederat. 3 Fuit male moratus et patre duro crudelior. Avidus cibi, vini etiam adpetens, suis odiosus et praeter milites praetorianos omnibus castris exosus. Prorsus nihil inter fratres simile. 4 Opera Romae reliquit thermas nominis sui eximias, quarum cellam solearem architecti negant posse ulla imitatione, qua[lis] facta est, fieri. 5 Nam et ex aere vel cypro cancelli suppositi esse dicuntur, quibus cameratio tota concredita est, et tantum est spatii, ut id ipsum fieri nagent potuisse docti mechanis. 6 Reliquit et porticum patris nomine, quae gesta illius contineret et triumphos et bella. 7 Ipse Caracalli nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, demisso usque ad talos, quod ante non fuerat. 8 Unde hodieque Antoniniana dicuntur caracallae huiusmodi, in usu maxime Romanae plebis frequentatae. 9 Idem viam novam munivit, quae est sub eius thermis,

Antoninianis scilicet, qua pulchrius inter Romanas plateas non facile quicquam invenias. 10 Sacra Isidis Romam deportavit et templa ubique magnifice eidem deae fecit; sacra etiam maiore reverentia celebravit, quam antea celebrabantur. 11 In quo quidem mihi mirum videtur, quemammodum sacra Isidis primum per hunc Romam venisse dicantur, cum Antoninus Commodus ita ea celebraverit, ut et Anubin portaret et pausas ederet; nisi forte iste addidit celebritati, non eam primus invexit. 12 Corpus eius Antoninorum sepulchro inlatum est, ut ea sedes reliquias eius acciperet, quae nomen addiderat.

X. 1 Interest scire quemadmodum novercam suam Iuliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. 2 Quae cum esset pulcherrima et quasi per negligentiam se maxima corporis parte nudasset dixissetque Antoninus “Vellem, si liceret”, respondisse fertur: “Si libet, licet. an nescis te imperatorem esse et leges dare, non accipere?” 3 Quo audito furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus est nuptiasque eas celebravit, quas, si sciret se leges dare vere, solus prohibere debuisset. 4 Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem et ad parricidium iunxit incestum, si quidem eam matrimonio sociavit, cuius filium nuper occiderat. Non ab re est etiam diasyrcticum quiddam in eum dictum addere. 5 Nam cum Germanici et Parthici et Arabici et Alamannici nomen adscriberet (nam Alamannorum gentem devicerat), Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur ioco dixisse : “Adde, si placet, etiam Geticus Maximus”, quod Getam occiderat fratrem et Gothi Getae dicerentur, quos ille, dum ad orientem transit, tumultuariis proeliis devicerat.

XI. 1 Occidendi Getae multa prodigia extiterunt, ut in vita eius exponemus. 2 Nam quamvis prior ille e vita excesserit, nos tamen ordinem secutisumus, ut qui et prior natus est et qui prior imperare coeperat, prior scriberetur. 3 Eo sane tempore, quo ab exercitu appellatus est Augustus vivo patre, quod ille pedibus aeger gubernare non posse videretur imperium, contusis animis militum et tribunorum Severus dicitur animo volutasse, ut et hunc occideret, nisi repugnassent praef. eius, gravis viri. 4 Aliqui contra dicunt praef. voluisse id fieri, sed Septimium noluisse, ne et severitas illius crudelitatis nomine inquinaretur, et, cum auctores criminis milites fuerint, adulescens stultae temeritatis poenas lueret tam gravis supplicii titulo, ut a patre videretur occisus. 5 Hic tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno conplectamur verbo, parricida et incestus, patris, matris, fratris inimicus, a Macrino, qui eum occiderat, timore militum et maxime praetorianorum inter deos relatus est. 6 Habet Faustinae templum et divale nomen eripuit, 7 certe templum, quod ei sub Tauri radicibus fundaverat maritus, in quo postea filius huius Heliogabalus Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli — incertum id est — templum fecit.

ANTONINUS GETA AELI SPARTIANI

I. 1 Scio, Constantine Auguste, et multos et clementiam tuam quaestionem movere posse, cur etiam Geta Antoninus a me tradatur. De cuius priusquam vel vita vel nece dicam, disseram, cur et ipsi Antonino a Severo patre sit nomen adpositum. 2 Neque enim multa in eius vita dici possunt, qui prius rebus humani sex emptus est, quam cum fratre teneret imperium. 3 Septimius Severus quodam tempore cum consulisset ac petisset, ut sibi indicaretur, quo esset successore moriturus, in somnis vidit Antoninum sibi successurum. 4 Quare statim ad milites processit et Bassianum, filium maiorem natu, Marcum Aurelium Antoninum appellavit. 5 Quod cum fecisset ex paterna cogitatione vel, ut quidam dicunt, a Iulia uxore commonitus, quae gnara erat somnii, quod minori filio hoc facto ipse interclusisset aditum imperandi, etiam Getam, minorem filium, Antoninum vocari iussit. 6 Itaque semper ab eo in epistulis familiaribus dictus est, cum si forte abesset, scriberet : 7 “Salutate Antoninos filios et successores meos.” Sed nihil valuit patris cautio, nam ei solus ille successit, qui primus Antoninus nomen accepit. Et haec de Antonini nomine.

II. 1 Geta autem dictus est vel a patris nomine vel avi paterni, de cuius vita et moribus in vita Severi Marius Maximus primo septenario satis copiose rettulit. 2 Fuit autem Antoninus Geta etiam ob hoc ita dictus, quod in animo habuit Severus, ut omnes deinceps principes quemadmodum Augusti, ita etiam Antonini dicerentur, idque amore Marci, [quem patrem] vel fratrem suum semper dicebat et cuius philosophiam litterarumque institutionem semper imitatus est. 3 Dicunt aliqui non in Marci honorem tantum Antonini nomini delatum, cum id Marcus adoptivum habuerit, sed in eius, qui Pius cognominatus est, Hadriani scilicet successoris, 4 et quidem ob hoc quod Severum ille ad fisci advocationem delegerat ex formularia forensi, cum ad tantos processus ei patuisset dati ab Antonino primi gradus vel honoris auspiciis, 5 simul quod nemo ei videretur felicius imperator ad commodandum nomen eo principe, cuius proprium nomen iam per quattuor principes cucurrisset. 6 De hoc eodem Severus, gnarus geniturae illius, cuius ut plerique Afrorum, peritissimus fuit, dixisse fertur : 7 “Mirum mihi videtur, Iuvenalis amantissime, Geta noster divus futurus, cuius nihil omperiale in genitura video.” Erat enim Iuvenalis praef. eius praetorii. nec eum fefellit. 8 Nam Bassianus, cum eum occidisset ac vereretur tyrannicam ex parricidio notam audiretque posse mitigari facinus, si divum fratrem appellaret, dixisse fertur : “Sit divus, dum non sit vivus.” 9 Denique eum inter divos rettulitque ideo ut cumque redit fama in gratiam parricida.

III. 1 Natus est Geta Severo et Vitellio cons(ulib)us Mediolanii, etsi aliter alii

prodiderunt, VI. kal. Iunias ex Iulia, quam idcirco Severus uxorem duxerat, quod eam in genitura habere compererat, ut regis uxor esset, isque privatus sed iam optimi in re p. loci. 2 Statim ut natus est, nuntiatum est ovum gallinam in aula peperisse purpureum. 3 Quod cum allatum Bassianum frater eius accepisset et quasi parvulus adplosum ad terram fregisset, Iulia dixisse ioco fertur : “Maledicte paricida, fratrem tuum occidisti.” Idque ioco. 4 Quod dictum Severus altius quam quisquam praesentium accepit, a circumstantibus autem postea velut divinitus effusum adprobatum est. 5 Fuit etiam aliud omen: nam cum in villa cuiusdam Antonini, plebei hominis, agnus natus esset, qui vellus in fronte purpureum haberet, eadem die atque hora, qua Geta natus est, audissetque ille ab aruspice post Severum Antoninum imperatorem ac de se ille auguraretur, sed tamen tale fati timeret indicium, ferro eum adegit. 6 Quod et ipsum signo fuit Getam ab Antonino interimendum, ut postea satis claruit. 7 Fuit etiam aliud omen, ut postea ingens exitus docuit, huius facinoris, quod evenit : 8 nam cum infantis Getae natalem Severus commendare vellet, hostiam popa nomine Antoninus percussit. 9 Quod tunc nec quaesitum nec animadversum, post vero intellectum est.

IV. 1 Fuit adulescens decorus, moribus asperis, sed non impius, + gulosus, cupidus ciborum et vini varie conditi. 2 Huius illud pueri fertur insigne, quod, cum vellet partium diversarum viros Severus occidere et inter suos diceret : “Hostes vobis eripio” consentiretque adeo usque Bassianus, ut eorum etiam liberos, si sibi consuleret, diceret occidendos, Geta interrogasse fertur, quantus esset interficiendorum numerus; 3 cumque dixisset pater, ille interrogavit : “Isti habent parentes, habent propinquos?” Cum responsum esset habere, ait complorans : “Plures ergo in civitate tristes erunt quam laeti quod vicimus”. Et optinisset eius sententia, nisi Plautianus praefectus vel Iuvenalis institissent spe proscriptionum, ex quibus ditati sunt. His accedebat Bassiani fratris nimia crudelitas. 5 Qui cum contenderet et diceret qua[si] ioco qua[si] serio omnes cum liberis occidendos partium diversarum, Geta ei dixisse dicitur : “Tu qui nulli parcis, potes et fratrem occidere.” Quod dictum eius tunc nihil, post vero pro praesagio fuit.

V. 1 Fuit in litteris adsequendis [et] tenax veterum scriptorum, paternarum etiam sententiarum memor, fratri semper invisus, matri amabilior quam frater, sub balbe tamen canorus. 2 Vestitus nitidi cupidissimus, ita ut pater rideret. si quid accepta p[r]a[e]rentibus, ad suum contulit cultum neque quicquam cuiquam dedit. 3 Post Parthicum bellum pater cum ingenti gloria floreret, Bassiano participi imperii appellato Geta quoque Caesaris et Antonini, ut quidam dicunt, nomen accepit. 4 Familiare illi fuit has quaestiones grammaticis proponere, ut dicerent, singula animalia quomodo vocem emitterent, velut : 5 agni balant,

porcelli grunniunt, palumbes minurriunt, ursi saeviunt, leones rugiunt, leopardi rictant, elefanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinniunt, asini rudunt, tauri mugiunt, easque de veteribus adprobare. 6 Seneri Sammonici libros familiarissimos habuit, quos ille ad Antoninum scripsit. 7 Habebat etiam istam consuetudinem, ut convivia et maxime prandia per singulas litteras iuberet scientibus servis, 8 velut in quo erat anser, apruna, anas, item pullus, perdix, pavus, porcellus, piscis, perna et quae in eam litteram genera edulium caderent, et item fasianus, farrata, ficus et talia. quare comis etiam habebatur in adulescentia.

VI. 1 Occiso eo pars militum, quae incorrupta erat, parricidium aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus se liberis fidem promisisse, duobus servare debere, clausique portis diu non est imperator admissus. 2 Denique nisi querellis de Geta editis et animis militum delentis, inormibus etiam stipendiis datis Romam Bassianus redire non potuit. 3 Post hoc denique et Papinianus et multi alii interempti sunt, qui vel concordiae faverant vel qui partium Getae fuerant, ita ut utriusque ordinis viri et in balneo et cenantes et in publico percuterentur, Papinianus ipse securi percussus sit, inprobante Bassiano, quod non gladio res peracta sit. 4 Ventum denique est usque ad seditionem urbanicianorum militum, quos quidem non levi auctoritate Bassianus compressit tribuno eorum, ut alii dicunt, interfecto, ut alii, relegato. 5 Ipse autem tantum timuit, ut loricam sub lato habens clavo etiam curiam sit ingressus atque ita rationem facti sui et necis Geticae reddiderit. 6 Quo quidem tempore Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, qui postea est ab eodem Bassiano interemptus, recitanti fausta praetori et dicenti “Sarmaticus maximus et Parthicus maximus”, quasi Gothicus. 7 Quod dictum altius in[tere] pectus Bassiani descendit, ut postea nece Pertinacis est adprobatum, nec solum Pertinacis sed et aliorum, ut supra dictum est, passim et inique. 8 Helvium autem etiam suspectum habuit adfectatae tyrannidis, quod esset in amore omnium et filius Pertinacis imperatoris. Quae res nulli facile privato satis tuta est.

VII. 1 Funus Getae accuratius fuisse dicitur quam eius, qui fratri videretur occisus. 2 Inlatusque est maiorum sepulchro, hoc est Severi, quod est in Appia via euntibus ad portam dextra, specie Septizodii exstructum, quod sibi ille vivus ornaverat. 3 Occidere voluit et matrem Getae, novercam suam, quod fratrem lugeret, et mulieres, quas post reditum de curia fluentes repperit. 4 Fuit praeterea eius inmanitatis Antoninus, ut his praecipue blandiretur, quos ad necem destinabat, ut eius magis blandimentum timeretur quam iracundia. 5 Mirum sane omnibus videbatur, quod mortem Getae totiens etiam ipse fleret, quotiens nominis eius mentio fieret, quotiens imago videretur aut statua. 6 Varietas autem tanta fuit Antonini Bassiani, immo tanta sitis caedis, ut modo fautores Getae,

modo inimicos occideret, quos fors obtulisset. Quo facto magis Geta desiderabatur.

OPILIUS MACRINUS IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Vitae illorum principum seu tyrannorum sive Caesarum, qui non diu imperarunt, in obscuro latent, idcirco quod neque de privata eorum vita digna sunt, quae dicantur, cum omnino ne scirentur quidem, nisi adspirassent ad imperium, et de imperio, quod non diu tenuerunt, non multa dici possunt: nos tamen ex diversis historicis eruta in lucem proferemus, et ea quidem quae memoratu digna erunt. 2 Non enim est quisquam, [qui] in vita non ad diem quodcumque fecerit. Sed eius qui vitas aliorum scribere orditur, officium est digna cognitione prescribere. 3 Et Iunio quidem Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere, quos obscuriores videbat; qui non multum profecit. 4 Nam et pauca repperit et indigna memoratu adserens se minima quaeque persequuturum, quasi vel de Traiano aut Pio aut Marco sciendumsit, quotiens processerit, quando cibos variaverit et quando vestem mutaverit et quos quando promoverit. 5 Quae ille omnia exsequendo libros mythistoriis replevit talia scribendo, cum omnino rerum vilium aut nulla scribenda sint aut nimis pauca, si tamen ex his mores possint animadverti, qui re vera sciendi sunt, ... sed ex parte, ut ex ea cetera colligantur.

II. 1 Occiso ergo Antonino Bassiano Opilius Macrinus, praefectus praetorii eius, qui antea privatas curabat, imperium arripuit, humili natus loco et animi atque oris inverecundi, seque nunc Severum nunc Antoninum, cum in odio esset omnium et hominum et militum, nuncupavit 2 statimque ad bellum Parthicum profectus et iudicandi de semilitibus seu rumoribus, quibus premebatur, adolescendi potestatem demit; 3 quamvis senatus eum imperatorem odio Antonini Bassiani libenter acceperit, cum in senatu omnibus una vox esset : 4 “Quemvis magis quam parricidam, quemvis magis quam incestum, quemvis magis quam impurum, quemvis magis quam interfectorem et senatus et populi.” 5 Et mirum omnibus fortasse videatur, cur Diadumenus filius Macrini Antoninus voluerit nuncupari, [pater] cum auctor necis Antoninianae fuisse dicatur.

III. 1 De ipso, quae in annales relata sint, proferam: vates Caelestis apud Carthaginem, quae dea repleta solet vera canere, sub Antonino Pio, cum sciscitanti proconsuli de statu, ut solebat, publico et desuo imperio futura praediceret, ubi ad principes ventum est, clara voce numerari iussit, quotiens diceret Antoninum, tuncque adtonitis omnibus Antonini nomen Augusti octavo edidit. 2 Sed credentibus cunctis, quod octo annis Antoninus Pius imperaturus esset, et ille transcendit hunc annorum numerum, et constitit apud credentes vel tunc vel postea per vatem aliud designatum. 3 Denique adnumeratis omnibus, qui Antonini appellati sunt, is Antoninorum numerus invenitur. 4 Enimvero Pius

primus, Marcus secundus, Verus tertius, Commodus quartus, quintus Caracallus, sextus Geta, septimus Diadumenus, octavus Heliogabalus Antonini fuere. 5 Nec inter Antoninos referendi sunt duo Gordiani, aut qui(a) praenomen tantum Antoninorum habuerunt aut etiam Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini. 6 Inde est quod se et Severus Antoninus vocavit et plurimi fuerunt, et Pertinax et Iulianus et idem Macrinus, 7 et ab ipsis Antoninis, qui veri successores Antonini fuerunt, hoc nomen magis quam proprium retentum est. Haec alii. 8 Sed alii idcirco Antoninum Diadumenum a Macrino patre appellatum ferunt, ut suspicio a Macrino interfecti Antonini militibus tolleretur. 9 Alii vero tantum desiderium nominis huius fuisse dicunt, ut, nisi populus et milites Antonini nomen audirent, imperatorium non putarent.

IV. 1. Et de Macrino quidem in senatu multis, quando nuntiatum est Varium Heliogabalum [factum] imperatorem, cum iam Caesarem Alexandrum senatus dixisset, ea dicta sunt, [ut] appareat ignobilem, sordidum, spurcum fuisse. 2 Verba denique Aurelii Victoris, cui Pinio cognomen erat, haec fuerunt : 3 “Macrinum libretinum, hominem prostibilem, servilibus officiis occupatum in domo imperatoria, venali fide, vita sordida sub Commodus, a Severo remotum etiam a miserrimis officiis relegatumque in Africam, ubi, ut infamiam damnationis tegeret, lectioni operam dedisse, egisse clausulas, declamasse, in [foro] postremo dixisse. 4 Donatum autem anulis aureis, patrocinate sibi conliberto suo Festo, advocatum fisci factum sub Vero Antonino.” 5 Sed et haec dubia ponuntur, et alia dicuntur ab aliis, quae ipsa quoque non tacebimus. nam plerique gladiatoriam pugnam eum exhibuisse dixerunt et accepta rudi ad Africam isse; 6 venatorem primo, post etiam tabellionem fuisse, deinceps advocatum fuisse fisci, ex quo officio ad amplissima quaeque pervenit. 7 Dein cum esset praefectus praetorii collega ablegato, Antoninum Caracallum imperatorem suum interemit tanta factione, ut ab eo non videretur occisus. 8 Nam stratore eius redempto et spe ingenti proposita id egit, ut quasi militaribus insidiis, quod vel ob parricidium vel [ne] incestum displiceret, interemptus diceretur.

V. 1 Statim denique arripuit imperium filio Diadumeno in participatum adscito, quem continuo, ut diximus, Antoninum appellari a militibus iussit. 2 Dein corpus Antonini Romam remisit sepulchris maiorum inferendum. 3 Mandavit collegae dudum suo praetorio, ut munus suum curaret ac praecipue Antoninum honorabiliter sepeliret ducto funere regio, quod sciebat ob vestimenta populo congiaria data multum Antoninum a plebe dilectum. 4 Adcedebat etiam illud, quod militare motum timebat, ne eo interveniente suum inpediretur imperium, quod raptum ierat, sed quasi invitus acceperat: 5 ut sunt homines, qui ad ea se cogi dicunt, quae vel sceleribus comparant. Timuit autem

etiam collegam, ne et ipse imperare cuperret, sperantibus cunctis, quod, si unius numeri concessus accederet neque ille recusaret, et omnes cupidissime id facerent odio Macrini vel propter vitam probram vel propter ignobilitatem, 6 cum omnes superiores nobiles fuissent imperatores. 7 Infulsit praeterea in nomen Severi, cum illius nulla cognatione tangeretur. Unde iocus extitit: “Sic Macrinus est Severus, quo modo Diadumenus Antoninus”. Statim tamen ad delendum militum motum stipendium et legionariis et praetorianis dedit solito uberius, 8 utpote qui extenuare cuperet imperatoris occisi crimen. Profuitque pecunia, ut solet, cui innocentia prodesse non poterat; retentus est enim aliquanto tempore in imperio homo vitiorum omnium. 9 Ad senatum dein litteras misit de morte Antonini divum illum appellans excusansque se et iurans, quod de caede illius nescierit. ita sceleri suo more hominum perditorum iunxit periurium, a quo incipere decuit hominem improbum, cum ad senatum scriberet.

VI. 1 Interest scire, cuiusmodi oratio fuerit, qua se excusavit, ut et impudentia hominis noscatur et sacrilegium, a quo initium sumpsit improbus imperator. 2 Capita ex oratione Macrini et Diadumeni imperatorum: “Vellemus, p.c., et incolomi Antonino nostro et revecti cum triumpho vestram clementiam videre. Tunc demum enim florente re p. et omnes felices essemus, et sub eo principe viveremus, quem nobis Antoninorum loco didederant. 3 Verum quia id evenire per tumultum militarem non potuit, nuntiamus primum, quid de nobis exercitus fecerit, 4 dein honores divinos, quod primum faciendum est, decernimus ei viro, in cuius verba iuravimus, cum exercitus ultorem caedis Bassiani neminem digniorem praefecto eius putavit, cui et ipse utique vindicandam factionem mandasset, si vivus deprehendere potuisset.” 5 Et infra: “Detulerunt ad me imperium, cuius ego, p.c., interim tutelam recepi, tenebo regimen, si et vobis placuerit, quod militibus placuit, quibus iam et stipendium dedi et omnia imperatorio more iussi.” 6 Item infra: “Diadumenum filium meum vobis notum et imperio miles donavit et nomine, Antoninum videlicet appellans, ut cohoneste turpius nomine, sic etiam regni honore. 7 Quod vos, p.c., bono faustoque omine adprobetis petimus, ne vobis desit Antoninorum nomen, quod maxime diligitis.” 8 Item infra: “Antonino autem divinos honores et miles decrevit, et nos decernimus et vos, p.c., ut decernatis, cum possimus imperatorio iure praecipere, tamen rogamus dicantes ei duas statuas equestres, pedestres duas habitu militari, sedentes civili habitu duas, item divo Severo duas triumphales. 9 Quae omnia, p.c., vos impleri iubebitis nobis religiose pro prioribus ambientibus.”

VII. 1 Lectis igitur in senatu litteris contra opinionem omnium et mortem Antonini senatus gratanter accepit et Opilium Macrinum libertatem publicam curaturum sperans primum in praticios allegit, novum hominem et qui paulo ante procurator privatae fuisset. 2 Eundem, cum scribe pontificis esset, quos hodie

pontifices minores vocant, pontificem maximum appellavit Pii nomine decreto. 3 Diu tamen lectis litteris, cum omnino nemo crederet de Antonini morte, silentium fuit. 4 Sed posteaquam constitit occisum, senatus in eum velut in tyrannum invectus est. Denique statim Macrino et proconsulare imperium et potestatem tribuniciam detulerunt. 5 Filium sane suum, cum ipse Felicis nomen recepisset, ut suspicionem occisi a se Antonini removeret, Antoninum vocavit, Diadumenum antea dictum. 6 Quod quidem nomen etiam Varius Heliogabalus, qui se Bassiani filium diceret, homo sordissimus et ex meretrice conceptus, idem postea nomen accepit. 7 Denique versus extant cuiusdam poetae, quibus ostenditur Antonini nomen coepisse a Pio et paulatim per Antoninos usque ad sordes ultimas pervenisse, si quidem solus Marcus nomen illud sanctum vitae genere auxisse videatur, Verus autem degenerasse, Commodus vero etiam polluisse sacrati nominis reverentiam. 8 Iam quid de Caracallo Antonino, quidve de hoc potest dici ? Postremo etiam quid de Helio gabalo, qui Antoninorum ultimus in summa impuritate vixisse memoratur?

VIII. 1 Appellatus igitur imperator suscepto [bello] contra Parthos profectus est magno apparatu, studens sordes generis et prioris vitae infamiam victoriae magnitudine abolere. 2 Sed conflictu habito contra Parthos defectu legionum, quae ad Varium Heliogabalum confugerant, interemptus est. Sed anno amplius imperavit. 3 Sane cum esset inferior in eo bello, quod Antoninus gesserat, Artabane graviter necem suorum civium vindicante, primo Macrinusre pugnavit; postea vero missis legatis petit pacem, quam libenti animo interfecto Antonino Parthus concessit. 4 Inde cum se Antiochiam recepisset ac luxuriae operam daret, iustam causam interficiendi sui praebeuit exercitui ac Bassiani, ut putabatur, filium sequendi, id est Heliogabalum Bassianum Varium, qui postea est et Bassianus et Antoninus [et Antoninus] appellatus.

IX. 1 Fuit aliqua mulier Maesa sive Varia ex Emisena urbe, soror Iuliae uxoris Severi Pertinacis Afri, quae post mortem Antonini Bassiani ex aulica domo fuerat expulsa per Macrini superbiam; cui quidem omnia concessit Macrinus, quae diu illa collegerat. 2 Huic erant duae filiae, Symiamira et Mamaea, quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus [et Bassiani et Antonini nomen accepit.] Nam Heliogabalum Foenices vocant solem. 3 Sed Heliogabalus pulchritudine ac statura et sacerdotio conspicuus erat ac notus omnibus hominibus, qui ad templum veniebant, militibus praecipue. 4 His Maesa sive Varia dixit Bassianum filium esse Antonini, quod paulatim omnibus militibus innotuit. 5 Erat praeterea Maesa ipsa ditissima (ex quo etiam Heliogabalus luxuriosissimus), qua promittente militibus legiones abductae sunt a Macrino. 6 Suscepta enim illa noctu in oppidum cum suis nepos eius Antoninus est appellatus imperii delatis insignibus.

X. 1 Haec ubi sunt Macrino apud Antiochiam posito nuntiata, miratus audaciam muliebrem, simul etiam contemnens, Iulianum praefectum ad obsidendos eos cum legionibus misit. 2 Quibus cum Antoninus ostenderetur, miro amore in eum omnibus inclinatis occiso Iuliano praefecto ad eum omnes transierunt. 3 Dein parte exercitus coniuncta venit contra Macrinum Antoninus contra se festinantem, commissoque proelio Macrinus est victus prodicione militum eius et amore Antonini. Fugiens sane Macrinus cum paucis et filio in vico quodam Bithyniae occisus est cum Diadumeno, ablatumque eius caput est et ad Antoninum perlatum. 4 Sciendum praeterea, quod Caesar fuisse dicitur, non Augustus Diadumenus puer, quem plerique pari fuisse cum patris imperio tradiderunt. 5 Occisus est etiam filius, cui hoc solum attulit imperium, ut interficeretur a milite. 6 Non enim aliquid dignum in eius vita erit, quod dicatur, praeter hoc quod Antoninorum nomini est velut nothus adpositus.

XI. 1 Fuit tamen in vita imperatoria paulo rigidior et austerior sperans se ante acta omnia posse oblivioni dare, cum ipsa severitas illius occasionem reprehendendi et lacerandi eius aperiret. 2 Nam et Severum se et Pertinacem voluerat nuncupari, quae duo illi asperitatis nomina videbantur. Et cum illum senatus Pium ac Felicem nuncupasset, Felicis nomen recepit, Pii habere noluit. 3 Unde in eum epigramma non infacetum Graeci cuiusdam poetae videtur extare, quod Latine hac sententia continetur :

4 Histrio iam senior turpis, gravis, asper, iniquus,
impius et felix sic simul esse cupit,
ut nolit pius esse, velit tamen esse beatus,
quod natura negat nec recipit ratio.
Nam pius et felix poterat dicique viderique :
impius, infelix est, [et] erit ille sibi.

5 Hos versus qui de Latinis iuxta eos, qui Graeci erant propositi, in foro posuit. quibus acceptis Macrinus his versibus respondisse fertur:

6 Si talem Graium tetulissent fata poetam,
qualis Latinus gabalus iste fuit,
nil populus nosset curia, mango
nullus scripsisset carmina tetra mihi.

7 His versibus Macrinus longe peioribus, quam illi Latini sunt, respondisse se credidit, sed non minus risui est habitus quam poeta ille, qui de Graeco Latine coactus est scribere.

XII. 1 Fuit igitur superbus et sanguinarius et volens militariter imperare, incusans quin etiam superiorum temporum disciplinam ac solum Severumprae ceteris laudans. 2 Nam et in crucem milites tulit et servilibus supplicis semper adfecit et, cum seditiones militares pateretur, milites saepius decumavit, aliquando etiam centesimavit, quodverbum propriumipsius est, cum se clementem diceret, quando eos centesimaret, qui digni essent decimatione atque vicensimatione. 3 Longum est eius crudelitates omnes asperire, attamen unam ostendamnon magnam, ut ipse credebat, sed omnibus tyrannicis inmanitatibus tristiozem. 4 Cum quidam milites ancillam hospitis iam diu pravi pudoris affectassent atque per quendam frumentarium ille didicisset, adduci eos iussit interrogavitque, utrum esset factum. 5 Quod cum constitisset, duos boves mirae magnitudinis vivos subito aperiri iussit atque his singulos milites inseri capitibus, ut secum conloqui possent, exertis; itaque poena eos affecit, cum ne adulteris quidem talia apud maiores vel sui temporis essent constituta supplicia. 6 Pugnavit tamen et contra Parthos et contra Armenios et contra Arabas, quos Eudaemones vocant, non minus fortiter quam feliciter. 7 Tribunum, qui excubias deserere passus est, carpento rotali subteradnexum per totum iter vivum atque examinem traxit. 8 Reddidit etiam Mezentii supplicium, quod ille vivos mortuis inligabat et ad mortem cogeabat longa tabe confectos. 9 Unde etiam in circo, cum favor publicus in Diadumenum se proseruisset, adclamatum:

Egregius forma iuvenis,
cui pater haud Mezentius esset.

10 Vivos etiam homines parietibus inclusit et struxit. Adulterii reos semper vivos simul incendit iunctis corporibus. Servos, qui dominis fugissent, reppertos ad gladium ludi deputavit. 11 Delatores, si non probarent, capite affecit; si probarent, delato pecuniae praemio infames dimisit.

XIII. 1 Fuit in iure non incallidus, adeo ut statuisset omnia rescripta veterum principum tollere, ut iure, non rescriptis ageretur, nefas esse dicens leges videri Commodi et Caracalli et hominum inperitorum voluntates, cum Traianus numquam libellis responderit, ne ad alias causas facta praeferrentur, quae ad gratiam composita viderentur. 2 In annonis tribuendis largissimus fuit, in auro parcissimus, 3 in verberandis [vel] aulicis tam inpius, tam pertinax, tam asper, ut servi illum sui non Macrinum dicerent, sed Macellinum, quod macelli specie domus eius cruentaretur sanguine vernularum. 4 Vini cibusque avidissimus, nonnumquam usque ad ebrietatem, sed vespertinis horis. Nam si prandisset vel privatim, parcissimus, in cena effusissimus. 5 Adhibuit convivio litteratos, ut loquens de studiis liberalibus necessario abstemius.

XIV. 1 Sed cum eius viliatem homines antiquam cogitarent, crudelitatem morum viderent, hominem putidulum in imperio ferre non possent, et maxime milites, qui multa eius meminerant funestissima et aliquando turpissima, inita factione illum occiderunt cum puero filio Diadumeno, scilicet Antonino cognomine, de quo dictum est, quod in somnis Antoninus fuisset. 2 Unde etiam versus extant huiusmodi :

Vidimus in somnis, cives, nisi fallor, et istud:
Antoninorum nomen puer ille gerebat,
qui patre venali genitus sed matre pudica,
centum nam moechos passa est centumque rogavit.
Ipse etiam calvus moechus fuit, inde maritus :
en Pius, en Marcus, Verus nam non fuit ille.

3 Et isti versus ex Graeco [ex] translati sunt in Latine, nam Graece sunt disertissimi, videntur autem mihi ab aliquo poeta vulgari translati esse. 4 Quod Macrinus audisset, fecit iambos, qui non extant; iucundissimi autem fuisse dicuntur. 5 Qui quidem perierunt in eo tumultu, in quo ipse occisus est, quando et omnia eius a militibus pervastata sunt.

XV. 1 Genus mortis, ut diximus, tale fuit: cum in Antoninum Heliogabalum exercitus inclinasset, ille fugit belloque victus est et occisus in suburbano Bithyniae suis partim deditis, partim occisis, partim fugatis. 2 Ita Heliogabalus clarus creditus est, quod videretur patris vindicasse mortem, atque inde in imperium venit, quod dedecoravit vitiis ingentibus, luxurie, turpitudine, abligurritione, superbia, inmanitate. qui et ipse similem exitum vitae suae sortitus est. 3 Haec de Macrino nobis sunt cognita multis aliqua variantibus, ut se habet omnis historia. 4 Quae de plurimis collecta serenitati tuae, Diocletiane Auguste, detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus.

DIADUMENUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDII

I. 1 Antonini Diadumeni pueri, quem cum patre Opilio Macrino imperatorem dixit exercitus occiso Bassiano factione Macriniana, nihil habet vita memorabile, nisi quod Antoninus est dictus et quod ei stupenda omnia sunt facta imperii non diutini, ut evenit. 2 Nam cum primum innotuit per legiones occisum esse Bassianum, ingens maeror obsedit omnium pectora, quod Antoninum in re p. non haberent, existimantium, quod cum eo Romanum esset imperium peritum. 3 Id ubi Macrino iam imperatori nuntiatum est, veritus, ne in aliquem Antoninorum, qui multi ex affinibus Antonini Pii erant inter duces, exercitus inclinaret, statim contionem parari iussit filiumque suum tunc puerum Antoninum appellavit. 4 Contio : “Videtis, commilitones, et me aetatis iam provectae et Diadumenum puerum, quem diu principem, si di faveant, habebitis. 5 Intellego praeterea desiderium ingens Antoniani nominis apud vos manere, quare, quoniam mihi per conditionem fragilitatis humanae non multum superesse videtur ad vitam, hunc puerum Antoninum vobis auctoribus nuncupo diu vobis Antoninum repraesentaturum.” Adclamatum : 6 “Macrine imperator, di te servent. Antonine Diadumene, di te servent. Antoninum diu vivum omnes rogamus. 7 Iuppiter optime maxime, Macrino et Antonino vitam. tu scis, Iuppiter, Macrinus vinci non potest. tu scis, Iuppiter, Antoninus vinci non potest. 8 Antoninum habemus, omnia habemus. Antoninum nobis di dederunt. Puer Antoninus dignus imperio.

II. 1 “Macrinus imperator dixit : “Habete igitur, commilitones, pro imperio aureos ternos, pro Antonini nomine aureos quinos et solitas promotiones sed geminatas. Di facient, ut haec saepius fiant. Dabimus autem per cuncta quinquennia hoc, quod hodie putavimus.” 2 Post hoc ipse puerulus Diadumenus Antoninus imperator dixit : “Gratias vobis, commilitones, quod me et imperio donastis et nomine, siquidem dignos et me et patrem meum duxistis, quos imperatores Romanos diceretis et quibus committeretis rem p. 3 Et pater quidem meus curabit, ne desit imperio, ego autem elaborabo, ne desim nomini Antoninorum. Scio enim me Pii, me Marci, me Veri suscepisse nomen, quibus satis facere perdifficile est. 4 Interim tamen causa imperii, causa nominis id omne quod pater et tantumdem promitto honoribus, ut et venerandus Macrinus pater praesens promisit, duplicatis. 5 “Herodianus Gracus scriptor haec praeteriens Diadumenum tantum Caesarem dicit puerum a militibus nuncupatum et cum patre occisum. 6 Hac habita contione statim apud Antiochiam moneta Antonini Diadumeni nomine percussa est, Macrini usque ad iussum senatus dilata est. 7 Missae etiam ad senatum litterae, quibus nomen Antonini indicatum

est. Quare etiam senatus imperium id libenter dicitur recepisse, quamvis alii Antonini Caracalli odio id factum putent. 8 Paraverat sane paenulas populo coloris russei dare Macrinus imperator in honorem Antonini filii sui, quae vocarentur Antoninianae, ut caracallae Bassiani dictae sunt, adserens melius filium suum Paenuleum vel Paenularium dicendum, quam Caracallus esset dictus Bassianus. 9 Congiarium etiam per edictum Antonianum promisit, ut ipsum edictum poterit indicare. 10 Verba edicti : “Vellem, Quirites, iam praesentes essemus : Antoninus vester vobis congiarium sui nominis daret. Incideret praeterea et pueros Antoninianos et puellas Antoninianas, quae tam grati nominis gloriam propagarent.” Et reliqua.

III. 1 His ita gestis signa in castris et vexilla fieri Antoniniana iussit fecitque Bassiani simulacra ex auro atque argento atque dies septem supplicatio pro Antonini nomine celebrata est. 2 Puer fuit omnium speciosissimus, statura longiuscula, crine flavo, nigris oculis, naso deducto, ad omnem decorem mento composito, ore ad oscula parato, fortis naturaliter, exercitio delicatior. 3 Hic ubi primum indumenta coccea et purpurea ceteraque castrensia imperii insignia accepit, quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit, ut amaretur ab omnibus gratia venustatis. 4 Haec sunt quae de puero sint dicenda. nunc veniamus ad omina imperii, quae cum in aliis tum in hoc praecipue sunt stupenda.

IV. 1 Die, qua natus est, pater eius purpuras, tunc forte procurator aerarii maioris, inspexit et quas claras probavit, in id conclave reduci praecepit, in quo post duas horas Diadumenus natus est. 2 Solent deinde pueri pilleo insigniri naturali, quod obstetrices rapiunt et advocatis credulis vendunt, si quidem cauidici hoc iuvari dicantur. 3 At iste puer pilleum non habuit sed diadema tenue, sed ita forte ut rumpi non potuerit, nervis intercedentibus specie nervi sagittari. 4 Ferunt denique Diadematum puerum appellatum, sed ubi adolevit, avisui nomine materni Diadumenum vocatum, quamvis non multum abhorruerit ab illo signo Diademati nomen Diadumeni. 5 In agro patris eius oves purpureas duodecim ferunt natas, quarum una tantum varia fuerit. 6 Eadem die, qua hic natus est, aquilam ei constat sensim palumbum regium parvulum attulisse et posuisse in cunis dormienti ac recessisse sine noxa. Pantagathi in domo patris eius nidum posuerunt.

V. 1 His diebus, quibus ille natus est, mathematici accepta genitura eius exclamaverunt et ipsum filium imperatoris esse et imperatorem, quasi mater eius adulterata esset, quod fama retinebat. 2 Huic eidem aquila pilleum in agro ambulanti tulit et, cum comitum infantis clamor esset factus, fertur in monumento regio, quod iuxta villam esset, in qua tunc pater agebat, supra statuam regis posuisse ita ut capiti eius aptaret. 3 Quod multi ominosum putarunt et morti adcommo- dum, clarum autem eventus ostendit. 4 Natus est praeterea

natali Antonini et ea hora et signis prope concinentibus, quibus et Antoninus Pius; quare dixerunt mathematici et imperatoris illum filium futurum et imperatorem, sed non diu. 5 Die, qua natus est, quod Antonini esset natalis, mulier quaedam propinqua dicitur exclamasse “Antoninus vocetur”, sed Macrinus timuisse, quod nullus ex eius genere hoc nomine censeretur, et abstinuisse nomine imperatorio, simul quod iam rumor de vi geniturae illius emanasset. 6 Haec atque alia omina fuisse multi in litteras rettulerunt, sed illud praecipue quod, cum in cunis esset Diademenus et leo ruptis ruptis vinculis, ut quidam, ferus effugisset atque ad incunabula eius venisset, puerum delinxit et inviolatum reliquit, cum nutrix se in leonem misisset atque eius morsu adfecta perisset; atque sola forte in areola inventa erat, in qua infans iacebat.

VI. 1 Haec sunt quae digna memoratu in Antonino Diadumeno esse videantur. cuius vitam iunxissem patris gestis, nisi Antoninorum nomen me ad edendam pueruli specialem expositionem vitae coegisset. 2 Et fuit quidem tam amabile illis temporibus nomen Antoninorum, ut quieo nomine non niteretur, mereri non videretur imperium. 3 Unde etiam quidam et Severum et Pertinacem et Iulianum Antoninorum praenominibus honorandos putant, unde postea duos Gordianos, patrem et filium, Antoninos cognominatos putant. 4 Sed aliud est cum praenomen adscitur, aliud cum ipsum nomen inponitur. 5 Nam Pius verum nomen Antonini habuit, cognomen Pii, Marcus verum nomen Verissimi habuit, sed hoc sublato atque abolito non praenomen Antonini sed nomen accepit. 6 Verus autem Commodi nomen habuit, quo abolito Antonini non praenomen sed nomen accepit. 7 Commodum autem Marcus Antoninum appellavit atque ita in publica sedidit die natalis sui. 8 Iam Caracallum Bassianum satis constat vel somnii causa, quod Severus viderat, cum sibi Antoninum successorem praedictum sensisset, anno demum tertio decimo Antoninum dixit, quando ei etiam imperatoriam addidisse dicitur potestatem. 9 Getam vero, quem multi Antoninum negant dictum, eadem ratione qua Bassianum appellatum satis constat, ut patri Severo succederet, quod minime factum est. 10 Post hoc ipse Diadumenus ut commendaretur exercitui senatui populoque Romano, cum esset ingens desiderium Bassiani Caracalli, Antoninum appellatum satis constat.

VII. 1 Extat epistola Opili Macrini, patris Diadumeni, qua gloriatur nontam se ad imperium pervenisse, qui esset secundus imperii, quam quod Antoniani nominis esset pater factus, quo clarius illis temporibus non fuerat vel deorum. 2 Quam epistolam priusquam intexam, libet versus inserere in Commodum dictos, qui se Herculem appellaverat, ut intellegant omnes tam clarum fuisse Antoninorum nomen, ut illi ne deorum nomen commode videretur adiungi. 3 Versus in Commodum Antoninum dicti :

Commodus Herculem nomen habere cupit,
Antoninorum non putat esse bonum,
expers humani iuris et imperii,
sperans quin etiam clarius esse deum,
quam si sit princeps nominis egregii.
Non erit iste deus nec tamen ullus homo.

4 Hi versus a Graeco nescio quo compositi a malo poeta in Latinum translati sunt, quos ego idcirco inserendos putavi, ut scirent omnes Antoninos pluris fuisse quam deos, ac trium principum amore, quo sapientia, bonitas, pietas consecrata sit, in Antonino pietas, in Vero bonitas, in Marco sapientia. 5 Redeo nunc ad epistolam Macrini Opilii : “Opilius Macrinus Noniae Celsae coniugi. Quid boni adepti sumus, mi uxor, caret aestimatione. Et fortassis de imperio me putes dicere - non magnum est istud, quod etiam indignis fortuna concessit, - : 6 Antonini paterfactus sum, Antonini mater es facta. O nos beatos, o fortunam domum, praeclaram laudem nunc demum felicitis imperii. 7 Di faxint et bona Iuno, quam colis, ut et ille Antonini meritum effingat, et ego, qui sum pater Antonini, dignus omnibus videar.”

VIII. 1 Hac epistola indicatur, quantum gloriae adeptus sibi videretur, quod vocatus est filius Antoninus. 2 Hic tamen quarto decimo mense imperii ob incivilem patris atquea sperum principatum interfectus est cum patre, non suo nomine. 3 Quamvis etiam istum ultra aetatem saevisse in pleroque repperiam, ut docent litterae ab hoc eodem ad patrem missae. 4 Nam cum quidam defectionis suspicionem incurrissent et eos Macrinus saevissime punisset filio forte absente atque hic audisset auctores quidem defectionis occisos, conscios tamen, quorum dux Armeniae erat et item legatus Asiae atque Arabiae, ob antiquam familiaritatem dimissos, his litteris convenisse patrem dicitur, paribus missisetiam ad matrem, quarum exemplum historiae causa inserendum putavi : 5 “Patri Augusto filius Augustus. Non satis, mi pater, videris in amore nostro tenuisse tuos mores, qui tyrannidis adfectatae conscios reservasti sperans eos vel ob amiciores tibi futuros, si his parceres, vel ob antiquam familiaritatem dimittendos : 6 quod nec debuit fieri nec proderit. Nam primum omnium iam te exulcerati suspicionibus amare non possunt. Deinde crudeliores inimici sunt, qui oblitum veteris familiaritatis se inimicissimis tuis iunxerunt. Adde quod adhuc exercitus habent. 7 Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum, Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaeque tellus debetur. 8 Feriendi sunt isti, si vis esse securus. Nam vitio generis humani alii non sunt defuturi, cui isti servantur.” 9 Hanc epistolam quidam ipsius, quidam magistri eius Caeliani ferunt, Afri quondam rhetoris, ex qua apparet, quam asper

futurus iuvenis, si vixisset.

IX. 1 Extat alia epistola ad matrem ab oedem destinata talis : “Dominus noster et Augustus nec te amat nec ipsum se, qui inimicos suos servat. Age igitur, ut Arabianus et Tuscus et Gellius ad palum deligentur, ne, si occasio fuerit, non praetermittant.” 2 Et, quantum Lollius Urbicus in historia sui temporis dicit, istae litterae per notarium proditae illi puero multum apud milites obfuisse dicuntur. 3 Nam, cum patrem occidissent, quidam hunc servare voluerunt, sed extitit cubicularius, qui has epistolas contioni militum legit. 4 Interfectis igitur ambobus et capitibus pilo circumlatis in Marcum Aurelium Antoninum caritate nominis inclinavit exercitus. Is filius Bassiani Caracalli ferebatur. 5 Erat autem templi Heliogabali sacerdos, homo omnium impurissimus et qui fato quodam Romanum deformarit imperium. 6 De quo quidem, quia multa sunt, loco suo disseram.

ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS AELI LAMPRIDI

I. 1 Vitam Heliogabali Antonini, qui Varius etiam dictus est, numquam in litteras misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas et Nerones et Vitellios hoc idem habuisset imperium. 2 Sed cum eadem terra et venera ferat et frumentum atque alia salutaria, eadem serpentes et cicures, compensationem sibi lector diligens faciet, cum legerit Augustum, Traianum, Vespasianum, Hadrianum, Pium, Titum, Marcum contra hos prodigiosos tyrannos. 3 Simul intellet Romanorum iudicia, quod illi et diu imperarunt et exitu naturali functi sunt, hi vero interfecti, tracti, tyranni etiam appellati, quorum nec nomina libet dicere. 4 Igitur occiso Macrino eiusque filio Diadumeno, qui pari potestate imperii Antonini etiam nomen acceperat, in Varium Heliogabalum imperium conlatum est, idcirco quod Bassiani filius diceretur. 5 Fuit autem Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos atque Antonini sibi nomen adsciverat vel in argumentum generis vel quod id nomen usque adeo carum esse cognoverat gentibus, ut etiam parricida Bassianus causa nominis amretur. 6 Et hic quidem prius dictus est Varius, post Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constituit, in quo prius aedes Orci fuit, quem e Suria secum advexit. 7 Postremo cum accepit imperium, Antoninus appellatus est atque ipse in Romano imperio ultimus Antoninorum fuit.

II. 1 Hic tantum Symiamirae matri deditus fuit, ut sine illius voluntate nihil in re p. faceret, cum ipsa meretricio more vivens in aula omnia turpia exerceret, Antonino autem Caracallo stupro cognita, ita ut hic vel Varius vel Heliogabalus vulgo conceptus putaretur; 2 et aiunt quidam Varii etiam nomen idcirco eidem inditum a condiscipulis, quod vario semine, de meretrice utpote, conceptus videretur. 3 Hic fertur occiso Macrini factione patre, ut dicebatur, Antonino in templum dei Heliogabali confugisse, velut in asylum, ne interficeretur a Macrino, qui saevissime cum filio luxurioso et crudeli exercuit imperium. 4 Sed de nomine hactenus, quamvis sanctum illud Antoninorum nomen polluerit, quod tu, Constantine sacratissime, ita veneraris, ut Marcum et Pium inter Constantios Claudiosque, velut maiores tuos, aureos formaveris adoptans virtutes veterum tuis moribus congruentes et tibi amicas caras.

III. 1 Sed ut Antoninum Varium revertamur, nactus imperium Romam nuntios misit; excitatisque omnibus ordinibus, omni etiam populo ad nomen Antoninum, quod non solum titulo, ut in Diadumeno fuerat, sed etiam in sanguine redditum videbatur, cum se Antonini Bassiani filium scripsisset, ingens eius desiderium factum est. 2 Erat praeterea etiam rumor, qui novis post tyrannos

solet donari principibus, qui nisi ex summis virtutibus non permanet et quem multi mediocres principes amiserunt. 3 Denique ubi in senatu lectae sunt litterae Heliogabali, statim fausta in Antoninum et dira in Macrinum eiusque filium dicta sunt, appellatusque Antoninus princeps volentibus cunctis et studiose credentibus, ut sese habent vota hominum ad credulitatem festinantium, cum, quod optant, verum esse desiderant. 4 Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis, quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens, ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. 5 Dicebat praeterea Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.

IV. 1 Deinde ubi primum diem senatus habuit, matrem suam in senatum rogari iussit. 2 Quae cum venisset, vocata ad consulum subsellia scribendo adfuit, id est senatus consulti conficiendi testis, solusque omnium imperatorum fuit, sub quo mulier quasi clarissima loco viri senatum ingressa est. 3 Fecit et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum, in quo ante fuerat conventus matronalis, solemnibus dum taxat diebas et si umquam aliqua matrona consularis coniugii ornamentis esset donata, quod veteres imperatores adfinibus detulerunt et his maxime, quae nobilitatos maritos non habuerant, ne innobilitate remanerent. 4 Sub Symiamira facta sunt senatus consulta ridicula de legibus matronalibus: quae quo vestitu incederet, quae cui cederet, quae ad cuius osculum veniret, quae pilento, quae equo, quae sagmario, quae asino veheretur, quae carpento mulari, quae bovum, quae sella veheretur et utrum pellicia an ossea an eborata an argentata, et quae aurum vel gemmas in calciamentis haberent.

V. 1 Ergo cum hibernasset Nicomediae atque omnia sordide ageret inireturque a viris et subaret, statim milites facti sui paenituit, quod in Macrinum conspiraverant, ut hunc principem facerent, atque in consobrinum eiusdem Heliogabali Alexandrum, quem Caesarem senatus Macrino interempto appellaverat, inclinavere animos. 2 Quis enim ferre posset principem [qui] per cuncta cava corporis libidinem recipientem, cum ne beluam quidem talem quisquam ferat? 3 Romae denique nihil egit aliud, nisi ut emissarios haberet, qui ei bene vasatos perquirerent eosque ad aulam perducerent, ut eorum conditionibus frui posset. 4 Agebat praeterea domi fabulam Paridis ipse Veneris personam subiens, ita ut subito vestes ad pedes defluerent, nudusque una manu ad mammam altera pudendis adhibita ingenicularet posterioribus eminentibus in subactorem reiectis et oppositis. 5 Vultum praeterea eodem quo Venus pingitur,

schemate figurabat corpore toto expolitus eum fructum vitae praecipuum existimans, si dignus atque aptus libidini plurimorum videretur.

VI. 1 Vendidit et honores et dignitates et potestates tam per se quam per omnes servos ac libidinum ministros. 2 In senatum legit sine discrimine aetatis, census, generis pecuniae merito, militaribus etiam praepositis et tribunatibus et legationibus et ducatus venditis, etiam procurationibus et Palatinis officiis. 3 Aurigas Protogenen et Cordium primo in certamine curruli socios. post in omni vita et actu participes habuit. 4 Multos, quorum corpora placuerant, de scena et circo et harena in aulam traduxit. 5 Hieroclen vero sic amavit, ut eidem inguina oscularetur, quod dictu etiam inverecundum est, Floralia sacra se adserens celebrare. In virginem Vestalem incestum admisit. 6 Sacra p. R. sublati penetralibus profanavit. 7 Ignem perpetuum extinguere voluit. Nec Romans tantum extinguere voluit religiones, sed per orbem terrae, unum studens, ut Heliogabalus deus ubique coleretur, et in penum Vestae, quod solae virgines solique pontifices adeunt, inrupit pollutus ipse omni contagione morum cum his, qui se polluerant. 8 Et penetrale sacrum est auferre conatus cumque seriam quasi veram rapuisset, quamque virgo maxima falso monstraverat atque in ea nihil repperisset, adplosam fregit; nec tamen quicquam religioni dempsit, quia plures similes factae dicuntur esse, ne quis veram umquam possit auferre. haec cum ita essent, signum tamen, quod Palladium esse credebat, abstulit et auro vinctum in sui dei templo locavit.

VII. 1 Matris etiam deum sacra accepit et tauroboliatus est, ut typum eriperet et alia sacra, quae penitus habentur condita. 2 Iactavit autem caput inter praecisos fanaticos et genitalia sibi devinxit et omnia fecit, quae Galli facere solent, ablatumque sanctum in penetrale dei sui transtulit. 3 Salambonem etiam omni planctu et iactatione Syriaci cultus exhibuit omen sibi faciens imminentis exitii. 4 Omnes sane deos sui dei ministros esse aiebat, cum alios eius cubicularios appellaret, alios servos, alios diversarum rerum ministros. 5 Lapides, qui divi dicuntur, ex proprio templo, <simulacrum> Dianae Laodiciae ex adyto suo, in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit. 6 Et Orestem quidem ferunt non unum simulacrum Dianae nec uno in loco posuisse, sed multa in multis; 7 posteaquam se apud Tria flumina circa Hebrum ex responso purificavit, etiam Orestam condidit civitatem, quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est. 8 - Et Orestam quidem urbem Hadrianus suo nomini vindicari iussit eo tempore, quo furore coeperat laborare, ex responso, cum ei dictum esset, ut in furiosi alicuius domum vel nomen inreperet; 9 nam ex eo emollitam insaniam ferunt, per quam multos senatores occidi iusserat, quibus servatis Antoninus Pii nomen meruit, 10 quod eos post ad senatum adduxit, quos omnes iussu principis interfectos credebant.-

VIII. 1 Caedit et humanas hostias lectis ad hoc pueris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti dolor. 2 Omne denique magorum genus aderat illi operabaturque cottidie hortante illo et gratias dis agente, quos eorum invenisset, cum inspiceret exta puerilia et excrucialet hostias ad ritum gentilem suum. 3 Cum consulatum inisset, in populum non nummos vel argenteos vel aureos <vel> bellaria vel minuta animalia, sed boves op[t]imos et camelos et asinos et cervos populo diripiendos abiecit, imperatorium id esse dictitans. 4 Insecutus est famam Macrini crudeliter, sed multo magis Diadumeni, quod Antoninus dictus est, Pseudoantoninum ut Pseudophilippum eum appellans, simul quod ex luxuriosissimo extitisse vir fortissimus, optimus, gravissimus, severissimus diceretur. 5 Coegit denique scriptores nonnullos nefanda, immo potius impia de eiusdem [dictum] luxuria disputare, ut in vita eius [dictum]. 6 Lavacrum publicum in aedibus aulicis fecit, simul et Plautiani populo exhibuit, ut ex eo condiciones bene vasatorum hominum colligeret. 7 Idque diligenter curatum est, ut ex tota penitus urbe atque ex nauticis onobeli quaererentur; sic eos appellabant, qui viriliores videbantur.

IX. 1 Cum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quod Antoninus pulcherrime profligarat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chaldaeos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni p. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factum carminibus et consecratione. Cum quaereret, quae illa esset vel ubi esset, suppressum est. 2 Constabat enim illum ob hoc consecrationem quaerere, ut eam dissiparet spe belli concitandi, idcirco maxime quod audierat responsum fuisse ab Antonino bellum Marcomannicum finiendum, cum hic Varius et Heliogabalus et Iudibrium publicum diceretur, nomen autem Antonini pollueret, in quod invaserat. 3 Prodebatur autem per eos maxime, qui dolebant sibi homines ad exercendas libidines bene eius cogitari coepit. et haec quidem domi.

X. 1 Sed milites pestem illam imperatoris velari nomine pati nequierunt ac primum inter sese dein per coronas iecere sermones, in Alexandrum omnes inclinantes, qui iam Caesar erat a senatu eo tempore, consobrinus huius Antonini, nam Varia una is erat avia, unde Heliogabalus Varius dicebatur. 2 Zoticus sub eo tantum valuit, ut ab omnibus officiorum principibus sic haberetur quasi domini maritus. 3 Erat praeterea idem Zoticus, qui hoc familiaritatis genere abutens omnia Heliogabali dicta et facta venderet fumis quam maxime divitias enormes parans, cum aliis minaretur, aliis polliceretur, omnes falleret egrediensque ab illo singulos a[u]diret dicens : “De te hoc locutus sum, de te hoc audiui, de te hoc futurum est.” 4 Ut sunt homines huius modi, qui si admissi fuerint ad nimiam famimiaritatem principum, famam non solum malorum sed et bonorum principum vendunt et qui stultitia vel innocentia imperatorum, qui hoc non perspiciunt, infami rumigatione pascuntur. 5 Nubsit et co<it cum illo> ita,

ut et pronubam haberet clamaretque “Concide Magire”, et eo quidem tempore quo Zoticus aegrotabat. 6 Quaerebat deinde a philosophis et gravissimis viris, an et ipsi in adulescentia perpesse essent, quae ipse pateretur, <et> quidem inpudentissime; neque enim umquam verbis pepercit infamibus, cum et digitis inpudicitiam ostentaret, nec ullus in conventu et audiente populo esset pudor.

XI. 1 Fecit liberos praesides, legatos, consules, duces omnesque dignitates polluit ignobilitate hominum perditorum. 2 Cum ad vindemias vocasset amicos nobiles et ad corbes sedisset, gravissimum quemque percontari coepit, an promptus esset in venerem, erubescensque senibus exclamabat : “Erubuit, salva res est”, silentium ac ruborem pro consensu ducens. 3 Addidit praeterea ipse, quae faceret, sine ullius pudoris velamento. 4 Postquam senes vidit erubescere ac tacere, vel quia aetas vel quia dignitas talia refutabat, contulit se ad iuvenes et ab his coepit omnia exquirere. 5 A quibus cum audiret congrua, gaudere coepit, dicens vere liberam vindemiam esse, quam sic celebreret. 6 Ferunt multi ab ipso primum repertum, ut in vindemiarum festivo multa in dominos iocularia et audientibus dominis dicerentur, quae ipse conposuerat, et Graeca maxime. Horum pleraque Marius Maximus dicit in vita ipsius Heliogabali. 7 Erant amici improbi et senes quidam et specie philosophi, qui caput reticulo componerent, qui improba quaedam pati se dicerent, qui maritos se habere iactarent. Quos quidam finxisse dicunt, ut illi fierent vitiorum imitatione cariores.

XII. 1 Ad praefecturam praetorii saltorem, qui histrionicam Romae fecerat, adscivit, praefectum vigilum Cordium aurigam fecit, praefectum annonae Claudium tonsorem. 2 Ad honores reliquos promovit commendatos sibi pudibulum inormitate membrorum. Ad vicensimam hereditatium mulionem curare iussit, iussit et cursorem, iussit et cocum et claustrarium artificem. 3 Cum ingressus est vel castra vel curiam aviam suam Variam nomine, de qua superius dictum est, secum induxit, ut eius auctoritate honestior fieret, quia per se non poterat; nec ante eum, quod iam diximus, senatum mulier ingressa est ita, ut ad scribendum rogaretur et sententiam diceret. 4 In conviviis exsoletos maxime iuxta se ponebat eorumque adtrectione et tactu praecipue gaudebat, nec quisquam ei magis poculum, cum bibisset, dabat.

XIII. 1 Inter haec mal vitae inpudicissimae Alexandrum, quem sibi adoptaverat, a se amoveri iussit, dicens se paenitere adoptionis, mandavitque ad senatum, ut Caesaris ei nomen abrogaretur. 2 Sed in senatu hoc prodito ingens silentium fuit; si quidem erat optimus iuvenis Alexander, ut postea conprobatum genere imperii eius, cum ideo displiceret patri, quod inpudicus non esset. 3 Erat autem eidem consobrinus, ut quidam dicunt; a militibus etiam amabatur et senatui acceptus erat et equestri ordini. 4 Nec defuit tamen furor usque ad

exitium voti pessimi. Nam ei percussores immisit, et hoc quidem modo : 5 ipse secessit ad hortos Spei veteris, quasi contra nocuum iuvenem vota concipiens, relictis in Palatio matre et avia et consobrino suo iussitque, ut trucidaretur iuvenis optimus et rei p. necessarius; 6 misit et ad milites litteras, quibus iussit, ut abrogaretur nomen Caesaris Alexandro; 7 misit qui et in castris statuarum eius titulos luto tegeret, ut fieri solet de tyrannis; 8 misit et ad nutritores eius, quibus imperavit sub praemiorum spe atque honorum, ut eum occiderent quo vellent modo, vel in balneis vel veneno vel ferro.

XIV. 1 Sed nihil agunt improbi contra innocentes. Nam nulla vi quis adduci potuit, ut tantum facinus impleret, cum in ipsum magis conversa sint tela, quae parabat aliis, ab hisque <sit> interfectus, quibus alios adpetebat. 2 Sed ubi primum lutati sunt tituli statuarum, milites omnes exarserunt, et pars in Palatium, pars in hortos, in quibus erat Varius, ire tendunt, ut Alexandrum vindicarent hominemque impurum eundemque parricidalis animi tandem a re p. depellerent. 3 Et cum in Paladium venissent, Alexandrum cum matre atque avia custoditum diligentissime postea in castra duxerunt. 4 Secuta autem erat illos Symiamira mater Heliogabali pedibus, sollicita filio. 5 Inde itum est in hortos, ubi Varius invenitur certamen aurigandi parans, exspectans tamen intentissime, quando eidem nuntiaretur consobrinus occisus. 6 Qui subito militum strepitu exterritus in angulum se condit obiectuque veli cubicularis, quod in introitu erat cubiculi, se texit, 7 missis praefectis alio ad conpescendos milites in castra, alio vero ad eos placandos, qui iam in hortos venissent. 8 Antiochianus igitur e praefectis unus milites, qui in hortos venerant, sacramenti admonitione exoravit, ne illum occiderent, quia nec multi venerant et plerique cum vexillo, quod Aristomachus tribunus retinuerat, remanserat. Haec in hortis.

XV. 1 In castris vero milites precanti praefecto dixerunt se parsuros esse Heliogabalo, si et impuros homines et aurigas et histriones a se dimoveret atque ad bonam frugem rediret his maxime summotis, qui cum omnium dolore apud eum plurimum poterant et qui omnia eius vendebant vel veritate vel fumis. 2 Remoti sunt denique ad eo Hierocles, Gordius et Myrismus et duo improbi familiares, qui eum ex stulto stultiores faciebant. 3 Mandatum praeterea a militibus praefectis, ne paterentur illum ita diutius vivere et ut Alexander custodiretur nevel illi aliqua vis adferretur, simul ne Caesar quempiam amicum Augusti videret, ne ulla fieret imitatio turpitudinis. 4 Sed Heliogabalus et ingenti prece Hieroclem reposcebat impudicissimum hominem et insidias in dies Caesaris propagabat. 5 Denique kal. Ianuariis, cum simul tum designati essent consules, noluit cum consobrino procedere. 6 Ad extremum cum ei avia et mater dicerent imminere milites ad eius exitium, nisi concordiam viderent inter se consobrinorum, sumpta praetexta hora diei sexta processit ad senatum avia sua

ad senatum vocata et ad sellam perducta. 7 Deinde in Capitolium ad vota concipienda et perficienda solemnia ire noluit, omniaque per pr(aetorem) urbanum facta sunt, quasi consules illic non essent.

XVI. 1 Nec distulit caedem consobrini, sed timens, ne senatus ad alium quempiam se inclinaret, si ille consobrinum occidisset, iussit subito senatum urbe decedere. Omnesque, quibus aut vehicula aut servi deerant, subito proficisci iussi sunt, cum alii per baiulos, alii per fortuita animalia et mercede conducta veherentur. 2 Sabinum consularem virum, ad quem libros Ulpi[ci]anus scripsit, quod in urbe remansisset, vocato centurione mollioribus verbis iussit occidi. 3 Sed centurio aure surdiori imperari sibi credidit, ut urbe pelleretur, itaque fecit. Sic vitium centurionis Sabino saluti fuit. 4 Removit et Ulpianum iuris consultum ut bonum virum et Silvinum rhetorem, quem magistrum Caesaris fecerat. Et Silvinus quidem occisus est, Ulpianus vero reservatus. 5 Sed milites et maxime praetorianus, vel scientes, quo<d> mala in <Alexandrum> Heliogabalus pararat, vel quod sibi viderent invidiam <fore ex Alexandri amore, inter se congressi sunt> factaque conspiratione ad liberandam rem p. primum conscii <libidinum eius occisi sunt vario> genere mortis, cum alios genitalibus exemptis necarent, alios ab ima parte perfoderent, ut mors esset vitae consentiens.

XVII. 1 Post hoc in eum impetus factus est atque in latrina, ad quam confugerat, occisus. Tractus deinde per publicum. Addita iniuria cadaveri est, ut id in cloacam milites mitterent. 2 Sed cum non c[a]lepisset cloaca fortuito, per pontem Aemilium adnexo pondere, ne fluitaret, in Tiberim abiectum est, ne umquam sepeliri posset. 3 Tractum est cadaver eius etiam per circi spatia. Priusquam in Tiberim praecipitaretur. 4 Nomen eius, id est Antonini, erasum est senatu iubente remansitque Varii Heliogabali, si quidem illud adfectato retinuerat, cum vult videri filius Antonini. 5 Appellatus est post mortem Tiberinus et Tractatitius et Inpurus et multa, si quando ea erant designanda, quae sub eo facta videbantur. 6 Solusque omnium principum et tractus est et in cloacam missus et in Tiberim praecipitus. 7 Quod odio communi omnium contigit, a quo speciatim cavere debent imperatores, si quidem nec sepulchra mereantur, qui amorem senatus populi ac militum non merentur. 8 Opera publica ipsius praeter aedem Heliogabali dei, quem Solem alii, alii lovem dicunt, et amphitheatri instaurationem post exustionem et lavacrum in vico Sulpicio, quod Antoninus Severi filius coeperat, nulla extant. 9 Et lavacrum quidem Antoninus Caracallus dedicaverat et lavando et populum admittendo, sed porticus defuerant, quae postea ob hoc subditivo Antonino extructae sunt, ab Alexandro perfectae.

XVIII. 1 Hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit (quamvis cognomine postea Gordianos multi Antoninos putent, qui Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini) vita,

moribus, improbitate ita odibilis, ut eius senatus et nomen eraserit. 2 Quem nec ego Antoninum vocassem nisi causa cognitionis, quae cogit plerumque dici ea etiam nomina, quae sunt abolita. Occisa est cum eo et mater Symiamira, probrosissima mulier et digna filio. 3 Cautumque ante omnia post Antoninum Heliogabalum, ne umquam mulier senatum ingrederetur utique inferis eius caput dicaretur devovereturque, per quem id esset factum. 4 De huius vita multa in litteras missa sunt obscaena, quae quia digna memoratu non sunt, ea prodenda censui, quae ad luxuriam pertinebant, quorum aliqua privatus, aliqua iam imperator fecisse perhibetur, cum ipse privatus diceret se Apicium, imperatorem vero <Neronem>, Othonem et Vitellium imitari.

XIX. 1 Nam primus omnium privatorum toros aureis toralibus textit, quia tunc ex Antonini Marci auctoritate id fieri licebat, qui omnem apparatus imperatorium publice vendiderat. 2 Deinde aestiva convivium coloribus exhibuit, ut hodie prasinum, vitreum alia, <alia> die venetum et deinceps exhiberet, semper varie per dies omnes aestivos. 3 Primus deinde authepsas argenteas habuit, primus etiam caccabos, vasa deinde centenaria argentea scalpta et nonnulla schematibus libidinosissimis inquinata. 4 Et mastichatum et puleiatum et omnia haec, quae nunc luxuria retinet, primus invenit. 5 Nam rosatum ab aliis acceptum pinearum etiam adtrititione odoratus reddidit. Denique haec genera poculorum ante Heliogabalum non leguntur. 6 Nec erat ei ulla vita nisi exquirere novas voluptates. Primus fecit de piscibus isicia, primus de ostreis et lithostreis et aliis huiusmodi marinis conchis et lucustis et cammaris et scillis. 7 Stravit et triclinia de rosa et lectos et porticus ac sic ea deambulavit, idque omni florum genere, liliis, violis, hyacinthis et narcissis. 8 Hic non nisi unguento nobili aut croco piscinis infectis natavit. 9 Nec cubuit in accubitis facile nisi his, quae pilum leporinum haberent aut plumas perdicum subalares, saepe culcitas mutans.

XX. 1 Senatum nonnumquam ita contempsit, ut mancipia togata appellaret, p. R. unius fundi cultorem, equestrem ordinem in nullo loco habens. 2 Praefectum urbicum saepe post cenam ad potandum vocabat adhibitis et praefectis praetorio, ita ut, si recusarent, magistri officiorum eos cogerent. 3 Voluit et per singulas urbis regiones praefectos urbi facere [et], ut essent in urbe quattuordecim. Et fecisset, si vixisset, promoturus omnes turpissimos et ultimae professionis homines. 4 Hic solido argento factos habuit lectos et tricliniales et cubiculares. 5 Comedit saepius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum et cristas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui ederet a pestilentia tutus diceretur. 6 Exhibuit et Palatinis <patinas> ingentes extis mullorum refertas et cerebellis foenicopterum et perdicum ovis et cerebellis turdorum et capitibus psittacorum et fasianorum et pavonum. 7 Barbas sane mullorum tantas iubebat exhiberi, ut pro nasturtiis, apiasteris et faselaribus et

feno Graeco exhiberet plenis fabatariis et discis. Quod praecipue stupendum est.

XXI. 1 Canes iecineribus anserum pavit. Habuit leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis, quos edoctos per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam mensam iubebat accumbere ignorantibus cunctis, quod exarmati essent, ad pavorem ridiculum excitandum. 2 Misit et uvas Apamenas in praesepia equis suis et psittacis atque fasianis leones pavit et alia animalia. 3 Exhibuit et sumina apruna per dies decem tricena cottidie cum suis vulvis, pisum cum aureis, lentem cum cerauniis, fabam cum electris, orizam cum albis exhibens. 4 Albas praeterea in vicem piperis piscibus et tuberibus conspersit. 5 Oppressit in tricliniis versatilibus parasitos suos violis et floribus, sic ut animam aliqui efflaverint, cum erepere ad summum non possent. 6 Condito piscinas et solia temperavit et rosato atque absentato. Vulgum ad bibendum invitavit et ipse cum populo tantum bibit, ut in piscina eum bibisse intellexeretur, viso quod unus bibisset. 7 Eunuchos pro apophoretis dedit, dedit quadrigas, equos stratos, mulos, basternas et redas, dedit et aureos millenos et centena pondo argenti.

XXII. 1 Sortes sane convivales scriptas in coclearibus habuit tales, ut alius exiret “decem camelos”, alius “decem muscas”, alius “decem libras auri”, alius “decem plumbi”, alius “decem strusiones”, alius “decem ova pullina”, ut vere sortes essent et fata temptarentur. 2 Quod quidem et ludis suis exhibuit, cum et ursos decem et decem glires et decem lactucas et decem auri libras in sorte habuit. 3 Primusque hunc morem sortis instituit, quem nunc videmus. sed vere ad sortem scaenicos vocavit, cum et canes mortuos et libram bubulae carnis haberet in sorte et item centum aureos et mille argenteos et centum folles aeris et alia talia. 4 Quae populus tam libenter accepit, ut eum postea imperare gratularentur.

XXIII. 1 Fertur in euripis vino ploenis navales circenses exhibuisse, pallia de oenanthio fudisse et elefantorum quattuor quadrigas in Vaticano agitasse dirutis sepulchris, quae obsistebant, iunxisse etiam camelos quaternos ad currus in circo privato spectaculo. 2 Serpentes per Marsicae gentis sacerdotes collegisse fertur eosque subito ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire, effudisse, multosque adflictos morsu et fuga. 3 Usus est aurea omni tunica, usus et purpurea, usus et de gemmis Persica, cum gravari se diceret onere voluptatis. 4 Habuit et in calciamentis gemmas, et quidem scalptas. quod risum omnibus movit, quasi possent scalpturae nobilium artificum videri in gemmis, quae pedibus adhaerebant. 5 Voluit uti et diademate gemmato, qui pulchrior fieret et magis ad feminarum vultum aptus. Quo et usus est domi. 6 Fertur et promisisse foenicem convivis vel pro eo libras auri mille, ut imperatorie eos dimitteret. 7 Marinae aquae colymbos exhibuit, in mediterraneis locis maxime et iterum cum piscibus implevit. 8 Montem nivium in viridiario domus aestate fecit advectis

nivibus. Ad mare pisces numquam comedit, in longissimis a mari locis omnia marina semper exhibuit. Murenarum lactibus et luporum in locis mediterraneis rusticos pavit.

XXIV. 1 Pisces semper quasi in marina aqua cum colore suo coctos conditura veneta comedit. Momentarias de rosato et rosis piscinas exhibuit et lavit cum omnibus suis caldarias de nardo exhibens. Idem in lucernis balsamum exhibuit. 2 Idem mulieres numquam iteravit praeter uxorem. Lupanaria domi amicis, clientibus et servis exhibuit. 3 Idem numquam minus centum sestertiis cenavit, hoc est argenti libris triginta; aliquando autem tribus milibus sestertium cenavit omnibus supputatis, quae inpendit. 4 Cenas vero et Vitellii et Apicii vicit. Pisces e vivariis suis bubus traxit. Per macellum transiens mendicitatem publicam flevit. 5 Parasitos ad rotam aquariam ligabat et cum vertigine sub aquas mittebat rursusque in summum revolvebat eosque Ixionios amicos vocavit. 6 Stravit et saxis Lacedaemoniis ac porphyreticis plateas in palatio, quas Antoninianas vocavit. Quae saxa usque ad nostram memoriam manserunt, sed nuper eruta <et> exsecta sunt. 7 Constituerat et columnam unam dare ingentem, ad quam ascenderetur intrinsecus, ita ut in summo Heliogabalum deum collocaret, sed tantum saxum non invenit, cum id de Thebaide adferre cogitaret.

XXV. 1 Ebrios amicos plerumque claudebat et subito nocte leones et leopardos et ursos exarmatos immittebat, ita ut expergefati in cubiculo eodem leones, ursos, pardos cum luce vel, quod est gravius, nocte invenirent, ex quo plerique exanimati sunt. 2 Multis vilioribus amicis folles pro accubitis sternebat eosque reflabat prandentibus illis, ita ut plerumque subito sub mensis invenirentur prandentes; 3 primus denique invenit simma in terra sternere, non in lectulis, ut a pedibus utres per pueros ad reflandum spiritum solverentur. 4 In mimicis adulteriis ea, quae solent simulato fieri, effici ad verum iussit. 5 Meretrices a lenonibus cunctis redemit saepe et manumisit. 6 Cum inter fabulas privatas sermo esset ortus, quanti herniosi esse possent in urbe Roma, iussit omnes notari eosque ad balneas suas exhiberi et cum isdem lavit, nonnullis etiam honestis. 7 Gladiatores ante convivium pugnantes sibi et pyctas frequenter exhibuit. 8 Stravit sibi triclinium in summo lusorio et, dum pranderet, noxios et venationes sibi exhibuit. 9 Parasitis in secunda mensa saepe ceream cenam, saepe ligneam, saepe eburneam, aliquando fictilem, nonnumquam vel marmoream vel lapideam exhibuit, ita ut omnia illis exhiberentur videnda de diversa materia, quae ipse cenabat, cum tantum biberent per singula fercula et manus, quasi comedissent, lavarent.

XXVI. 1 Primus Romanorum holoserica veste fertur, cum iam subsericae in usu essent. Linteamen lotum numquam attigit, mendicos decens qui lineis lotis

uterentur. 2 Dalmaticus in publico post cenam saepe visus est, Gurgitem Fabium et Scipionem se appellans, quod cum [cum] ea veste esset, cum qua Fabius et Cornelius a parentibus ad corrigendos mores adulescentes in publicum essent producti. 3 Omnes de circo, de theatro, de stadio et omnibus locis et balneis meretrices collegit in aedes publicas et apud eas contionem habuit quasi militarem, dicens eas commitiones, disputavitque de generibus schematum et voluptatum. 4 Adhibuit in tali contione postea lenones, exsoletos undique collectos et luxuriosissimos puerulos et iuvenes. 5 Et cum ad meretrices muliebri ornatu processisset papilla eiecta, <ad> exoletos habitu puerorum, qui prostituuntur, post continuum pronuntiavit his quasi militibus ternos aureis donativum petitque ab his, ut a dis peterent, ut alios haberet ipsis commendandos. 6 Locabantur sane ita cum servis, ut eos iuberet millena pondo sibi aranearum deferre proposito praemio, collegisseque dicitur decem milia pondo aranearum, dicens et hinc intellegendum, quam magna esset Roma. 7 Mittebat parasitis pro cellario salaria annua vasa cum ranis et scorpiis et cum serpentibus et huiusmodi monstris. 8 Claudebat in cuiuscemodi vasis infinitum muscarum, apes mansuetas eas appellans.

XXVII. 1 Quadrigas circensium in tricliniis et in porticibus sibi semper exhibuit pransitans et cenitans, convivis senes agitare cogens, nonnullos honoratos. 2 Iam imperator iubebat sibi et decem milia murum exhiberi, mille mustelas, mille sorices. 3 Dulciarios et lactarios tales habuit, ut, quaecumque coqui de diversis edulibus exhibuissent vel structores vel pomarii, illi modo de dulciis modo de lactariis exhiberent. 4 Exhibuit parasitis cenas et de vitreis et nonnumquam tot picta mantelia in mensam mittebat, his edulibus picta quae adponerentur, quot missus esset habiturus, ita ut de acu aut de textili pictura exhiberentur. 5 Nonnumquam tamen et tabulae illis pictae exhibebantur, ita ut quasi omnia illis exhiberentur et tamen fame macerarentur. 6 Miscuit gemmas pomis ac floribus. Iecit et per fenestram cibos totidem, quot exhibuit amicis. 7 Iusserat et canonem p. R. unius anni meretricibus, leonibus, exoletis intramuranis dari, extramuranis alio promisso, cum eo tempore iuxta provisionem Severi et Bassiani septem annorum canon frumentarius Romae esset.

XXVIII. 1 Canes quaternos ingentes iunxit ad currum et sic est vectatus intra domum regiam, idque privatus in agris suis fecit. 2 Processit in publicum et quattuor cervis iunctis ingentibus. Iunxit sibi et leones, Matrem magnam se appellans. Iunxit et tigres, Liberum sese vocans eodem habitu agens, quo dii pinguntur, quos imitabatur. 3 Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi agathodaemonas vocant. Habuit et hippopotamos et crocodillum et rhinocerotem et omnia Aegyptia, quae per naturam sui exhiberi poterant. 4 Struthocamelos

exhibuit in cenis aliquotiens, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis, ut ederent. 5 Illud sane mirum videtur, quod dicitur ab eo factum ut de croco sigma straverit, cum summos viros rogasset ad prandium, pro eorum dignitate se dicans fenum exhibere. 6 Transegit et dierum actus noctibus et nocturnos diebus, aestimans hoc inter instrumenta luxuriae, ita ut sero de somno surgeret et salutari inciperet, mane autem dormire inceptaret. Amicis cottidie <largiebatur> nec quemquam facile indonatum relinquebat, nisi quem frugi quasi perditum repperisset.

XXIX. 1 Habuit gemmata vehicula et aurata contemptis argentatis et eboratis et aeratis. 2 Iunxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas et binas ad pabillum vel ternas et amplius et sic vectatus est, sed plerumque nudus, cum illum nudaе traherent. 3 Habuit et hanc consuetudinem, ut octo calvos rogaret ad cenam et item octo luscis et item octo podagrosos, octo surdos, octo nigros, octo longos et octo pingues, cum capi non possent uno sigmate, ut de his omnibus risus citaret. 4 Donavit et argentum omne convivis, quod habuit in convivio, et omnem apparatus poculorum, idque saepius. 5 Hydrogarum Romanorum ducum primus publice exhibuit, cum antea militaris mensa esset, quam postea statim Alexander reddidit. 6 Proponebat praeterea his quasi themata, ut iura nova dapibus condiendis invenirent, et cuius placuisset commentum, ei dabat maximum praemium, ita ut sericam vestem donaret, quae tunc et in raritate videbatur et in honore; 7 si cuius autem displicuisset, iubebat, ut semper id comesset, quamdiu tamen melius inveniret. 8 Semper sane aut inter flores sedit aut inter odores pretiosos. 9 Amabat sibi pr[a]etia [rerum] maiora dici earum rerum, quae mensae parabantur, orexin convivio hanc esse adserens.

XXX. 1 Pinxit se ut coppedinarium, ut seplasiarium, ut popinarium, ut tabernarium, ut lenonem, idque totum domi semper et exercuit. 2 Sescentorum strutionum capita una c[a]ena multis mensis exhibuit ad edenda cerebella. 3 Exhibuit aliquando et tale convivium, ut haberet viginti et duo fercula ingentium epularum, sed per singula lavarent et mulieribus uterentur et ipse et amici cum iure iurando, quod efficerent voluptatem. 4 Celebravit item tale convivium, ut apud amicos singulos singuli missus apparerentur et, cum alter maneret in Capitolio, alter in Palatio, alter super aggerem, alter in Caelio, alter trans Tiberim et ut quisque mansisset, tamen per ordinem in eorum domibus singula fercula ederentur ireturque ad omnium domos. 5 Sic unum convivium vix toto die finitum est, cum et lavarent per singula fercula et mulieribus uterentur. 6 Sybariticum missum semper exhibuit ex oleo et garo, quem quo anno Sybaritae reppererunt, et perierunt. 7 Dicitur et balneas fecisse multis locis ac semel lavisse atque statim destruxisse, ne ex usu balneas haberet. Hoc idem de domibus, de praetoriis, de zetis fecisse dicitur. 8 Sed et haec &et alia> nonnulla fidem transeuntia credo esse ficta ab his, qui gratiam Alexandri Heliogabalum

deformare voluerunt.

XXXI. 1 Fertur et meretricem notissimam et pulcherrimam redemisse centum sestertiis eamque intactam velut virginem coluisse. 2 Huic eidem privato cum quidam diceret “Non times pauper fieri?”, dixisse dicitur : “Quid melius quam ut ipse mihi heres sim et uxori meae?” 3 Habuerat praeterea facultates a multis dimissas gratia patris. idem filios se nolle dicebat, ne quis frugi contingeret. 4 Odores Indicos sine carbonibus ad vaporandas zetas iubebat incendi. Iter privatus numquam minus sexaginta vehiculis fecit avia sua Varia reclamante, quod omnia perditurus esset; 5 imperator vero etiam sescenta vehicula dicitur duxisse, adserens decem milibus camelorum Persarum regem iter facere et Neronem quingentis carrucis iter inisse. 6 Causa vehiculorum erat lenonum, lenarum, meretricum, exoletorum, subactorum etiam bene vasatorum multitudo. 7 In balneis semper cum mulieribus fuit, ita ut eas ipse psilothro curaret, ipse quoque barbam psilothro accurens, quodque pudendum dictu sit, eodem quo mulieres accurabantur et eadem hora; rasit et virilia subactoribus suis ad novaclum manu sua, quo postea barbam fecit. 8 Scobe auri porticum stravit et argenti dolens, quod non posset et electri, idque frequenter quamcumque fecit iter pedibus usque ad equum vel carpentum, ut fit hodie de aurosa harena.

XXXII. 1 Calciamentum numquam iteravit, anulos etiam negatur iterasse; pretiosas vestes saepe conscidit. Ballenam cepit et appendit atque ad eius aestimationem ponderis pisces amicis exhibuit. 2 Naves onustas mersit in portum, magnanimitatis hoc esse dicens. Onus ventris auro excepit, in myrrinis et onychis minxit. 3 Idem dixisse fertur : “Si habuero heredem, dabo illi tutorem, qui illum haec facere cogat, quae ipse feci facturusque sum”. 4 Habuit etiam istam consuetudinem, ut cenas sibi exhiberet tales, ut una die nonnisi de fasianis totum ederet omnesque missus sola fasianorum carne strueret, item alia die de pupillis, alia de pisce illo et item illo, alia de porcis, alia de strutionibus, alia de holeribus, alia de pomis, alia de dulciis, alia de opere lactario. 5 Saepe amicos suos cum Aethiopibus aniculis inclusit nocturnis mansionibus et usque ad lucem detinuit, cum pulcherrimas his diceret apparatus. 6 Fecit hoc idem etiam de pueris et tunc, ante Philippum utpote, licebat. 7 Ridebat autem sic nonnumquam, ut publice in theatro solus audiretur. 8 Ipse cantavit, saltavit, ad tibias dixit, tuba cecinit, pandurizavit, organo modulatus est. 9 Fertur et una die ad omnes circi et theatri et amphitheatri et omnium urbis locorum meretrices textus cucullione mulionico, ne agnosceretur, ingressus, cum tamen omnibus meretricibus sine affectu libidinis aureos donaret addens : “Nemo sciat, Antoninus haec donat”.

XXXIII. 1 Libidinum gerena quaedam invenit, ut spinthrias veterum (i)m(per)atorum vinceret, et omnis apparatus Tiberii et Caligulae et Neronis norat. 2 Et praedictum eidem erat a sacerdotibus Syris biothanatum se futurum. 3

Paravereat igitur funes blatta et serico et cocco intortos, quibus, si necesse esset laqueo, vitam finiret. 4 Paraverat et gladios aureos, quibus se occideret, si aliqua vis urgeret. 5 Paraverat et in cerauneis et in hyacinthis et in smaragdis venena, quibus se interimeret, si quid gravius inmineret. 6 Fecerat et latissimam turrem substratis aureis gemmatisque ante se tabulis, ex qua se praecipitaret, dicens etiam mortem suam pretiosam esse debere et ad speciem luxuriae, ut diceretur nemo sic perisse. Sed nihil ista valuerunt. 7 Nam, ut diximus, et occisus est per scutarios et per plateas et sordidissime per cloacas ductus et in Tiberim submissus est. 8 Hic finis Antoninorum nomini in re p. fuit, scientibus cunctis istum Antoninum falsum fuisse quam nomine.

XXXIV. 1 Mirum fortasse cuiuspiam videatur, Constantine venerabilis, quod haec clades, quam rettuli, loco principum fuerit, et quidem prope triennio: ita nemo in re p. tum fuit, qui istum a gubernaculis Romanae maiestatis abduceret, cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulae ceterisque huius modi numquam tyrannicida dufuerit. 2 Sed primum omnium ipse veniam peto, quod haec, quae apud diversos repperi, litteris tradidi, cum multa improba reticuerim et quae ne dici quidem sine maximo pudore possunt; 3 ea vero, quae dixi, praetextu verborum adhibito, quantum potui, texi. 4 Deinde illud, quod clementiam tua solet dicere, credidi, esse respiciendum : “Imperatorem esse fortunae est.” 5 Nam et minus boni reges fuerunt et pessimi. Agendum vero, quod pietas tua solet dicere, ut sint imperio digni, quos ad regenmdi necessitatem vis fatalis adduxerit. 6 Et quoniam hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit neque postea hoc nomen in re p. loco principum frequentatum est, etiam illud addendum est, ne quis error oriatur, cum duos Gordianos narrare coepero, patrem et filium, qui se de Antoninorum genere dici volebant : non nomen in illis primum fuit sed praenomen; 7 deinde, ut in plerisque libris invenio, Antoni dicti sunt, non Antonini.

XXXV. 1 Haec sunt de Heliogabalo, cuius vitam me invitum et retractantem ex Graecis Latinisque collectam scribere ac tibi offerre voluisti, cum iam aliorum ante tulerimus. 2 Scribere autem ordiar, qui post sequentur. quorum Alexander optimus et cum cura dicendus est annorum tredecim princeps, semestres alii et vix annui et bimi, Aurelianus praecipuus et horum omnium decus auctor tui generis Claudius. 3 De quo vereor ad clementiam tuam scribens vera dicere, ne malivolis adulator videar esse, sed absolvar contra livorem improborum, cum et apud alios clarum esse perspexerint. 4 His iungendi sunt Diocletianus, aurei parens saeculi, et Maximianus, ut vulgo dicitur, ferrei, ceterique ad pietatem tuam. 5 Te vero, Auguste venerabilis, multis paginis isdemque disertioribus illi prosequuntur, quibus id felicior natura detulerit. 6 His addendi sunt Licinius, Severus, Alexander atque Maxentius, quorum omnium ius in dicionem tuam venit, sed ita ut nihil eorum virtuti derogetur. 7 Non enim ego id faciam, quod

plerique scriptores solent, ut de his detraham, qui victi sunt, cum intellegam gloriae tuae accedere, si omnia de illis, quae bona in se habuerint, vera praedicaro.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS AELII LAMPRIDII

I. 1 Interfecto Varia Heliogabalo — sic enim malumus dicere quam Antoninus, quia et nihil Antoninorum pestis illa ostendit 2 et hoc nomen ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est — ad remedium generis humani Aurelius Alexander, urbe Arcona genitus, Varii filius, Variae nepos et consobrinus ipsius Gabali, accepit imperium, cum ante Caesar a senatu esset appellatus, mortuo scilicet Macrino, 3 Augustumque nomen idem recepit addito eo, ut et patris patriae nomen et ius proconsulare et tribuniciam potestatem et ius quintae relationis deferente senatu uno die adsumeret. 4 Et ne praeceps ista honorum continuatio videatur, exponam causas, quibus id et senatus coactus est facere et ille perpeti. 5 Non enim aut gravitati senatus congruebat omnia simul deferre aut bono principi raptum ire tot simul dignitates. 6 Milites iam insueverant sibi facile mutare, adserentes nonnumquam addefensionem se idcirco fecisse, quod nescissent senatum principem appellasse. 7 Nam et Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium [Nigrum] Albinum et Avidium Cassium et antea Lucium Vindicem et L. Antonium et ipsum Severum, cum senatus iam Iulianum dixisset principem, imperatores fecerant, atque ista res bella civilia severat, quibus necesse fuit militem contra hostem paratum parricidaliter perire.

II. 1 Hac igitur causa festinatum est, ut omnia simul Alexander quasi iam vetus imp[erator] acciperet. 2 Huc accessit nimia et senatus et populi inclinatio post illam cladem, quae non solum Antoninorum nomen decoloravit, sed etiam Romanum dehonestavit imperium. 3 Certatim denique omnia decreta sunt et nominum genera et potestatum. 4 Primus denique et omnium cuncta insignia et honorificentiae genera simul recepit suffragante sibimet Caesaris nomine, quod iam ante aliquot annos meruerat, et magis suffragante vita et moribus, cum illi magnum conciliasset favorem, quod Heliogabalus occidere conatus est nec potuit et militibus repugnantibus et senatu refragante. 5 Atque haec parva sunt, nisi quod dignum se exhibuit, quem senatus servaret, quem salvum milites cuperent, quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret.

III. 1 Alexander igitur, cui Mamaea mater fuit — nam et ita dicitur ap[er]is — a prima pueritia artibus bonis inbutus tam civilibus quam militaribus ne unum quidem diem sponte sua transire passus est, quose non et ad litteras et ad militam exerceret. 2 Nam in prima pueritia litteratores habuit Valerium Cordum et Titum Veturium et Aurelium Philippum libertum patris, qui vitam eius postea litteras misit, 3 grammaticum in patria Graecum Nehonem, rhetorem Serapionem, philosophum Stilionem, Romae grammaticos Scaurinum Scaurini filium, doctorem celeberrimum, rhetores Iulium Frontinum et Baebium Macrianum et

Iulium Granianum, cuius hodieque declamatae feruntur. 4 Sed in Latinis non multum profecit, ut ex eiusdem orationibus apparet, quas &tin> senatu habuit, vel contionibus, quas apud milites vel apud populum. Nec valde amavit Latinam facundiam, sed amavit litteratos homines vehementer, eos etiam reformidans, ne quid de se asperum scriberent. 5 Denique eos, <quos> dignos [ad desce] videbat, singula quaeque, quae publice privatim agebat, se ipso docente volebat addiscere, si forte ipsi non adfuissent, esque petebat ut, si vera essent, in litteras mitterent.

MAXIMINI DUO IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Ne fastidiosum esset clementiae tuae, Constantine maxime, singulos quosque principes vel principum liberos per singulos legere, adhibui moderationem, qua in unum volumen duos Maximinos, patrem filiumque, congererem; 2 servavi deinceps hunc ordinem, quem pietas tua etiam ab Tatio Cyrillo, clarissimo viro, qui Graeca in Latinum vertit, servari voluit. 3 Quod quidem non in uno tantum libro sed etiam in plurimis deinceps reservabo, exceptis magnis imperatoribus, quorum res gestae plures atque clariores longiorem desiderant textum. 4 Maximinus senior sub Alexandro imperatore enituit. Militare autem sub Severo coepit. 5 Hic de vico Threiciae vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus, quorum alter e Gothia, alter ex Alanis genitus esse perhibetur. 6 Et patri quidem nomen Micca, matri Hababa fuisse dicitur. 7 Sed haec nomina Maximinus primis temporibus ipse prodidit, postea vero, ubi ad imperium venit, oculi praecepit, ne utroque parente barbaro genitus imperator esse videretur.

II. 1 Et in prima quidem pueritia fuit pastor, iuvenum etiam procer et qui latronibus insidiaretur et suos ab incursionibus vindicaret. 2 Prima stipendia equestria huic fuere. Erat enim magnitudine corporis conspicuus, virtute inter omnes milites clarus, forma virili decorus, ferus moribus asper, superbus, contemptor, saepe tamen iustus. 3 Innotescendi sub Severo imperatore prima haec fuit causa: 4 natali Getae, filii minoris, Severus militares dabat ludos propositis praemiis argenteis, id est armillis, torquibus et balteolis. 5 Hic adulescens et semibarbarus et vix adhuc Latinae linguae, prope Thraecica imperatorem publice petit, ut sibi daret licentiam contendendi cum his, qui iam non mediocri loco militarent. 6 Magnitudinem corporis Severus miratus primum eum cum lixis composuit, sed fortissimis quibusque, ne disciplinam militarem conrumperet. 7 Tunc Maximinus sedecim lixas uno sudore devicit sedecim acceptis praemiis minusculis non militaribus iussusque militare.

III. 1 Tertia forte die cum processisset Severus ad campum, in turba exultantem more barbarico Maximinum vidit iussitque statim tribuno, ut eum coherceret et ad Romanam disciplinam inbueret. 2 Tunc ille, ubi de se intellexit imperatorem locutum, suspicatus barbarus et notum se esse principi et inter multos conspicuum, ad pedes imperatoris equitantis accessit. 3 Tum volens Severus explorare, quantus in currendo esset, equum admisit multis circumitionibus, et cum senex imperator laborasset neque ille a currendo per multa spatia desisset, ait ei: "Quid vis Thracisce? Num quid delectat luctari post cursum?". Tum "Quantum libet", inquit, "Imperator". 4 Post hoc ex equo

Severus descendit et recentissimos quosque ac fortissimos milites ei comparari iussit. 5 Tum ille more solito septem fortissimos uno sudore vicit solusque omnium a Severo post argenta praemia torque aureo donatus est iussusque inter stipatores corporis semper in aula consistere. 6 Hinc igitur factus conspicuus, inter milites clarus, amari a tribunis, a connilitonibus suspici, impetrare ab imperatore quod vellet. Locis etiam militiae a Severo adiutus, cum esset peradulescens, longitudine autem corporis et vastitate et forma atque oculorum magnitudine et candore inter omnes excelleret.

IV. 1 Bibisse autem illum saepe in die vini Capitolinam amforam constat, comedesse et quadraginta libras carnis, ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam sexaginta. 2 Quod satis constat, holeribus semper abstinuit, a frigidis prope semper, nisi cum illi potandi necessitas. 3 Sudores saepe suos excipiebat et in calices vel in vasculum mittebat, ita ut duos vel tres sextarios sui sudoris ostenderet. 4 Hic diu sub Antonino Caracallo ordines duxit centuriatos et ceteras militares dignitates saepe tractavit. Sub Macrino, quod eum, qui imperatoris sui filium occiderat, vehementer odisset, a militia desiit et in Thracia in vico, ubi genitus fuerat, possessiones comparavit ac semper cum Gothis commercia exercuit. Amatus est autem unice a Getis quasi eorum civis. 5 Halani quicumque ad ripam venerunt, amicum eum donis vissim recurrentibus adprobabant. 6 Sed occiso Macrino cum filio suo, ubi Heliogabalum quasi Antonini filium impera[to]re conperit, iam maturae aetatis ad eum venit petitque, ut quod avus eius Severus iudicii circa se habuerat, et ipse haberet. [Sed] apud inpurum hominem valere nihil potuit; 7 nam dicitur cum eo iocatus esse Heliogabalus turpissime: “Diceris, Maximine, sedecim et viginti et triginta milites aliquando lassasse: potes tricies cum mulieres perficere ?” 8 Tum ille ubi vidit infamem principem sic exorsum, a militia discessit. 9 Et tamen retentus est per amicos Heliogabali, ne hoc quoque illius famae accederet, quod virum temporis sui fortissimum et quem alii Herculem, alii Achillem, alii Hectorem, Aiace alii vocabant, a suo exercitu dimoveret.

V. 1 Fuit igitur sub homine inpurissimo tantum honore tribunatus, sed numquam ad manum eius accedit, numquam illum salutavit, per totum triennium huc atque illuc discurrens; 2 modo agris, modo otio, modo fictis langoribus occupatus est. 3 Occiso Heliogabalo ubi primum conperit Alexandrum principem nominatum, romam contendit. 4 Quem Alexander miro cum gaudio, mira cum gratulatione suscepit, ita ut in senatu verba faceret talia: “Maximinus, p. c., tribunus, cui ego latum clavum addidi, ad me confugit, qui sub impura illa belua militare non potuit, qui apud divum parentem meum Severum tantus fuit, quantum illum fama conperitis”. 5 Statim denique illum tribunum legionis quartae, quam ex tironibus ipse composuerat, dedit [et] eum in haec verba

provexit: 6 “Veteres milites tibi, Maximine mi carissime atque amantissime, idcirco non credidi, quod veritus sum, ne vitia eorum sub aliis inolescentia emendare non posses. 7 Habes tirones: ad tuos mores, ad tuam virtutem, ad tuum laborem eos fac militiam condiscere, ut mihi multos Maximinos rei p. optabiles solus efficias.”

VI. 1 Accepta igitur legione statim eam exercere coepit. 2 Quinta quaque die iubebat milites decurrere, inter se simulacra bellorum agere. Gladios, lanceas, loricas, galeas, scuta, tunicas et omnia arma illorum cotidie circumspicere; 3 calciamenta quin etiam ipse prosciebat, prorsus ut autem patrem militibus praeberet. 4 Sed cum eum quidam tribuni reprehenderent dicentes: “Quid tantum laboras, cum eius loci iam sis, ut ducatum possis accipere?”, ille dixisse fertur: 5 “Ego vero, quo maior fuero, tanto plus laborabo.” Exercebat cum militibus ipse luctamina, quinos, senos et septenos, idem quindenos ad terram prosternens. 6 Denique invidentibus cunctis, cum quidam tribunus superbior, magni corporis, virtutis notae atque ideo ferocior, ei dixisset : “Non magnam rem facis, si tribunus tuos milites vincis”, ille ait: “Visne congregiamur?”; 7 cumque adversarius adnuisset, venientem contra se palma in pectus percussum supinum reiecit et continuo dixit: “Date alium, sed tribunum.” 8 Erat praeterea, ut refert Cordus, magnitudine tanta, ut octo pedes digito videretur egressus, pollice ita vasto, ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro anulo. 9 Iam illa prope in vulgi ore sunt posita, quod amaxas manibus adtraheret, raedam onustam solus moveret, equo si pugnum dedisset, dentes solveret, si calcem, crura frangeret, lapides toficios friaret, arbores teneriores scinderet, alii denique eum Crotoniaten Milonem, alii Herculem, Antaeum alii vocarent.

VII. 1 His rebus conspicuum virum Alexander, magnorum meritorum iudex, in suam perniciem omni exercitui praefecit, gaudentibus cunctis ubique tribunis, ducibus et militibus. 2 Denique totum eius exercitum, qui sub Heliogabalo magna ex parte torpuerat, ad suam militarem disciplinam retraxit. 3 Quod Alexandro, ut diximus, optimo quidem imperatori, sed tamen cuius aetas ab initio contemni potuerit, gravissimum fuit. 4 Nam cum in gallia esset et non longe ab urbe quadam castra posuisset, subito inmissis militibus, ut quidam dicunt, ab ipso, ut alii, tribunis barbaris, Alexander ad matrem fagiens interemptus est Maximino iam imperatore appellato. 5 Et causam quidem Alexandri interimendi alii aliam fuisse dicunt. Quidam enim Mammaeam dicunt auctorem fuisse, ut filius deserto bello Germanico orientem peteret, atque ideo milites in seditionem prorupisse; 6 quidam, quod ille nimis severus esset et voluisset ita in Gallia legiones exauctorare, ut exauctoraverat in oriente.

VIII. 1 Sed occiso Alexandro Maximinus primum e corpore militari et nondum senator sine decreto senatus Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est filio

sibimet in participatum dato; de quo pauca, quae nobis sunt cognita, mox dicemus. 2 Maximinus autem ea fuit semper astutia, ut milites non virtute regeret, sed etiam praemiis et lucris sui amantissimos redderet. 3 Numquam ille annonam cuiuspiam tulit. 4 Numquam sivit, [ut] quis in exercitu miles faber aut alterius rei, ut plerique sunt, artifex esset, solis venationibus legiones frequenter exercens. 5 Sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busirem, alii Scironam, nonnulli Falarem, multi Tyfona vel Giganta vocarent. 6 Senatus eum tantum timuit, ut vota templis publice privatimque, mulieres etiam cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille umquam urbem Romam videret. 7 Audiebant enim alios in crucem sublatos, alios animalibus nuper occisi inclusos, alios feris obiectos, alios fustibus alisos, atque omnia haec sine dilectu dignitatis, cum videretur disciplinam velle regere militarem. Cuius exemplo civilia etiam corrigere voluit, 8 quod non convenit principi, qui velit diligi. Erat enim ei persuasum nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri; 9 simul et verebatur, ne propter humilitatem generis barbarici a nobilitate contemneretur; 10 meminerat praeterea se Romae etiam a servis nobilium contemptum esse, ita ut ne a procuratoribus quidem eorum videretur; 11 et, ut se habent stultae opiniones, tales eos contra se sperabat futuros, cum iam imperator esset. Tantum valet conscientia degeneris animi.

IX. 1 Nam ignobilitatis tegendae causa omnes conscios generis sui interemit, nonnullos etiam amicos, qui ei saepe misericordiae paupertatis causa pleraque donaverant. 2 Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris omnia sic in viribus suis ponens, quasi non posset occidi. 3 Denique cum immortalem se prope crederet ob magnitudinem corporis virtutisque, mimus quidam in theatro praesente illo dicitur versus Graecos dixisse, quorum haec erat Latina sententia: 4 “Et qui ab uno non potest occidi, a multis occiditur. Elefans grandis est et occiditur, leo fortis est et occiditur, tigris fortis est et occiditur: cave multos, si singulos non times.” Et haec imperatore ipso praesente iam dicta sunt. 5 Sed cum interrogaret amicos, quid mimicus scurra dixisset, dictum est ei, quod antiquos versus cantaret contra homines asperos scriptos, et ille, ut erat Thrax et barbarus, credidit. 6 Nobilem circa se neminem passus est, prorsus ut Spartaci aut Athenionis exemplo imperabat. 7 Praeterea omnes Alexandri ministros variis modis interemit. 8 Dispositionibus eius invidit. Et dum suspectos habet amicos ac ministros eius, crudelior factus est.

X. 1 Cum esset ita moratus, ut ferarum more viveret, tristior et immanior factus est factione Magni cuiusdam consularis viri contra se parata, qui cum multis militibus et centurionibus ad eum confodiendum consilium inierant, cum in se imperium transferre cuperet. 2 Et genus factionis fuit tale: cum ponte iuncto in Germanos transire Maximinus vellet, placuerat, ut contrarii cum eo transirent,

pons postea solveretur, ille in barbarico circumventus occideretur, imperium Magnus arriperet. 3 Nam omnia bella coeperat agere, et quidem fortissime, statim ut factus est imperator, peritus utpote rei militaris, volens existimationem de se habitam tenere et ante omnes Alexandri gloriam, quem ipse occiderat, vincere. 4 Quare imperator etiam in exercitio cottidie milites detinebat eratque in armis ipse, manu exercitui et corpore multa semper ostendens. 5 Et istam quidem factionem Maximinus ipse finxisse perhibetur, ut materiam crudelitatis augeret. 6 Denique sine iudicio, sine accusatione, sine delatore, sine defensore omnes interemit, omnium bona sustulit et plus quattuor militibus hominum occisis se satiare non potuit.

XI. 1 Fuit etiam sub eodem factio descendentibus sagittariis Odroenis ab eodem ob amorem Alexandri et desiderium, quem Maximino apud eos occisum esse constabat, nec aliud persuaderi potuerat. 2 Denique etiam ipsi Titum, unum ex suis, sibi ducem atque imperatorem fecerunt, quem Maximinus privatum iam dimiserat. 3 Quem quidem et purpura circumdederunt, regio apparatu ornavit et quasi sui milites obsaepierunt, et invitum quidem. 4 Sed hic dormiens domi suae ab uno ex amicis suis interfectus est, qui sibi doluit illum esse praepositum, Macedonio nomine, qui eum Maximino prodidit quique caput eius ad imperatorem detulit. 5 Sed Maximinus primo ei gratias egit, postea tamen ut proditorem odio habuit et occidit. 6 His rebus in dies inmanior fiebat, ferearum more, quae vulneratae magis exulcerantur. 7 Post haec transiit in Germaniam cum omni exercitu et Mauris et Odroenis et Parthis et omnibus, quos secum Alexander ducebat ad bellum. 8 Et ob hoc maxime orientalia secum trahebat auxilia, quod nulli magis contra Germanos quam expediti sagittarii valent. 9 Mirandum autem adparatum belli Alexander habuit, cui Maximinus multa dicitur addidisse.

XII. 1 Ingressus igitur Germaniam Transrenanam per triginta vel quadraginta milia barbarici soli vicos [incendit], greges abegit, praedas sustulit, barbarorum plurimos interemit, militem divitem reduxit, cepit innumeros, et nisi Germani a campis ad paludes et silvas confugissent, omnem Germaniam in Romanam ditionem redegisset. 2 Ipse praeterea manu sua multa faciebat, cum etiam paludem ingressus circumventus esset a Germanis, nisi cum suo equo inhaerentem [milites] liberassent. 3 Habuit enim hoc barbaricae temeritatis, ut putaret imperatorem manu etiam sua semper [uti] debere. 4 Denique quasi navale quoddam proelium in palude fecit plurimosque illic interemit. 5 Victa igitur Germania litteras Romam ad senatum et populum misit se dictante conscriptas, quarum sententia haec fuit: 6 “Non possumus tantum, p. c., loqui, quantum fecimus. Per quadraginta quinquaginta milia Germanorum vicos incendimus, greges abduximus, captivos abstraximus, armatos occidimus, in

palude pugnauimus. Puenissemus ad siluas, nisi altitudo paludium nos transire non permisisset.” 7 Aelius Cordus dicit hanc omnino ipsius orationem fuisse. 8 Credibile est; quid enim in hac est, quod non posset barbarus miles? 9 Qui pari sententia et ad populum scripsit sed maiore reuerentia, idcirco quod senatum oderat, a quo se contemni multum credebat. 10 Iussit praeterea tabulas pingi ita, ut erat bellum ipsum gestum, et ante curiam proponi, ut facta eius pictura loqueretur. 11 Quas quidem tabulas post mortem eius senatus et deponi iussit et exuri.

XIII. 1 Fuerunt et alia sub eo bella plurima, ex quibus semper primus victor reuertit et cum ingentibus spoliis atque captiuis. 2 Extat oratio eiusdem missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est : “Brevi tempore, p. c., tot bella gessi quot nemo veterum. Tantum praedae in Romanum solum attuli, quantum sperari non potuit. Tantum captivorum adduxi, ut vix sola Romana sufficiant.” creliqua orationis ad hanc rem [non] necessaria. 3 Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo concipiens usque ad oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem redigere; 4 quod fecisset, si vixisset, ut Herodianus dicit, Graecus scriptor, qui ei, quantum videmus, in odium Alexandri plurimum favit. 5 Sed cum Romani eius crudelitatem ferre non possent, quod delatores evocaret, accusatores inmitteret, crimina fingeret, innocentes occideret, damnaret omnes, quicumque in iudicium venissent, ex ditissimis hominibus pauperrimos faceret nec eliunde nisi malo alieno pecuniam quaereret, deinde sine delicto consulares viros et duces multos interimeret, alios siccis vehiculis exhiberet, alios in custodia detineret, nihil denique praetermitteret, quod ad crudelitatem videretur operari, contra eum defectionem pararunt. 6 Nec solum Romani sed, quia et in milites saeviebat, exercitus, qui in Africa erat, subita et ingenti seditione Gordianum senem, virum gravissimum, qui erat pro consule, imperatorem fecerunt. Cuius factionis hic ordo fuit.

XIV. 1 Erat fisci procurator in Libya, qui omnes Maximini studio spoliaverat; hic per rusticanam plebem, deinde et quosdam milites interemptus est pel[lentes] eos, qui rationalem in honorem Maximini defendebant. 2 Sed cum viderent auctores caedis eius acrioribus remediis sibi sebvniendum esse, Gordianum proconsulem, virum, ut diximus, venerabilem, natu grandiozem, omni virtutum genere florentem, ab Alexandro ex senatus consulto in Africam missum, reclamantem et se terrae adfligentem, opertum purpura imperare coegerunt, instantes cum gladiis et cum omni genere telorum. 3 Et primo quidem invitus Gordianus purpuram sumpserat, postea vero, cum vidit neque filio neque familiae suae tutum id esse, volens suscepit imperium et appellatus est omnibus Afris Augustus cum filio apud oppidum Tysdrum. 4 Inde propere Carthaginem venit cum pompa regali et protectoribus et fascibus laureatis, unde Romam ad

senatum litteras misit, quae occiso Vitaliano, duce militum praetorianorum, in odium Maximini gratanter acceptae sunt. 5 Appellati etiam Gordianus senex et Gordianus iuvenis a senatu Augusti.

XV. 1 Interfecti deinde omnes delatores, omnes accusatores, omnes amici Maximini, interfectus est Sabinus praefectus urbis percussus in populo. 2 Ubi haec gesta sunt, senatus magis timens Maximinum aperte ac libere hostes appellat Maximinum et eius filium. 3 Litteras deinde mittit ad omnes provincias, ut communi saluti libertatique subveniant; quae audita sunt ab omnibus. 4 Denique ubique amici et administratores et duces tribuni et milites Maximini interfecti sunt; 5 paucae civitates fidem hosti publico servaverunt, quae proditis his, qui missi ad eos fuerant, ad Maximinum cito per indices detulerunt. 6 Litterarum senatus exemplum hoc fuit: “Senatus populusque Romanus per Gordianos principes a tristissima belua liberari coeptus proconsulibus, praesidibus, legatis, ducibus, tribunis, magistratibus ac singulis civitatibus et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis salutem, quam nunc primum recipere coepit, dicit. 7 Dis faventibus Gordianum proconsularem, virum sanctissimum et gravissimum senatorem, principem meruimus, Augustum appellavimus, nec solum illum, sed etiam in subsidium rei p. filium eius Gordianum, nobilem iuvenem. 8 Vestrum nunc est consentire ad salutem rei p. optinendam et ad scelera defendenda et ad illam beluam atque illius amicos, ubicumque fuerint, persequendos. 9 A nobis etiam Maximinus cum filio suo hostis est iudicatus.”

XVI. 1 Senatus consulti autem hoc fuit exemplum: cum ventum esset in aedem Castorum die VI. kl. Iuliarum, acceptas litteras Iunius Silanus consul ex Africa Gordiani imperatoris, patris patriae, proconsulis recitavit: 2 “invitum me, p. c., iuvenes, quibus Africa tuenda commissa est, ad imperium vocarunt. Sed intuitu vestri necessitatem libens sustineo. Vestrum est aestimare, quid velitis. Nam ego usque ad senatus iudicium incertus et varius fluctuabo.” 3 Lectis litteris statim senatus adclamavit: “Gordiane Auguste, di te servent. Felix imperes. Salvus imperes. Tu nos liberasti. Per te salva res p.; omnes tibi gratias agimus.” 4 Item consul rettulit: “P. c., de Maximinis quid placet?” Responsum est: “Hostes, hostes. Qui eos occiderit, praemium merebitur.” 5 Item consul dixit: “De amicis Maximini quid vide[re]tur?” Adclamatum est: “Hostes, hostes. Qui eos occiderit, praemium merebitur.” 6 Item adclamatum est: “Inimicus senatus in crucem tollatur. Hostis senatus ubicumque feriat. Inimici senatus vivi exurantur. Gordiani Augusti, di vos servent. Ambo feliciter agatis, ambo feliciter imperetis. 7 Nepoti Gordiani praeturam decernimus, nepoti Gordiani consulatum spondemus. Nepos Gordiani Caesar appelletur. Tertius Gordianus praeturam accipiat.”

XVII. 1 Ubi hoc senatus consultum Maximinus accepit, homo natura ferus sic

exarsit, ut non hominem sed beluam putares. 2 Iaciebat se in parietes, nonnumquam terrae se prosternebat, exclamabat incondite, arripiebat gladium, quasi senatum posset occidere, conscindebat vestem regiam, aliquos verberibus adficiebat, et nisi de medio recessisset, ut quidam sunt auctores, oculos filio adolescentulo sustulisset. 3 Causa autem iracundiae contra filium haec fuit, quod eum Romam ire iusserat, cum primum imperator factus est, et ille patris nimio amore neglexerat; putabat autem, quod, si ille Romae fuisset, [et] nihil ausurus esset senatus. 4 Ardentem igitur iracundia amici intra cubiculum receperunt. 5 Sed cum furorem suum tenere non posset, ut oblivionem dicitur, eo usque ut, quid actum esset, ignoraret. Alia sane die admissis amicis, qui eum videre non poterant sed tacebant et qui factum senatus tacite laudabant, consilium habuit, quid facto opus esset. 7 De consilio ad contionem processit, in qua contione multa in Afros, multa in Gordianum, plura in senatum dixit cohortatusque milites ad communes iniurias vindicandas.

XVIII. 1 Contio denique omnis militaris fuit, cuius hoc exemplum est: “Conmilites, rem vobis notam proferimus: Afri fidem fregerunt. Nam quando tenuerunt? Gordianus senex debilis et morti vicinus sumpsit imperium. 2 Sanctissimi autem p. c. illi, qui et Romulum et Caesarem occiderunt, me hostem iudicaverunt, cum pro his pugnarem et ipsis vincerem, nec solum me sed etiam vos et omnes, qui mecum sentiunt, et Gordianos, patrem ac filium, Augustos vocarunt. 3 Ergo si viri estis, si vires habetis, eamus contra senatum et Afros, quorum omnium bona vos habebitis.” 4 Dato igitur stipendio, et quidem ingenti, Romam versus cum exercitu proficisci coepit.

XIX. 1 Sed Gordianus in Africa primum a Capeliano quodam agitari coepit, cui Mauros regenti successorem dederat. 2 Contra quem filium iuvenem cum misisset, acerrima pugna interfecto filio ipse laqueo vitam finiit, sciens et in Maximino multum esse roboris et in Afris nihil virium, multum quin immo perfidiae. 3 Tunc Capelianus victor pro Maximino omnes Gordiani [metu] partium in Africa interemit atque proscripsit nec cuiquam pepercit, prorsus ut ex animo Maximini videretur haec facere. 4 Civitates denique subvertit, fana diripuit, donaria militibus divisit, plebem et principes civitatum concidit. 5 Ipse praeterea militum animos sibi conciliabat, proludens ad imperium, si Maximinus perisset.

XX. 1 Haec ubi Romam anuntiata sunt, senatus Maximini et naturalem et iam necessariam crudelitatem timens mortuis duobus Gordianis Maximum ex praefecto urbi et qui plurimas dignitates praecipue gessisset, ignobilem genere sed virtutibus clarum [et Balbinum], moribus delictiorem, imperatores creavit. 2 Quibus a populo Augustis appellatis per milites et eundem populum etiam parvulus nepos Gordiani Caesar est dictus. 3 Tribus igitur imperatoribus contra

Maximinum fulta res p. est. 4 Horum tamen Maximus vita severior, prudentia gravior, virtute constantior. 5 Denique ipsi contra Maximinum et senatus et Balbinus bellum crediderunt. 6 Profecto igitur ad bellum Maximo contra Maximinum Balbinus Romae bellis intestinis et domesticis seditionibus urgebatur occisis praecipue — per populum [auctoribus] Gallicano et Maecenate. Qui quidem populus a praetorianis laniatus est, cum Balbinus resistere seditionibus non satis posset. Denique magna pars urbis incensa est. 7 Et recreatus quidem imperator fuerat Maximinus audita morte Gordiani atque eius filii Capeliani victoria; 8 verum ubi aliud senatus consultum accepit, quo Maximus et Balbinus et Gordianus imperatores appellati sunt, intellexit senatus odia esse perpetua et se vere hostem omnium iudicio haberi.

XXI. 1 Acrior denique Italiam ingressus est. Ubi cum consperisset Maximum contra se missum, vehementius saeviens quadrato agmine Hemonam venit. 2 Sed provincialium omnium consilium hoc fuit, ut sublatis omnibus, quae victum praebere possent, intra civitates se reciperent, ut Maximinus cum exercitu fame urgueretur. 3 Denique ubi primum castra in campo posuit neque quicquam commeatum repperit, incensus contra eum exercitus suus, quod fame in Italia laboraret, in qua post Alpes recreari se posse credebat, murmurare primum coepit, deinde etiam aliqua libere dicere. 4 Haec cum vellet vindicare, multum exarsit exercitus. Et odium tacitum in tempus distulit, quod loco suo statim prodidit. 5 Plerique sane dicunt ipsam Hemonam vacuum et desertam inventam esse a Maximino, stulte laetante, quod quasi sibi civitas tota cessisset. 6 Post hoc Aquileiam venit, quae contra eum armatis circa muros dispositis portas clausit, nec propugnatio defuit Menofilo et Crispino consularibus viris auctoribus.

XXII. 1 Cum igitur frustra obsideret Aquileiam, Maximinus legatos in eandem urbem misit. Quibus populus paene consenserat, ni Menofilus cum collega restitisset, dicens etiam deum Belenum per haruspices respondisse Maximinum esse vincendum. 2 Unde etiam postea Maximiniani milites iactasse dicuntur Apollinem contra se pugnasce, nec illam Maximi aut senatus sed deorum fuisse victoriam. 3 Quod quidam idcirco ab his fictum esse dicunt, quod erubescabant armati[s] sic paene ab inermibus victi. 4 Ponte itaque cupis facto Maximinus fluvium transivit et de proximo Aquileiam opsiderare coepit. 5 Ingens autem oppugnatio et discrimen tunc fuit, cum se cives sulfure et flammis ceterisque huius modi propugnaculis a militibus defenderent; quorum alii nudabantur armis, aliorum vestes incendebantur, aliorum oculi extinguebantur, diruebantur etiam machinamenta. 6 Inter haec Maximinus cum filio adulescente, quem Caesarem appellaverat, circumire muros, quantum a teli iactu satis tutus esse posset, nunc suos verbis, nunc oppidanos rogare. 7 Verum nihil profecit. Nam multa et in eum crudelitatis causa et in filium, qui speciosissimus erat, probra congesta sunt.

XXIII. 1 Quare Maximinus sperans suorum ignavia bellum trahi duces suos interemit, eo tempore quo minime oportebat. Unde sibi milites etiam iratiores reddidit. 2 Huc accedebat, quod defiebat commeatibus, quia senatus ad omnes provincias et portuum custodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid commeatuum in Maximini potestatem veniret. 3 Miserat praeterea per omnes civitates praetorios et quaestorios viros, quyi ubique custodias agerent et omnia contra Maximinum defenderent. 4 Effectum denique est, ut opsessi angustias obsidens ipse pateretur. 5 Nuntiabatur inter haec orbem terrarum consensisse in odium Maximini. 6 Quare timentes milites, quorum adfectus in Albano monte erant, medio forte die, cum a proelio quiesceretur, et Maximinum et filium eius in tentorio positos occiderunt eorumque capita praefixa contis Aquileiensibus demonstrarunt. 7 In oppido igitur vicino statim Maximini statuae atque imagines depositae sunt, et eius praet. Occisus est cum amicis clarioribus. Missa etiam Romam capita sunt eorum.

XXIV. 1 Hic finis Maximinorum fuit, dignus crudelitate patris, indignus bonitate filii. Quibus mortuis ingens laetitia provincialium, dolor gravissimus barbarorum. 2 Sed milites interfectis publicis hostribus recepti sunt ab oppidanis rogantes, et primum ita ut ante imagines Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani adorarent, cum omnes dicerent priore Gordianos in deos relatos. 3 Post hoc ingens ex Aquileia commeatu in castra, quae laborabant fame, praetio traductus reffectisque militibus alia die ad contionem ventum est, et omnes in Maximi et Balbini verba iurarunt, Gordianos priores divos appellantes. 4 Dici vix potest, quanta laetitia fuerit, cum Romam per Italiam caput Maximini fertur, occurrentibus cunctis ad gaudium publicum. 5 Et Maximus quidem, quem multi Puppienum putant, apud Ravennam bellum parabat per Germanorum auxilia; qui ubi conperit consensisse exercitum sibi et collegis suis, occiso autem esse Maximinos, 6 quare statim dimissis Germanorum auxiliis, quae sibi contra hostem paraverat, Romam laureatas litteras misit, quae in urbem ingentem laetitiam fecerunt, ita ut omnes per aras et templa et sacella et loca religiosa gratias agerent. 7 Balbinus autem, homo timidior natura et qui, cum Maximini nomen audiret, etiam tremere, hecatombem fecit iussitque per omnes civitates pari sacrificio supplicari. 8 Dein Maximus Romam venit senatumque ingressus actis sibi gratiis contionem habuit, atque inde in Palatium cum Balbino et Gordiano victores se receperunt.

XXV. 1 Interest scire, quale senatus consultum fuerit vel qui dies urbis, cum est nuntiatus interemptus Maximinus: 2 iam primum is, qui ex Aquileiensi Romam missus fuerat, tanto impetu mutatis animalibus cucurrit, ut quarta die Romam veniret, cum apud Ravennam Maximum reliquisset. 3 Et forte dies ludorum erat, cum subito sendete Balbino et Gordiano theatrum nuntius

ingressus est, atque, antequam aliquid indicaretur, omnis populus exclamavit: “Maximinus occisus est”. 4 Ita et nuntius praeventus, et imperatores, qui aderant, gaudium publicum nutu et consensu indicaverunt. 5 Soluta igitur spectaculo omnes statim ad suas religiones convolarunt, atque inde ad senatum principes, populus ad contionem cucurrerunt.

XXVI. 1 Senatus consultum hoc fuit: recitatis in senatu[s] per Balbinum Augustum litteris adclamavit [senatus]: 2 “Senatus hostes, populi R. hostes dii persecuntur. Iuppiter optime, tibi gratias. Apollo venerabilis, tibi gratias. Maxime Auguste, tibi gratias. Balbine Auguste, tibi gratias. Divis Gordianis templa decernimus. 3 Maximini nomen olim erasum nunc animis eradendum. Hostis publici caput in profluentem abiciatur. Corpus eius nemo sepeliat. Qui senatui mortem minatus est, ut merebatur, occisus est. Qui senatui vincla minatus est, ut debebat, interemptus est. 4 Sanctissimi imperatores, gratias vobis agimus. Maxime, Balbine, Gordiane, di vos servent. Victores hostium omnes desideramus. Praesentiam Maximi omnes desideramus. Balbine Auguste, dii te servent. Praesentem annum consules vos ornetis. In loco Maximini Gordianus sufficiatur.” 5 Post rogatus sententiam Cuspidius Celerinus haecverba habuit: “P. c., eraso nomine Maximinorum appellatisque divis Gordianis victoriae causa principibus nostris Maximo, Balbino et Gordiano statuas cum elephantis decernimus, currus triumphales decernimus, statuas equestres decernimus, trophaea decernimus.” 6 Post haec misso senatu supplicationesper totam urbem decretae. 7 Victores principes in Palatium se receperunt, de quorum vita in alio libro deinceps dicemus.

MAXIMINUS IUNIOR

XXVII. 1 [De] huius genere superius dictum est, ipse autem pulchritudinis fuit tantae, ut passim amatus sit a procacioribus feminis, nonnullae etiam optaverint de eo concipere. 2 Proceritatis videbatur posse illius esse, ut ad paternam staturam perveniret, si quidem anno vicesimo et primo perit, in ipso flore iuventutis, ut aliqui autem diceunt, octavo decimo, litteris et Graecis et Latinis inbutus ad primam disciplinam. 3 Nam usus est magistro Graeco litteratore Fabillo, cuius epigrammata Graeca multa et extant, maxime in imaginibus ipsius pueri. 4 Qui versus Graecos fecit ex illis Latinis Vergilii, cum ipsum puerum describeret:

Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit,
talis erat iuvenis patrio sub nomine clarus.

5 Grammatico Latino usus est Filemone, iuris peritp Modestino, oratore Tatiano, filio Titiani senioris, qui provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit et qui dictus est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus. Habuit et Graecum rhetorem Eugamium sui temporis clarum. 6 Desponsa illi erat Iunia Fadilla, proneptis Antonini, quam postea accepit Toxotius, eiusdem familiae senator, qui perit post praeturam, cuius etiam poemata exstant. 7 Manserunt autem apud eam arrae regiae, quae tales, it Iunius Cordus loquitur, (harum rerum persecutor est) fuisse dicuntur: 8 monolinum de albis novem, reticulum cum prasinis undecim, dextrocherrium cum costula de hyacinthis quattuor praeter vestes, auratas et omnes regias, ceteraque insignia sponsaliorum.

XXVIII. 1 Adulescens autem ipse Maximinus superbiae fuit insolentissimae, ita ut etiam, cum pater suus, homo crudelissimus, plerisque honoratis adsurgeret, ille resideret, 2 vitae laetioris, vini parcissimus, cibi avidus, maxime silvestris, ita ut nonnisi aprunam, anates, grues et omnia captiva ederet. 3 Infamabant eum ob nimiam pulchritudinem amici Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani et maxime senatores, qui speciem illam velut divinitus lapsam incorruptam esse noluerunt. 4 Denique illo tempore, quo circum Aquileiam muros circumiens cum patre deditionem urbis petebat, nihil aliud ei quam spurcicies obiecta est, quae longe ab illius fuitvita. 5 Vestibus tam adcuratus fuit, ut nulla mulier nitidior esset in mundo. 6 Amicis paternis inmane quantum obsecutus est, sed ut donaret ac largiretur. 7 Nam in salutionibus superbissimus erat et manum porrigebat et genua sibi osculari patiebatur, nonnumquam etiam pedes; quod numquam passus est senior Maximinus, qui dicebat: “Dii prohibeant, ut quisnam ingenuorum pedibus meis osculum figat”. 8 Et quoniam ad Maximinum s[enior]em revertimur, res iucunda praetereunda non est. Nam cum esset Maximinus pedum, ut diximus, octo et pro[e]pe semis, calciamentum eius, id est campagnum regium, quidam in luco, qui est inter Aquileiam et Arciam, posuerunt, quod constitit pede maius fuisse hominis vestigio mensura. 9 Unde etiam vulgo tractum est, cum de longis et ineptis hominibus diceretur “caliga que, Maximini”. 10 Quod idcirco indidi, ne, quis Cordum legeret, me praetermisisse crederet aliquid, quod ad rem pertineret. Sed redeam ad filium.

XXIX. 1 De hoc adolescente Alexander Aurelius ad matrem suam scribit Mamaeam, cupiens ei sororem suam Theocliam dare, in haec verba: 2 “Mi mater, si Maximinus senior dux noster et quidem optimus non aliquid in se barbarum contineret, iam ego Maximino iuniori Theocliam tuam dedissem. 3 Sed timeo, ne soror mea Graecis munditiis erudita barbarum socerum ferre non possit, quamvis ipse adulescens et pulcher et scolasticus et ad Graecas munditias eruditus esse videatur. 4 Haec quidem cogito sed te tamen consulo, utrum Maximinum, Maximini filium, generum velis an Messalam ex familia nobili,

oratorem potentissimum eundemque doctissimum et, nisi fallor, in rebus bellicis, si adplicetur, fortem futurum.” 5 Haec Alexander de Maximino. De quo nos nihil amplius habemus quod dicere. 6 Sane ne quid praetermissum esse videatur, etiam epistolam indidi patris Maximini, imperatoris iam facti, qui dicit idcirco se etiam filium suum appellasse imperatorem, ut videret urbs in pictura vel in veritate, qualis esset iunior Maximinus in purpura. 7 Fuit autem talis epistola: “Ego cum propter adfectum, quem pater filio debet, Maximinum meum imperatorem appellari permisi, tum etiam, ut populus Romanus et senatus ille antiquus iuraret se numquam pulchriorem imperatorem habuisse.” 8 Usus autem est idem adulescens et aurea lorica exemplo Ptolomaeorum, usus est et argentea, usus et clypeo gemmato inaurato et hasta inaurata. 9 Fecit et spatas argenteas, fecit etiam aureas et omnino quicquid aius pulchritudinem posset iuvare, fecit et gageas gemmatas, fecit et bucculas. 10 Haec sunt quae de puero sciri et dici decuit. Reliqua qui volet nosse de rebus Veneriis et amatoriis, quibus eum Cordus aspergit, eundem legat; nos enim hoc loco finem libri faciemus, ad alia, ut iubetur velut publico iure, properantes.

XXX. 1 Omina sane imperii haec fuerunt: serpens dormienti caput circumdedit. Posita ab eodem vitis intra annum ingentes uvas purpureas attulit et mirae magnitudinis facta est. 2 Scutum eius sub sole arsit. Lanceola sic fissata fulmine, ut tota etiam per ferrum finderetur et duas partes faceret. Quando dixerunt haruspices duos imperatores non diuturnos ex una domo isdem nominibus futuros. 3 Lorica patris eius non, ut solet, ferrugine sed tota purpureo colore infecta a plurimis visa est. 4 Filio autem haec fuerunt: cum grammatico daretur, quaedam parens sua libros Homericos omnes purpureos dedit aureis litteris scriptos. 5 Ipse puerulus cum ad cenam ab Alexandro esset rogatus in patris honorem, quod ei deesset vestis c[a]enatoria, ipsius Alexandri accepit. 6 Cum infans esset, subito per publicum veniente vehiculo Antonini Caracalli, quod vacuum erat, conscendit et sedit et vix aegreque a mulionibus carrucariis deturbatus est. 7 Nec defuerunt, qui cavendum infantem dicerent Caracallo. Tum ille dixit: “Longe est, ut mihi iste succedat.” Erat enim illo tempore interignobiles et nimis parvus.

XXXI. 1 Mortis omina haec fuerunt: venienti contra Maximum et Balbinum Maximino cum filio mulier quaedam passis crinibus occurrit lugubri habitu et exclamavit: “Maximini, Maximini, Maximini”, neque quicquam amplius dixit et mortua est; videbatur enim dicere voluisse: “Succurrite.” 2 Canes circa tentorium eius in secunda mansione ultra duodecim ulularunt et animam quasi flendo posuerunt ac prima luce mortui sunt depr[a]ehensi. 3 Lupi urbem quingenti simul ingressi sunt [in eam urbem], in quam se Maximinus contulerat; plerique dicunt Hemonam, alii Archimeam, certe quae deserta a civibus venienti

Maximino patuit. 4 Longum est omnia persequi, quae qui scire desiderat, is velim, ut saepe dixi, legat Cordum, qui haec omnia usque ad fabellam scripsit. 5 Sepulchra eorum nulla extant. In profluentem enim cadavera eorum missa sunt, et capita eorum in campo Martio insultante populo exusta.

XXXII. 1 Scribit Aelius Sabinus, quod praetermittendum non fuit, tantam pulchritudinem oris fuisse in filio, ut etiam caput eius mortui iam nigrum, iam sordens, iam maceratum, diffluente tabo, velut umbra pulchri oris videretur. 2 Denique cum ingens gaudium esset, quod caput Maximini videretur, prope par paeror erat, quod et filii pariter portaretur. 3 Addidit Dexippus tantum odium fuisse Maximini, ut interfectis Gordianis viginti viros senatus creaverit, quos opponeret Maximino. In quibus fuerunt Balbinus et Maximus, quos contra eum imperatores fecerunt. 4 Idem addidit in conspectu Maximini iam deserti a militibus et praefectum praetorio ipsius et filium eius occisum. 5 Nec desunt historici, qui dicant ipsum Maximinum, ubi desertus est et ubi filium interemptum ante oculos suos vidit, manu sua se interfecisse, ne quid ei muliebre contingeret.

XXXIII. 1 Praetereundum ne illud quidem est, quod tanta fide Aquileienses contra Maximinum pro senatu fuerunt, ut funes de capillis muliebribus facerent, cum deessent nervi ad sagittas emittendas. 2 Quod aliquando Romae dicitur factum, unde in honorem matronarum templum Veneri Calvae senatus dicavit. 3 Sane quod nullo in loco tacendum est: cum et Dexippus et Arrianus et multi alii Graeci scripserint Maximum et Balbinum imperatores contra Maximinum factos, Maximum autem cum exercitu missum et apud Ravennam bellum parasse, Aquileiam autem nisi victorem non victorem non vidisse, Latini scriptores non Maximum sed Puppienum contra Maximinum apud Aquileiam pugnassee dixerunt eundemque vicisse. 4 Qui error unde natus sit, scire non possum, nisi forte idem est Puppienus qui Maximus. Quod ideo testatum posui, ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet, quod re vera magnum stuporem ac miraculum creat.

GORDIANI TRES IULI CAPITOLINI

I. 1 Fuerat quidem consilium, venerabilis Auguste, ut singulos quosque imperatores exemplo multorum libris singulis ad tuam clementiam destinarem. 2 Nam id multos fecisse vel ipse videram vel lectione conceperant. 3 Sed inprobum visum est vel pietatem tuam tuam multitudine distingere librorum vel meum laborem plurimis voluminibus occupare. 4 Quare tres Gordianos hoc libro conexui, consulens et meo labori et lectioni tuae, ne cogeneris plurimos codices volvendo unam tamen paene historiam lectitare. 5 Sed ne ego, qui longitudinem librorum fugi multitudinemque verborum, in eam incurrisse videar, quam me urbane declinare confingo, iam rem adgrediar.

II. 1 Gordiani non, ut quidam inperiti scriptores locuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt, idque docente Arriano, scriptore Graecae historiae, docente item Dexippo, Graeco auctore, potuerunt addiscere, qui etiamsi breviter, ad finem tamen omnia persecuti sunt. 2 Horum Gordianus senior, id est primus, natus est patre Maecio Marullo, matre Ulpia Gordiana, originem paternam ex Gracchorum genere habuit, maternam ex Traiani imperatoris, patre, avo, proavo consulibus, socero, prosocero et item alio prosocero et duobus absoceris consulibus, 3 ipse consul ditissimus ac potentissimus, Romae Pompeianam domum possidens, in provinciis tantum terrarum habens quantum nemo privatus. 4 Is post consulatum, quem egerat cum Alexandro, ad proconsulatum Africae missus est ex senatus consulto.

III. 1 Sed priusquam de imperio eius loquar, dicam pauca de moribus: 2 adulescens cum esset Gordianus, de quo sermo est, poemata scripsit, quae omnia extant, et quidem cuncta illa quae Cicero, et de Mario et Arathum et Halcyonas et Uxorium et Nilum. Quae quidem ad hoc scripsit, ut Ciceronis poemata nimis antiqua viderentur. 3 Scripsit praeterea, quemadmodum Vergilius Aeneidos et Statius Achilleidos et multi alii Alexandridos, ita etiam ille Antoniniados, hoc est Antoninum Pium et Antoninum Marcum, versibus disertissimis libris triginta vitam illorum et bella et publice privatimque gesta perscribens. 4 Et haec quidem puerulus. postea vero ubi adolevit, in Athenaeo controversias declamavit, audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis. 5 Quaesturam magnificentissimam gessit. Aedilitatis suae tempore duodecim populo Romano munera, id est per singulos menses singula de suo exhibuit, ita ut gladiatorum nonnumquam quingena paria exhiberet, numquam minus centenis quinquagenis. 6 Feras Libycas una die centum exhibuit, ursos una mille. Extat silva eius memorabilis, quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompei, quae ipsius et patris eius et proavi fuit, quam Philippi temporibus vester fiscus invasit. 7 In qua pictura etiam nunc continentur cervi

palmati ducenti mixtis Brittannis, equi feri triginta, oves ferae centum, alces decem, tauri Cypriaci centum, strutiones Mauri miniati trecenti, onagri triginta, apri centum quinquaginta, ibices ducenti, dammae ducenti. 8 Haec autem omnia populo rapienda concessit die muneris, quod sextum edebat.

IV. 1 Praetoram nobilem gessit. Post iuris dictionem consulatum primum iniit cum Antonino Caracallo, secundum cum Alexandro. 2 Filios duos habuit, illum consularem, qui cum ipso Augustus appellatus est, qui iuxta Carthaginem in Africa bello absumptus est, et filiam Maeciam Faustinam, quae nupta est Iunio Balbo, consulari viro. 3 In consulatibus clarior fuit sui temporis consulibus, ita ut ei Antoninus invideret, modo praetextas eius, modo latum clavum, modo circenses ultra imperatorium mirans modum. 4 Palmatam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum privatus suam propriam habuit, cum ante imperatores etiam vel de Capitolio acciperent vel de Palatio. 5 Equos Siculos centum, Cappadoces centum permittentibus imperatoribus factionibus divisit, et per haec populo satis carus, qui semper talibus commovetur. 6 Cordus sicut in omnibus civitatibus Campaniae, Etruriae et Umbriae, Flaminiae, Piceni de proprio illum per quadriduum ludos scaenicos et iuvenalia edidisse. 7 Scripsit et laudes soluta oratione omnium Antoninorum, qui ante eum fuerunt. Tantum autem Antoninos dilexit, ut sibi quoque, ut multi dicunt, Antonini, ut plerique autem adserunt, Antonii nomen adscripserit. 8 Iam illud satis constat, quod filium, Gordianum nomine, Antonini signo inlustraverit, cum apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis eius nomen insereret.

V. 1 Post consulatum proconsul Africae factus est adnitentibus cunctis, qui Alexandri imperium etiam in Africa clarum per proconsulis dignitatem haberi atque esse voluerunt. 2 Extat epistola ipsius Alexandri, qua senatui gratias agit, quod Gordianum ad Africam proconsulem destinaverit. 3 Cuius hoc exemplum est : “Neque gratius nihi quicquam, p. c., neque dulcius potuistis efficere, quam ut Antoninum Gordianum proconsulum ad Africam mitteretis, virum nobilem, magnanimum, disertum, iustum, continentem, bonum” et reliqua. 4 Ex quo apparet, quantus vir eo tempore Gordianus fuerit. 5 Amatus est ab Afris ita, ut nemo antea proconsulum, ita ut eum alii Scipionem, Catonem alii, multi Mucium ac Rutilium aut Laelium dicerent. 6 Extat eorum adclamatio, quae a Iunio in litteras relata est. 7 Nam cum quadam die factum imperatorium legeret atque a proconsulibus Scipionibus coepisset, adclatum est : “Novo Scipioni, vero Scipioni, Gordiano proconsuli.” Haec et alia frequenter audivit.

VI. 1 Et erat quidem longitudine Romana, canitie decora et pompali vultu, ruber magis quam candidus, facie bene lata, oculis, ore, fronte verendus, corporis qualitate subcrassulus, 2 moribus ita moderatus, ut nihil possis dicere, quod ille aut cupide aut immodeste aut nimie fecerit. 3 Affectus suos unice dilexit, filium

et nepotem ultra morem, filium et nepotem religiose. 4 Socero suo Annio Severo tantum detulit, ut in familiam eius quasi filium migrasse se crederet, numquam cum eo laverit, numquam illo praesente sederit ante praetoram. 5 Consul cum esset, aut in domo eius semper mansit aut, si in Pompeiana domo, ad illum vel mane vel sero processit. 6 Vini parcus, cibi parcissimus, vestitu nitidus, lavandi cupidus, ita ut et quarto et quinto in die lavaret aestate, hieme secundo. 7 Somni plurimi, ita ut in tricliniis, si forte apud amicos ederet, etiam sine pudore dormiret. Quod videbatur facere per naturam, non per ebrietatem atque luxuriam.

VII. 1 Sed boni mores nihil ei profuerunt. Hac enim vita[e] venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele, cum Tullio, cum Vergilio ceterisque veteribus agens alium quam exitum passus est. 2 Nam cum temporibus Maximini, hominis saevi atque truculenti, pro consule Africam regeret, iam ex consulibus filio sibimet legato a senatu dato, cumque quidam rationalis acrius contra plurimos Afrorum saeviret quam Maximinus ipse pateretur, proscribens plurimos, interficiens multos et sibi ultra procuratorem omnia vindicans, retunsus deinde a proconsule atque legato nobilibus et consularibus viris ipsis minaretur excidium, Afri tam insolentes iniurias ferre nequiverunt et primum ipsum rationalem adiunctis sibi plerique militibus occiderunt. 3 Occiso deinde eo, cum iam orbis terrarum odio contra Maximinum arderet, coeperunt cogitare, quemadmodum seditio inter Maximinianos et rusticos vel Afros orta placaretur. 4 Tunc quidam Mauricius nomine, potens apud Afros decurio, iuxta Tysdrum nobilissima posthac oratione apud plebem vel urbanam vel rusticanam in agro suo velut contionabundus est locutus :

VIII. 1 “Gratias diis immortalibus, cives, quod occasionem dederunt, et quidem necessariam, providendi nobis contra hominem furiosissimum Maximinum. 2 Nos enim, qui procuratorem eius moribus et vitae consimilem occidimus, nisi facto imperatore salvi esse non possumus. 3 Quodcirca, si placet, quoniam non longe est nobilissimus vir pro consule cum filio, consulari legato, quorum utrique mortem pestis illa est minata, sublata de vexillis purpura imperatores eos dicemus adhibitisque insignibus Romano iure firmabimus”. 4 Tunc adclamatum est: “Aequum est, iustum est. Giordane Auguste, di te servent. feliciter imperator es, cum filio imperes.” 5 His actis propere ventum est ad oppidum Tysdrum, inventusque senex venerabilis post iuris doctiorem iacens un lectulo, qui circumfusus purpura humi se abiecit ac retrectans elevatus est. 6 Et cum aliud facere nihil posset, evitandi periculi gratia, quod (a) Maximinianis <dubie, a> fautoribus <necessario> imminebat, imperatorem se appellari senex passus est.

IX. 1 Erat autem iam octogenarius et plurimis provinciis, ut diximus, ante praefuerat; populo Romano ita commendatus suis actibus erat, ut toto dignus

videretur imperio. 2 <de ration>ali[i] quidem occiso Gordianus ante nescierat. sed ubi rem conperit, iam mortis vicinus et filio magis tiomens, maluit honestas causas habere moriendi quam dedi vinculis e[s]t carceri Maximini. 3 Appellato igitur Gordiano imperatore iuvenes, qui auctores huius facinoris erant, statuas Maximini deiecerunt, imagines perfregerunt, nomen publicitus eraserunt, ipsum etiam Gordianum Africanum appellaverunt. 4 Addunt quidam Africani cognomentum Gordiano idcirco inditum, non quod in Africa impoerare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia originem traheret. 5 In plurimis autem libris invenio et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, alii vero Antonios. 6 Post hoc Carthaginem ventum cum pompa regali et fascibus laureatis, filiusque legatus patris, exemplo Scipionum, ut Dexippus Graecae historiae <scriptor> auctor est, pari potestate succinctus est. 7 Missa deinceps legatio Romam est cum litteris Gordianorum haec, quae gesta fuerant in Africa, indicans, quae per Valerianum, principem senatus, qui postea imperavit, gratanter accepta est. 8 Missae sunt et ad amicos nobiles litterae, ut amines potentes et rem probarent et amiciores fierent ex amicis.

X. 1 Sed tanta gratulationes factos contra Maximinum imperatores senatus accepit, ut non solum gesta haec probarent sed etiam vigintiviros eligerent, inter quos erat Maximinus sive Puppienus et Clodius Balbinus. Qui ambo imperatores sunt creati, posteaquam Gordiani duo in Africa interempti sunt. 2 Illos sane viginti senatus ad hoc creaverat, ut divideret his Italicas regiones contra Maximinum pro Gordianis tuendas. 3 Tunc legationes a Maximino Romam venerunt abolitionem praeteritorum spondentes. 4 Sed vicit Gordianorum legatio, quae bona omnia pollicabatur, ita ut eidem crederetur et ingens militibus stipendium et populo agros atque congiara promittenti. 5 Usque adeo autem magis Gordianis quam Maximinis est creditum, ut Vitalianus quidam, qui praetorianis militibus praeerat, per audacissimos quaestorem et milites iussu senatus occideretur, quod se antea crudeliter egerat, et tunc eius magis inmanitas timebatur, amica et familiaris moribus Maximini. 6 De cuius morte haec fabella fertur. fictae sunt litterae Maximini, signatae quasi eiusdem anulo, et missi cum quaetore milites, qui eas ferrent, addentes quaedam praeter litteras secreto esse dicenda. 7 Longam igitur porticum petiverunt, et cum ille ea, quae sibi erant secreto dicenda, perquireret, hortantibus, ut prius signum inspiceret epistolae, dum considerat, interemptus est. 8 Persuasum deinde est militibus iussu[m] Maximini Vitalianum interemptum. peractisque rebus in castris Gordianorum et litterae et vultus sunt propositi.

XI. 1 Interest, ut senatus consultum, quo Gordiani imperatores appellati sunt et Maximinus hostis, litteris propagetur : 2 non legitimo sed indicto senatus die

consul iam domi conventus cum praetoribus, aedilibus et tribunis plebis venit in curiam. 3 Praefectus urbi, cui nescio qui redoluerat et qui publicas litteras non acceperat, a conventu se abstinuit. sed profuit, nam consul ante solitas adclamationes, priusquam aliquid in Maximinum feliciter diceretur, ait : 4 “P. c., Gordiani duo, pater et filius, ambo ex consulibus, unus vester pro consule, alter vester legatus, magno Afrorum consilio imperatores sunt appellati. 5 Gratias igitur agamus Tysdritanae iuventuti, gratias Carthaginensi populo semper devoto : ad inmani nos belua, ab illa fera vindicaverunt. 6 Quid timide auditis? Quid circumspicitis? Quid cunctamini? Hoc est quod semper optastis. 7 Hostis est Maximinus : dii facient, ut esse iam desinat, et Gordiani senis felicitatem atque prudentiam, iuvenis virtutem atque constantiam laeti experiamur.” 8 Post haec litteras legit Gordianorum ad senatum et ad semissas. 9 Tunc adclamavit senatus : “Dii vobis gratias. Liberati ab hostibus sumus : sic penitus liberemur. Maximinum hostem omnes iudicamus. Maximinum cum filio dis inferis devovemus. 10 Gordianos Augustos appellamus. Gordianos principes agnoscimus. Imperatores de senatu dii conservent, imperatores nobiles victores videamus, imperatores nostros Roma videat. Hostes publicos qui occiderit, praemium meretur.”

XII. 1 Dicit Iunius Cordus istud senatus consultum tacitum fuisse. Quod quale sit aut quare sic appellatum, brevi exponam : 2 omnino exemplum senatus consulti taciti non aliud est hodie, quam quo vestra clementia convocatis ad interiora maioribus ea disponit, quae non sunt omnibus publicanda; de quibus adiurare etiam soletis, ne quis ante rem completam quicquam vel audiat vel intellegat. 3 Hunc autem morem apud veteres necessitates publicae reppererunt, ut, si forte aliqua vis ab hostibus immineret, quae cogeret vel humilia captare consilia vel aliqua constituere, quae non prius oporteret dici quam effici, vel si nollent ad amicos aliqua permanere, senatus consultum tacitum fieret, ita ut non scribae, non servi publici, non censuales illis actibus interessent, senatores exciperent, senatores omnium officia censualium scribarumque conplerent, ne quid forte proderetur. 4 Factum est ergo senatus consultum tacitum, ne res ad Maximinum perveniret.

XIII. 1 Sed statim illa, ut se habent hominum mentes, eorum dumtaxat qui erubescunt per se ea nonagnosci, quae sciunt, et humiles se putant, si commissa non prodant, omnia comperit Maximinus, ita ut exemplum senatus consulti taciti acciperet, quod numquam antea fuerat factitatum. 2 Extat denique eius epistola ad praefectum urbi talis : “Senatus consultum tacitum nostrorum illorum principum legi, quod tu, praefectus urbi, factum esse fortasse non nostri, nam nec interfuisti. Cuius exemplum ad te misi, ut scires, quomodo Romanam rem p. regeres.” 3 Enarrari autem non potest, quae commotio fuerit Maximini, cum

audivit contra se Africam descivisse. 4 Nam senatus auctoritate percepta incurrere in parietes, vestem scindere, gladium arripere, quasi omnes posset occidere, prorsus fuere videbatur. 5 Praefectus urbi acceptis litteris acrioribus populum et milites adlocutus est, dicens Maximinum iam occisum. 6 Ex quo gaudium maius fuit, statimque deiectae sunt statuae atque imagines eius, qui hostis fuerat iudicatus. 7 Usus est sane senatus pendente bello potestate, qua debuit. Nam delatores, calumniatores, procuratores et omnem illam faecem Maximiniana tyrannidis occidi iussit. 8 Atque parum fuit quod senatus iudicaverat, illud populi iudicium fuit, quod occisi tracti sunt et in cloacam missi. 9 Tunc est praefectus urbi Sabinus, consularis iam vir, fuste percussus occisus et in publico derelictus est.

XIV. 1 Haec ubi comperit Maximinus, statim cohortatus est milites hoc genere contionis : “Sacрати conmilitiones, immo etiam mi consecranei et quorum mecum plerique vere militatis, dum nos a Germania Romanam defendimus maiestatem, dum nos Illyricum a barbaris vindicamus, Afri Punicam praestiterunt. 2 Nam duos nobis Gordianos, quorum alter senio ita fractus est, ut non possit adsurgere, alter ita luxurie perditus, ut debilitatem habeat pro senectute, imperatores fecerunt. 3 Et ne hoc parum es[t]set, factum Afrorum nobilis ille senatus agnovit, et pro quorum liberis arma portamus, hi contra nos viginti viros statuerunt et omnes velut contra hostes sententias protulerunt. 4 Quin immo agite, ut viros decet: properandum est ad urbem. Nam et viginti viri consulares contra nos lecti sunt, quibusque resistendum est nobis fortiter agentibus, vobis feleciter dimicantibus.” 5 Lentas militum mentes et non alacres animos hac contione et Maximinus ipse cognovit. 6 Denique statim ad filium scripsit. qui longe post sequebatur, ut adceleraret, ne quid contra eum se absente milites cogitarent. 7 Litterarum exemplum tale Iunius Cordus edidit: “Refert ad te stipator meus Tynchanus, quae gesta cognovi vel in Africa vel Romae, refert, quae sint militum mentes. 8 Quaeso, quantum potes, prosperes, ne quid, ut solet, militaris turba plus faciat. Quid verear, ex eo audies, quem ad te misi.”

XV. 1 Dum haec aguntur, in Africa contra duos Gordianos Capelianus quidam, Gordiano et in privata vita semper adversus et ab ipso imperatore iam, cum Mauros Maximini iussu regeret veteranus, dimissus, conlectis Mauris et tumultuaria manu accpeto a Gordiano successore Carthaginem petit, ad quem omnis fide Punica Carthaginensium populus inclinavit. 2 Gordianus tamen fortunam belli experiri cupiens filium suum iam natu grandiolem, quadraginta et sex annos agentem, quem tunc legati loco, ut diximus, habuerat, contra Capelianum et Maximinianos misit, virum de cuius moribus suo loco dicemus. 3 Sed cum in re militari et Capelianus esset audacior et Gordianus iunior non tam exercitatus, quippe qui nobilitatis deliciis tardaretur, pugna commissa vincitur et

in eodem bello interficitur.

XVI. 1 Fertur autem tanta multitudino Gordiani partium in bello cecidisse, ut, cum diu quaesitum sit corpus Gordiani iunioris, non potuerit inveniri. 2 Fuit praeterea ingens, quae raro in Africa est, tempestas, quae Gordiani exercitum ante bellum ita dissipavit, ut minus idonei milites proelio fierent, atque ita facilis esset Capeliani victoria. 3 Haec ubi comperrit senior Gordianus, cum in Africa nihil praesidii et a Maximino multum timoris et fides Punica perurgueret, et acerrime Capelianus instaret, luctus deinde mentem atque animum fatigaret, laqueo vitam finivit. 4 Hic exitus duorum Gordianorum fuit, quos ambos senatus Augustos appellavit et postea inter divos rettulit.

GORDIANUS IUNIOR

XVII. 1 Hic Gordiani senis, proconsulis Africae, filius, qui cum patre et ab Afris et a senatu Augustus appellatus est, litteris et moribus clarus fuit praeter nobilitatem <quam>, ut nonnulli, ab Antoninis, ut plurimi, ab Antoniis duxit. 2 Si quidem argumento ad probandam generis qualitatem alii hoc esse edisserant, quod Africanus Gordianus senior appellatus est cognomine Scipionum, quod domum Pompeianum in urbe habuit, quod Antoninorum cognomine semper est nuncupatus, quod Antonium filium suum ipse significari voluit in senatu : quae singulas videntur familias designare. 3 Sed ego Iunium Cordum sequor, qui dicit ex omnibus his familiis Gordianorum coaluisse nobilitatem. 4 Idem igitur natus patri primus ex Fabia Orestila, Antonini pronepote, unde Caesarum quoque familiam contingere videbatur. 5 Et primis diebus sui natalis Antoninus est appellatus, mox in senatu Antonii nomen est editum, vulgo deinde Gordianus haberi coeptus.

XVIII. 1 In studiis gravissimae opinionis fuit, forma conspicuus, memoriae singularis, bonitatis insignis, adeo ut semper in scholis, si qui puerorum verberaretur, ille lacrimas non teneret. 2 Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus, usque adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur as sexaginta et duo milia, [qui] Gordiano minori moriens ille relinqueret. 3 Quod eum ad caelum tulit, si quidem tantae bibliothecae copia <et> splendore donatus in famam hominum litterarum decore pervenit. 4 Quaesturam Heliogabalo auctore promeruit, idcirco quod luxurioso imperatori lascivia iuvenis, non tamen luxuriosa neque infamis, praedicata est. 5 Praeturam Alexandro auctore urbanam tenuit, in qua tantus iurus dictionis gratia fuit, ut statim consulatum, quem pater sero acceperat, mereretur. 6 Maximini seu eiusdem Alexandri temporibus ad proconsulatum patris missus legatus est a senatu atque illic ea, quae superius

dicta sunt, contigerunt.

XIX. 1 Fuit vini cupidior, semper tamen undecumque conditi, nunc rosa, nunc mastice, nunc absentio ceterisque rebus, quibus gula maxime delectatur. 2 Cibi parcus, ita ut intra punctum temporis vel prandium si pranderet, vel cenam finiret. 3 Mulierum cupidissimus; habuisse enim decretas sibi concubinas viginti et duas fertur, ex quibus omnibus ternos et quaternos filios dereliquit. 4 Appellatus est sui temporis Priamus, quem vulgo iocantes, quod esset natura propensior, Priapum, non Priamum, saepe vocitarunt. 5 Vixit in deliciis, in hortis, in balneis, in amoenissimis nemoribus, nec pater aspernatus est, sapissime dicens illum quandocumque in summa claritate cito esse moriturum. 6 Nec tamen <in> vita sua fortitudine bonis umquam degeneravit, semperque inter inlustrissimos fuit cives nec rei p. ad consultationem defuit. 7 Denique etiam senatus libentissime illum Augustum appellavit atque in eo spem publicam posuit. Vestitu cultissimus, servis et omnibus suis carus. 8 Cordus dicit uxorem eum numquam habere voluisse. 9 Contra Dexippus putat eius filium esse Gordiamum tertium, qui post hoc cum Balbino et Puppieno sive Maximo puerulus est adeptus imperium.

XX. 1 Cum senior Gordianus mathematicum aliquando consuleret de genitura huius, respondisse ille dicitur hunc et filium imperatoris et patrem ipsum imperatorem futurum. 2 Et cum senior Gordianus rideret, ostendisse constellationem mathematicum ferunt et de libris veteribus dictasse, ita ut probaret se vera dixisse. 3 Qui quidem et seni et iuveni et diem et genus mortis et loca, quibus essent perituri, opstinata constantia e veritae praedixit. 4 Quae omnia postea Gordiano senior in Africa, iam imperator et quando nihil timebat, narasse perhibetur, de morte quin etiam sua filiique et de genere mortis dixisse. 5 Cantabat praeterea versus senex, cum Gordianum filium vidisset, hos saepissime :

Ostendent terris <hunc> tantum {hunc} fata neque ultra
esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.

6 Extant dicta et soluta oratione et versibus Gordiani iunioris, quae hodie ab eius adfinibus frequentantur, non magna, non minima sed media et quae appareat hominis esse ingeniosi sed luxuriantis et suum deserentis ingenium.

XXI. 1 Pomorum et olerum avidissimus fuit, in reliquo ciborum genere parcissimus, <ut> semper pomorum aliquid recentium devoraret. 2 Frigidarum percupidus nec facile per aestatem nisi frigidas et quam plurimas bibit. Et erat corporis vasti, quare magis ad frigidas urgebatur. 3 Haec de Gordiano iuniore

digna memoratu comperimus : non enim nobis talia dicenda sunt, quae Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit de voluptatibus domesticis ceterisque infirmis rebus. 4 Quare qui velit scire, ipsum legat Cordum, qui dicit, et quos servos habuerit unusquisque principum et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve clamydes, quorum etiam scientia nulli rei prodest, si quidem ea debeant in historia poni ab historiografis, quae aut fugienda sint aut sequenda. 5 Sane quod praetermittendum esse non censui, quia mirabile visum est, lectum apud Vulcatium Terentianum, qui et ipse historiam sui temporis scripsit, in litteras misi Gordianum seniore Augusti vultum sic repraesentasse, ut et vocem et morem et staturam eiusdem ostentare videretur, filium vero Pompeio simillimum visum, quamvis Pompeius obesi corporis fuisse denegetur, nepotem autem, cuius etiam nunc imagines videmus, Scipionis Asiatici faciem rettulisse. Quod pro sui admiratione tacendum esse non credidi.

GORDIANUS TERTIUS

XXII. 1 Post mortem duorum Gordianorum senatus trepidus et Maximinum vehementius timens ex viginti viris, quos ad rem p. tuendam delegerat. Puppienum sive Maximum et Clodium Balbinum Augustos appellavit, ambos ex consulibus. 2 Tunc populus et milites Gordianum parvulum annos agentem, ut plerique adserunt, undecim, ut nonnulli, tredecim, ut Iunius Cordus dicit, sedecim - nam vicesimo et secundo anno eum perisse adserit - petiverunt, ut Caesar appellaretur; 3 raptusque ad senatum atque inde in contione positus indumento imperatorio tectus Caesar est nuncupatus. 4 Hic natus est, ut plures adserunt, ex filia Gordiani, ut unus aut duo - nam amplius invenire non potui - ex filio, qui in Africa perit. 5 Gordianus scilicet Caesar factus quod apud matrem educatus est et, cum extinctis Maximinis Maximus etiam et Balbinus militari seditione interempti essent, qui biennio imperaverant, Gordianus adulescens, qui Caesar eatenus fuerat, et a militibus et populo et a senatu et ab omnibus gentibus ingenti amore, ingenti studio et gratia Augustus est appellatus. 6 Amabatur autem merito avi et avunculi sive patris, qui ambo pro senatu et pro p. R. contra Maximinum arma sumpserunt et militari vel morte vel necessitate perierunt. 7 Post hoc veterani ad curiam venerunt, ut discerent, quid actum esset. 8 Ex quibus duo ingressi Capitolium, cum illic senatus ageretur, ante ipsam aram a Gallicano ex consulibus et Maecena ex ducibus interempti sunt, 9 atque bellum intestinum ortum est, cum esset armati etiam senatores, ignorantibus veteranis, quod Gordianus adulescens solus teneret imperium.

XXIII. 1 Dexippus quidem adseverat ex filio Gordiani tertium Gordianum esse natum. Et posteaquam constitit apud veteranos quoque solum Gordianum

imperare, inter populum et milites ac veteranos pax roborata est, et hic finis belli intestini fuit, cum esset delatus Gordiano puero consulatus. 2 Sed indicium non diu imperaturi Gordiani hoc fuit, quod eclipsis solis facta est, ut nos crederetur neque sine luminibus accensis quicquam agi posset. 3 Post haec tamen voluptatibus et deliciis populus Romanus vacavit, ut ea, quae fuerant aspere gesta mitigaret. 4 Venusto et Sabino cons. inita est factio in Africa contra Gordianum tertium duce Sabiniano; quem Gordianus per praesidem Mauretaniae obsessis coniuratis ita oppressit, ut ad eum tradendum Carthaginem omnes venirent et crimina confidenes et veniam sceleribus postulantes. 5 Finita igitur sollicitudine in Africa Gordiano iam iterum et Pompeiano cons. bellum Persicum natum est. 6 Quando et adulescens Gordianus, priusquam ad bellum proficeretur, [et] duxit uxorem filiam Misihei, doctissimi viri, quem causa eloquentiae dignum parentela sua putavit et praefectum statim fecit. 7 Post quod non puerile iam et contemptibile videbatur imperium, si quidem et optimi soceri consiliis adiuveretur et ipse pro pietate aliquantulum saperet nec per spadones ac ministros aulicos matris vel ignorantia <vel> coniventia venderetur.

XXIV. 1 Extat denique et soceri eius ad eum epistolo et ipsius Gordiani ad socerum, qua intellegitur eius saeculum emendatius ac diligentius socero adiuvente perfectum. 2 Quarum exemplum hoc est : “Domino filio et Augusto Misiheus socer et praefectus. Evasisse nos gravem temporum maculam, qua per spadones et per illos, qui amici tibi videbantur - erant autem vehementes inimici - omnia vendebantur, voluptati est eo magis, quo tibi gratior emendatio est, ut, si qua vitia fuerunt, tua non fuisse satis constet, mi fili venerabilis. 3 Neque enim quisquam ferre potuit datas eunuchis suffragantibus militum praeposuras, negatum laboribus praemium, aut interemptos aut liberatos pro libidine atque mercede, quos non decebat, vacuatum aerarium, per eos, qui cottidie <te> insidiosissime frequentabant, initas factiones, ut tu deciperis, cum inter se de bonis pessimi quique haberent ante consilia tibimet suggerenda, bonos pellerent, detestandos insinuarent, omnes postremo tuas fabulas venderent. 4 Diis igitur gratias, quod volente te ipso emendanta res p. est. 5 Delectat sane boni esse principis socerum et eius, qui omnia requirat et omnia velit scire et qui pepulerit homines, per quos antea velut in auctione positus nundinatus est”.

XXV. 1 Item Gordiani ad ipsum : “Imperator Gordianus Augustus Misitheo patri et praefecto. Nisi dii omnipotentes Romanum tuerentur imperium, etiam nunc per emptos spadones velut in hasta positi venderemur. 2 Denique nunc demum intellego neque Feliciones praetorianis cohortibus praeponi debuisse, neque Serapammoni quartam legionem credendam fuisse, et, ut omnia dinumerare m<ittam>, multa non esse facienda quae feci; sed diis gratias, quod te insinuante, qui nihil vendis, didici ea, quae inclusus scire non poteram. 3 Quid

enim facerem, quod et mater nos venderet et consilio cum Gaudiano et Reverendo et Montano habito vel laudaret aliquos vel vituperaret, et illorum consensu quasi etiam, quod dixerat, adprobarem? 4 Mi pater, verum audias velim : miser est imperator, apud quem vera reticentur, qui cum ipse publice ambulare non possit, necesse est, ut audiat et vel audita vel a plurimis roborata confirmet”. 5 His epistolis intellectum est adulescentem soceri consiliis emendatum atque correctum. 6 Et Misiithei quidem epistolam Graecam quidam fuisse dicunt, sed in hanc sententiam. 7 Tantum autem valuit eius gravitas et sanctimonia, ut ex obscurissimo praeter nobilitatem gestis etiam Gordianum clarum principem fecerit.

XXVI. 1 Fuit terrae motus eo usque gravis imperante Gordiano, ut civitates etiam terrae hiatu cum populis deperirent. Ob quae sacrificia per totam urbem totumque orbem terrarum ingentia celebrata sunt. Et Cordus quidem dicit inspectis libris Sibyllinis celebratisque omnibus, quae illic iussa videbantur, mundanum malum esse sedatum. 3 Sedato terrae motu Praetextato et Attico cons. Gordianus aperto Iano gemino, quod signum erat indicti belli, profectus est contra Persas cum exercitu ingenti et tanto auro, ut vel vexiliis vel militibus facile Persas evinceret. 4 Fecit iter <in> Moesiam atque in ipso procinctu, quidquid hostium in Thraciis fuit, delevit, fugavit, expulit atque summovit. 5 Inde per Syriam Antiochiam veni, quae a Persis iam tenebatur. Illic frequentibus proeliis pugnavit et vicit 6 ac Sapore Persarum rege post Artaxerxen summo, et Antiochiam recepit et Carras et Nisibin, quae omnia sub Persarum imperio erant.

XXVII. 1 Rex sane Persarum tantum Gordianum principem timuit, ut, cum instructus esset et suis copiis et nostris, tamen civitatibus ipse praesidia sponte deduceret easque integras suis civibus redderet, ita ut nihil, quod ad eorum fortunas pertineret, adtaminaret. 2 Sed haec omnia per Misiitheim, socerum Gordiani eundemque praefectum, gesta sunt. 3 Effectum denique est, ut Persae, qui iam in Italia timebantur, in regnum suum pugnante Gordiano redirent totumque orientem Romana res p. detineret. 4 Extat oratio Gordiani ad senatum, qua de rebus gestis suis scribens Misiitheo praefecto uso et socero ingentes gratias agit. Cuius partem indidi, ut ex eo vera cognosceres : 5 “Post haec, p.c., quae, dum iter agimus, gesta sunt quaeque ubique singulis triumphis digna sunt actitata, etiam Persas, ut brevi multa conectam, ab Antiochensium cervicibus, quas iam nexas Persico ferro gerebant, et reges Persarum, et leges amovimus. 6 Carras deinde ceterasque urbes imperio Romano reddidimus. Nisibin usque pervenimus et, si dii faverint, Ctesifonta usque veniemus. 7 Valeat tantum Misiitheus praefectus et parens noster, cuius ductu et dispositione et haec transegimus et reliqua transigemus. 8 Vestrum est igitur supplicationes

decernere, nos diis commendare, Misitheo gratias agere”. 9 His in senatu lectis quadrigae elephantorum Gordiano decretae sunt, utpote qui Persas vicisset, ut triumpho Persico triumpharet, Misitheo autem quadrigae sex equorum et triumphalis currus et titulus huiusmodi : 10 “Misitheo eminenti viro, parenti principum, prae<torii> praefec<to>, totius orbis tutori, <restitutori> rei p. senatus populusque Romanus vicem reddidit”.

XXVIII. 1 Sed ista felicitas longior esse non potuit. Nam Misitheus, quantum plerique dicunt, artibus Philippi, qui post eum praefectus praetorii est factus, ut alii, morbo extinctus est herede Romana re p., ut quicquid eius fuerat, vectigalibus urbis accederet. Cuis viri tanta in re p. dispositio fuit, ut nulla esset umquam civitas limitanea potior et quae posset exercitum p. R. ac principem ferre, quae totius anni in aceto, frumento et larido atque hordeo et paleis condita non haberet, minores vero urbes aliae triginta dierum, aliae quadraginta, nonnullae duum mensium, quae minimum, quindecim dierum. 3 Idem cum esset praefectus, arma militum semper inspexit. Nullum senem militare passus est, nullum puerum annonas accipere. Castra omnia et fossatorum circumibat, noctibus etiam plerumque vigilias frequentabat. 4 Amabaturque ab omnibus, quod sic et rem p. amaret et principem. Tribuni eum et duces usque adeo timuerunt et amarunt, ut neque vellent peccare neque ulla ex parte peccarent. 5 Philippus eum propter pleraque vehementer timuisse fertur atque ob hoc per medicos insidias eius vitae parasse, et quidem hoc genere; 6 nam cum effusione alvi Misitheus laboraret atque a medicis sistendi ventris gratia poculorum iuberetur accipere, mutatis, quae fuerunt parata, id fertur datum, quo magis solveretur. Atque ita examinatus est.

XXIX. 1 Quo mortuo Arriano et Papo cons. in eius locum praefectus praetorii factus est Philippus Arabs, humili genere natus, sed superbus, qui se in novitate atque enormitate fortunae non tenuit, ita ut statim Gordiano, qui eum in locum parentis adsciverat, insidias per milites faceret, quae tales fuerunt. 2 Misiheus tantum ubique, quantum diximus, habuerat conditorum, ut vacillare dispositio Romana non posset; verum artibus Philippi primum naves frumentariae sunt aversae, deinde in ea loca deducti sunt milites, in quibus annonari non posset. 3 Hinc Gordiano infestos milites statim reddidit, non intellegentes artibus Philippi iuvenem esse deceptum. 4 Sed Philippus etiam hoc addidit, ut rumorem per milites spargeret adulescentem esse Gordianum, imperium non posse regere, melius esse illum imperare, qui militem gubernaret, qui rem publicam sciret. 5 Corruptit praeterea etiam principes, effectumque, ut palam Philippus ad imperium posceretur. 6 Amici Gordiani primo vehementissime resistebant, sed cum milites fame vincerentur, imperium Philippo mandatum est, iussumque a militibus, ut quasi tutor eius Philippus cum

eodem Gordiano pariter imperaret.

XXX. 1 Suscepto igitur imperio, cum et Philippus se contra Gordianum superbissime ageret et ille se imperatorum prolem et virum nobilissimae familiae recognosceret nec ferre posset improbitatem hominis ignobilis, apud duces et milites adstante praefecto Maecio Gordiano, adfini suo, in tribunali conquestus est, sperans posse imperium Philippo abrogari. 2 Sed hac conquestione nihil egit, cum illum incusasset, quod immemor beneficiorum eius sibi minus gratus exsisteret. 3 Et cum milites rogasset, cum aperte duces ambisset, factione Philippi minor apud omnes fuit. 4 Denique cum se videret minorem haberi, petit, ut aequale saltem inter eos esset imperium, nec impetravit. 5 Dehinc petit, ut loco Caesaris haberetur, neque id optinuit. 6 Petit etiam, ut praefecti loco esset Philippo, quod et ipsum negatum est. 7 Ultimae preces fuerunt, ut eum Philippus pro duce haberet et pateretur vivere. Ad quod quidem paene consenserat Philippus, ipse tacitus sed omnia per amicos agens nutibus atque consiliis. 8 Verum cum secum ipse cogitaret amore populi R. et senatus circa Gordianum et totius Africae ac Syriae totiusque orbis Romani, cum et nobilis esset et nepos ac filius imperatorum et bellis gravibus totam re p. liberasset, posse fieri, ut ficta quandocumque militum voluntate Gordiano redderetur imperium, re recenti cum in Gordianum irae militum famis causa vehementes essent, clamantem e conspectu duci iussit ac dispoliari et occidi. 9 Quod cum primo dilatum esset, post, ut iussit, impletum est. Ita Philippus impie, non iure optinuit imperium.

XXXI. 1 Imperavit Gordianus annis sex. Asiae dum haec agerentur Argum Scytharum rex finitimorum regan vastabat, maxime quod conpererat Misi theum perisse, cuius consilio res p. fuerat gubernata. 2 Philippus autem, ne a crudelitate nancisci videretur imperium, Romam litteras misit, quibus scripsit Gordianum morbo perisse seque a cunctis militibus electum. Nec defuit, ut senatus de his rebus, quas non noverat, falleretur. 3 Appellato igitur principe Philippo et Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adolescentem inter deos rettulit. 4 Fuit iuvenis laetus, pulcher, amabilis, gratus omnibus, in vita iocundus, in litteris nobilis, prorsus ut nihil preter aetatem deesset imperio. 5 Amatus est a populo et senatu et militibus ante Philippi factionem ita ut nemo principum. 6 Cordus dicit omnes milites eum filium appellasse, ab omni senatu filium dictum, omnem populum delicias suas Gordianum dixisse. 7 Denique Philippus, cum eum interfecisset, neque imagines eius tollere neque statuas deponere neque nomen abradere, sed divum semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat, serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est.

XXXII. 1 Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc extat, quam iste Gordianus pulcherrime exornavit. 2 Est villa eorum via Praenestina ducentas columnas in <te>trastylo habens, quarum quinquaginta Carysteae <quinquaginta>

Claudianae, quinquaginta Synnades, quinquaginta Numidicae pari mensura sunt. 3 In qua basilicae centenariae tres, cetera huic operi convenientia et thermae, quales praeter urbem, ut tunc, nusquam in urbe terrarum. 4 Familiae Gordiani hoc senatus decrevit, ut a tutelis atque a legationibus et a publicis necessitatibus, nisi si vellent, posterius eius semper vacarent. 5 Opera Gordiani Romae nulla extant, praeter quaedam nymphae et balneas. Sed balneae privatis hominibus fuerunt et ab eo in usum privatum exornatae sunt. 6 Instituerat porticum in campo Martio sub colle pedum mille, ita ut ab altera parte aequae mille pedum porticus fieret atque inter viridaria essent, lauro, myrto et buxo frequentata, medium vero lithostrotum brevibus columnis alternis positis et sigillis per pedes mille, quod esset deambulatorium, ita ut in capite basilica esset pedum quingentorum. 7 Cogitaverat praeterea cum Mithridate, ut post basilicam thermas aestivas sui nominis faceret, ita ut hiemales in principio porticum poneret, <ne> sine usu essent vel viridaria vel porticus. 8 Sed haec omnia hunc privatorum et possessionibus et hortis et aedificiis occupata sunt.

XXXIII. 1 Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romae elefanti triginta et duo, quorum ipse duodecim miserat, Alexander decem, alces decem, tigres decem, leones mansueti sexaginta, leopardi mansueti triginta, belbi, id est ysaenae, decem, gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille, hippopotami sex, rhinoceros unus, arctoleontes decem, camelopardali decem, onagri viginti, equi feri quadraginta et cetera huius modi animalia innumera et diversa, quae omnia Philippus ludis saecularibus vel dedit vel occidit; 2 has autem omnes feras mansuetas et praeterea efferatas parabat ad triumphum Persicum. 3 Quod votum publicum nihil valuit. Nam omnia haec Philippus exhibuit saecularibus ludis et muneribus atque circensibus, cum millesimum annum a condita urbe in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit. 4 Quod de C. Caesare memoriae traditum est, hoc etiam de Gordiano Cordus evenisse perscribit; nam omnes, quicumque illum gladio adpetiverunt (qui novem fuisse dicuntur), postea interemptis [a] Philippis <se> sua manu suisque gladiis et isdem, quibus illum percusserant, interemisse dicuntur.

XXXIV. 1 Trium igitur Gordianorum haec fuit vita, qui omnes Augusti appellati sunt. 2 Gordiano sepulchrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et persicis et Iudaicis et Aegyptiacis litteris, ut ab omnibus legerentur : 3 “Divo Gordiano victori Persarum, victori Gothorum, victori Sarmatarum, depulsori Romanarum seditionum, victori Germanorum, sed non victori Philipporum”. 4 Quod ideo videbatur additum, quia in campis Philippis ab Alanis tumultuario proelio victus abcesserat, simul etiam quod a Philippis videbatur occisus. 5 Quem titulum evertisse Licinius dicitur eo tempore, quo est nactus imperium, cum se vellet videri a Philippis originem trahere. 6 Quae omnia, Constantine maxime, idcirco

sum persecutus, ne quis tuae cognitioni deesset, quod dignum scientia videretur.

MAXIMUS ET BALBINUS IULI CAPITOLINI

I. Interemptis in Africa Gordiano seniore cum filio, cum Maximinus ad urbem furens veniret, ut, quod Gordiani Augusti appellati fuerant, vindicaret, senatus praetrepidus in aedem Concordiae VII. idus Iunias concurrat, ludis Apollinaribus, remedium contra furorem hominis improbissimi requirens. 2 Cum igitur duo consulares et eminentes quidem viri, Maximus et Balbinus (quorum Maximus a plerisque in historia reticetur et loco eius Puppieni nomen infertur, cum et Dexippus et Arrianus Maximum et Balbinum dicant electos contra Maximinum post Gordianos), quorum alter bonitate, virtute alter ac severitate clari habebantur, ingressi essent curiam ac praecipue timorem Maximini adventus fronte ostenderent, referente consule de aliis rebus, qui primam sententiam erat dicturus, sic exorsus est: 3 “Minora vos sollicitant, et prope aniles res ferventissimo tempore tractamus in curia. 4 Quid enim opus de restitutione templorum, de basilicae ornatu, de thermis Titianis, de exaedificatione amphitheatri agere, cum immineat Maximinus, quem hostem mecum ante dixistis, Gordiani duo, in quibus praesidium fuerat, interempti sint, neque in praesenti ullum sit auxillium, quo respirare possimus? Agite igitur, p.c., principes dicite. Quid moramini? Ne, dum singulatim pertimescitis, intimore potius quam in virtute opprimamini.”

II. 1 Post haec tacentibus cunctis, cum Maximus, qui et natu grandior erat et meritis et virtute ac severitate clarior, dicere sententiam coepisset. Quae ostenderet duos principes esse faciendos, Vectius Sabinus ex familia Ulpiorum rogato consule, ut sibi dicere atque interfari liceret, sic exorsus est: 2 “Scio, p.c., hanc rebus novis inesse oportere constantiam, ut rapienda sint consilia, non quaerenda, verbis quin etiam plurimis abstinendum sit atque sententiis, ubi res perurgent. 3 Cervices suas quisque respiciat, uxorem ac liberos cogitet, avitas patriasque fortunas: quibus omnibus inminet Maximinus, natura furiosus, truculentus, inmanis, causa vero, ut sibi videtur, satis iusta truculentior. 4 Ille quadrato agmine castris ubique positus ad urbem tendit, vos sedendo et consultando diem teritis. 5 Longa oratione opus non est: faciendus est imperator, immo faciendi sunt principes, unus qui in urbe resideat, alter qui obviam cum exercitu latronibus pergat. 6 Ego principes dico, vos firmate, si placet, sin minus, meliores ostendite : 7 Maximum igitur atque Balbinum, quorum unus in re militari tantus est, ut novitatem generis splendore virtutis evexerit, alter ita clarus nobilitate est, ut et morum lenitate rei p. sit necessarius et vitae sanctimonia, quam a prima aetate in studiis semper ac litteris tenuit. 8 Habetis sententiam, p.c., mihi fortasse periculosiorem quam vobis, sed nec vobis satis tutam, si non

aut hos principes feceritis.” 9 Post haec adclamatum est uno consensu: 10 “Aequum est, iustum est. Sententiae Sabini omnes consentimus. Maxime et Balbine Augusti, dii vos servent. Di vos principes fecerunt, di vos conservent. Vos senatum a latronibus vindicate, vobis bellum contra latrones mandamus. 11 Hostis publicus Maximinus cum filio pereat, hostem publicum vos persequimini. Felices vos iudicio senatus, felicem rem p. vestro imperio. 12 Quod vobis senatus detulit, fortiter agite; quod vobis senatus detulit, libenter accipite.”

III. 1 His atque aliis adclamationibus imperatores facti sunt Maximus atque Balbinus. 2 Egressi igitur e senatu primum Capitolium escenderunt ac rem divinam fecerunt. 3 Deinde ad rostra populum convocarunt. Ubi cum orationem de senatus ententia et de sua electione habuissent, p.R. cum militibus, qui forte convenerant, adclamavit: “Gordianum Caesarem omnes rogamus.” 4 Hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filio, qui est in Africa occisus, annum agens aetatis quartum decimum, ut plerique dicunt. 5 Qui statim raptus est et novo genere senatus consulti, cum eadem die senatus consultum factum esset, inductus in curiam Caesar est appellatus.

IV. 1 Prima igitur relatio principum fuit, ut duo Gordiani divi appellarentur. 2 Aliqui autem unum putant appellatum, seniore videlicet, sed ego libris, quos Iunius Cordus affatim scripsit, legisse memini ambos in deos relatos, 3 si quidem senior laqueo vitam finivit, iunior autem in bello consumptus est, qui utique maiorem meretur reverentiam, quod eum bellum rapuit. 4 Post has igitur relationes praefectura urbi in Sabinum conl[oc]ata est, virum gravem et Maximi moribus congruentem, praetoriana in Pinarium Valentem. 5 Sed priusquam de actibus eorum loquar, placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus, quamvis Curius Fortunatianus, qui omnem hanc historiam perscripsit, pauca contigerit, Cordus vero tam multa, ut etiam pleraque vilia et minus honesta perscripserit.

V. 1 Maximo pater fuit Maximus, unus e plebe, ut nonnulli dicunt, faber ferrarius, ut alii, raedarius vehicularius fabricator. 2 Hunc suscepit ex uxore Prima nomine. Cui fratres quattuor pueri fuerunt, quattuor puellae, qui omnes intra pubertatem interierunt. 3 Nato Maximo carnem bubulam et quidem multam aquila in cella eorum proiecissee fertur, quae angusto patebat inpluvio, eandemque, cum iaceret neque quisquam attingere auderet religionis timore, iterum sustulisse et in proximum sacellum, quod erat Iovis Praestitis, detulisse. 4 Id eo tempore nihil visum est ominis habere, sed non sine causa factum probavit imperium. 5 Pueritiam omnem in domo patris Pinarii fecit, quem statim ad praefecturam praetorii subvexit, ubi factus est imperator. 6 Operam grammatico, rhetori non multum dedit, si quidem semper virtuti militari et severitati studuit. 7

Attamen militaris tribunus fuit et multos egit numeros et postea praeturam, sumptu Pescenniae Marcellinae, <quae> illum loco filii suscepit et aluit. 8 Inde proconsulatum Bithyniae egit et deinceps Graeciae ac tertio Narbonae. 9 Missus praeterea legatus Sarmatas in Illyrico contudit atque inde translatus ad Renum rem contra Germanos satis feliciter gessit. 10 Post haec praefectus urbi prudentissimus, [in] ingeniosissimus et severissimus adprobatus est. 11 Quare veluti <meritum> senatus ei, homini, quod non licebat, novae familiae, imperium tamen detulit, confessis omnibus eo tempore in senatu aptiorem non esse, qui deberet principis nomen accipere.

VI. 1 Et quoniam etiam minora plerique desiderant, fuit cibi avidus, vini parcissimus, ad rem Veneriam nimis rarus, domi forisque semper severus, ita ut et tristis cognomen acciperet. 2 Vultu gravissimus et retorridus, statura procerus, corporis qualitate sanissimus, moribus aspernabilis ac tamen iustus neque umquam usque ad exitum negotiorum vel inhumanus vel inclemens. 3 Rogatus semper ignovit nec iratus est, nisi ubi eum irasci decuit. 4 Factionibus se numquam praebeuit, iudicii tenax fuit neque aliis potius quam sibi credidit. 5 Quare et a senatu multum dilectus est et a populo timori habitus, si quidem sciebat populus eius censoriam praefecturam, quam videbat posse in imperio vehementius convalescere.

VII. 1 Balbinus nobilissimus et iterum consul, rector provinciarum infinitarum. 2 Nam et Asiam et Africam et Bithyniam et Galatiam et Pontum et Thracias et Gallias civilibus administrationibus rexerat, ducto nonnumquam exercitu, sed rebus bellicis minor fuerat quam in civilibus; attamen bonitate, nimia sanctitate ac verecundia ingentem sibi amorem conlocaverat. 3 Familiae vetustissimae, ut ipse dicebat, a Balbo Cornelio Theofane originem ducens, qui per Gnaeum Pompeium civitatem meruerat, cum esset suae patriae nobilissimus idemque historiae scriptor. 4 Statura aequae procerus, corporis qualitate conspicuus, in voluptatibus nimius. Quem quidem adiuwabatur divitiarum abundantia, nam erat et a maioribus dives et multa hereditatibus per se ipse collegerat. 5 Eloquentia clarus, poemate inter sui temporis poetas praecipuus[u]. 6 Vini, cibi, rei Veneriae avidus, vestitu cultus, nec quicquam defuit. Quod illum populo non commendabilem redderet. Amabilis etiam senatui fuit. 7 Haec de utriusque vita conperimus. Denique nonnulli, quemadmodum Catonem et Caesarem Sallustius comparat, ita hunc quoque comparandum putarunt, ut alterum severum, clementem alterum, bonum illum, istum constantem, illum nihil largentem, hunc affluentem copiis omnibus dicerent.

VIII. 1 Haec de moribus atque genere. Decretis ergo omnibus imperatoriis honoribus atque insignibus, percepta tribunicia potestate, iure proconsulari, pontificatu[m] maximo, patris etiam patriae nomine inierunt imperium. 2 Sed

dum in Capitolio rem divinam faciunt, populus R. imperio Maximi contradixit. Timebant enim severitatem eius homines vulgares quam et senatui acceptissimam et sibi adversissimam esse credebant. 3 Quare factum est, ut diximus, ut Gordianum adolescentulum principem peterent, qui statim factus est nec prius permissi sunt ad Palatium stipati armatis ire, quam nepotem Gordiani Caesaris nomine nuncuparunt. 4 His gestis celebratisque sacris, datis ludis scaenicis ludisque circensibus, gladiatorio etiam munere Maxim[in]us susceptis votis in Capitolio ad bellum contra Maximinum missus est cum exercitu ingenti, praetorianis Romae manentibus. 5 Unde autem mos tractus sit, ut proficiscentes ad bellum imperatores munus gladiatorium et venatus darent, breviter dicendum est. 6 Multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes factam, ut civium sanguine litato specie pugarum se Nemesis, id est vis quaedam Fortunae, satiaret. 7 Alii hoc litteris tradunt, quod veri similis credo, ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre et vulnera et ferrum et nudos inter se coorientes, nec in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.

IX. 1 Et Maximo quidem ad bellum profecto Romae praetoriani remanserunt. 2 Inter quos et populum tanta seditio fuit, ut ad bellum intestinum veniretur, urbis Romae pars maxima incenderetur, templa foedarentur, omnes plateae cruore polluerentur, cum Balbinus, homo lenior, seditionem sedare non posset. 3 Nam et in publicum processit, manus singulis quibusque tetendit et paene ictum lapidis passus est, <ut> alii dicunt, etiam fuste percussus est. 4 Neque sedasset tumultum, nisi infantem Gordianum purpuratum ad populum longissimi hominis collo superpositum produxisset. Quo viso populus et milites usque adeo placati sunt, ut amore illius in concordiam redirent. 5 Neque umquam quisquam in illa aetate sic amatus est merito avi et avunculi, qui pro p. R. contra Maximinum in Africa vitam finiverant; tantum apud Romanos memoria bonarum rerum valet.

X. 1 Maximo igitur ad bellum profecto senatus per omnes regiones consulares, praetorios, quaestorios, aedilicios, tribunicios etiam viros misit, ita ut unaquaeque civitas, ut per singulas urbes Maximinus fatigaretur. 2 Iussum tunc tamen, ut omnia ex agris in civitates colligerentur, ne quis hostis publicus inveniret. 3 Scriptum est praeterea ad omnes provincias missis frumentariis iussumque, ut, quicumque Maximinum iuvisset, in hostium numero duceretur. 4 Inter haec Romae iterum seditiones inter populum et milites ortae sunt. 5 Et cum mille edicta Balbinus proponeret nec audiretur, veterani se in castra praetoria contulerunt cum ipsis praetorianis, quos coepit populus obsidere. 6 Nec umquam ad amicitiam essent redacti, nisi fistulas aquarias populus incidisset. 7 In urbe autem, priusquam dictum esset milites pacatos venire, et tegulae de tectis iactae sunt et omnia, quae in domibus erant, vasa proiecta. 8 Atque ideo maior pars

civitatis perit et multorum divitiae. Nam latrones se militibus miscuerunt ad vastanda ea, quae norant ubi reperirent.

XI. 1 Cum haec Romae geruntur, Maximus sive Puppienus apud Ravennam bellum paraba[n]t ingenti apparatu, timens vehementissime Maximinum, de quo saepissime dicebat se non contra hominem, sed contra Cyclopem bellum gerere. 2 Et Maximinus quidem apud Aquileiam ita victus est, ut a suis occideretur, caputque eius et filii perlatum est Ravennam, quod a Maximo Romam transmissum est. 3 Non tacenda hoc loco devotio est Aquileiensium pro Romanis, qui etiam crines mulierum pro nervis ad sagittas emittendas <adhibuis>se dicuntur. 4 Tantum sane laetitiae fuit in Balbino, qui plus timebat, ut hecatomben faceret, statim Maximini caput adlatum est. 5 Hecatombe autem tale sacrificium est: centum arae uno in loco caespiticiae extruuntur, et ad eas centum sues, centum oves mactantur. 6 Iam, si imperatorium sacrificium sit, centem leones, centum aquilae et cetera huius modi animalia[c] centena feriuntur. 7 Quod quidem etiam Graeci quondam fecisse dicuntur, cum pestilentia laborarent, et a multis imperatoribus id celebratum constat.

XII. 1 His igitur peractis Balbinus cum summa gratulatione Maximum redeuntem e Ravennati cum exercitu integro et copiis expectabat, 2 si quidem Maximinus ab oppidanis Aquileiensibus et paucis, qui illic erant, militibus et Crispino ac Menofilo consularibus, qui a senatu missi fuerant, victus est. 3 Ipse autem Maxim[in]us Aquileiam idcirco accesserat, ut omnia tuta et integra usque ad Alpes relinqueret ac, si quae essent barbarorum, qui Maximino faverant, reliquiae, compesceret. 4 Missi sunt denique ad eum legati senatores viginti, quorum nomina sunt apud Cordum, (in his consulares quattuor, praetorii octo, octo quaestorii) cum coronis et senatus consulto, in quo ei statuae auratae equestres decernebantur. 5 Ex quo quidem Balbinus subiratus est, dicens Maximum minus quam se laborasse, cum ipse domi tanta bella compressisset, ille autem otiosus apud Ravennam sedisset. 6 Sed tantum valet velle, ut Maximo, quia profectus est contra Maximinum, etiam victoria decerneretur. Quam impletam ille nescivit. 7 Exercitu igitur suscepto Maximini ad urbem cum ingenti pompa et multitudine Maxim[in]us venit, maerentibus militibus, quod eum imperatorem, quem ipsi delegerant, perdiderant et oes habebant, quos senatus legerat. 8 Nec dissimulari potest maeror, qui apparebat in frontibus singulorum; et iam quidem nec verbis abstinebatur, quamvis Maximus et apud milites saepe dixisset oblivionem praeteritorum esse debere et stipendia magna donasset et auxilia in ea loca, quae delegerant, dimisisset. 9 Sed animi militum semel inbuti odio refrenari nequeunt. Denique cum audissent senatus adclamatioines, quae milites tangerent, acriores contra Maximum et Balbium extiterunt, secum cotidie cogitantes, quos imperatores facere deberent.

XIII. 1 Senatus consulti autem, quo moti sunt, haec forma est: cum ingredienti urbem Maximo Balbienus et Gordianus et senatus et populus Romanus obviam processissent, adclamationes primum publicae fuerunt, quae milites contingerent. 2 Inde in senatum itum est, ubi post illa, quae communia solent esse festa, dictum est: “Sapienter electi principes sic agunt, per inperitos electi principes sic pereunt,” cum constaret a militibus factum Maximinum, Balbinum autem et Maximum a senatoribus. 3 His auditis milites gravius saevire coeperunt, in senatum praecipue, qui sibi triumphare de militibus videbatur. 4 Et Balbinus quidem cum Maximo urbem cum magna moderatione gaudente senatu et p. R. regebant; senatui plurimum deferebatur; leges optimas condebant, moderate causas audiebant, res bellicas pulcherrime disponebant. 5 Et cum iam paratum esset, ut contras Parthos Maximus proficisceretur, Balbinus contra Germanos, puer autem Gordianus Romae remaneret, milites occasionem quaerentes occidendorum principum, cum primo invenire vix possent, quia Germani stipabant Maximum atque Balbinum, cotidie ingravescebant.

XIV. 1 Et erant quidem discordiae inter Balbinum et Maximum, sed tacitae et quae intellegerentur potius quam viderentur, cum Balbinus Maximum quasi ignobilem contemneret, Maximus Balbinum quasi debilem calcaret. 2 Qua re occasio militibus data est intelligentibus facile discordes imperatores posse interfeci. ludis denique scaenicis, cum multi et milites et aulici occupati essent, et in Palatio soli cum Germanis principes remansissent, inpetum in eos fecerunt. 3 Turbantibus igitur militibus, cum primum nuntiatum esset Maximo turbam illam tempestatemque vix evadi posse, nisi ad Germanos mitteretur, et forte in alia parte Palati Germani cum Balbino essent, mittit ad Balbinum Maximus petens, ut ei praesidium mitteret. 4 Sed ille suspicatus, quod contra se eos peteret, quem p[ost]utabat monarchiam velle, primum frustatus est, deinde usque ad litem perventum est. 5 In hac tamen seditione illis contendentibus milites supervenerunt atque ambos eos nudatos vestibus regalibus de Palatio cum iniuris produxerunt et per mediam civitatem ad castra rapotare voluerunt magna ex parte laniatos. 6 Sed ubi conpererunt Germanos ad defensionem illorum supervenire, ambos occiderunt et in itinere medio reliquerunt. 7 Inter haec Gordianus Caesar sublatus a militibus imperator est appellatus id est Augustus, quia non erat alius in praesenti, insultantibus militibus senatui et populo, qui se statim in castra receperunt. 8 Germani sane, ne sine causa pugnarent occisis iam imperatoribus suis, extra urbem, ubi suos habebant, se contulerunt.

XV. 1 Hunc finem habuerunt boni imperatores, indignum vita et moribus suis: nam neque Maximo sive Pupieno fortius neque balbino benignius fuit quicquam, quod in re ipsa intellegi potest; neque enim, cum esset potestas, malos senatus eligeret. 2 Huc accedit quod multis honoribus ac potestatibus explorati sunt, cum

alter bis consul et praefectus urbis, alter bis consul et praefectus ad imperium longaevi pervenissent, amabiles senatui et populo etiam, qui Maximum iam leviter pertimescebant. 3 Haec sunt, quae de Maximo ex Herodiano, Graeco scriptore, magna ex parte collegimus. 4 Sed multi non a Maximo, verum a Puppieno imperatore victum apud Aquileiam Maximinum esse dixerunt, et iopsum cum Balbino esse occisum, ita ut Maximi nomen praetereant. 5 Tanta est autem historicorum inter se certantium inperitia vel usurpatio, ut multi eundem Maximum quem Puppienum velint dici, cum Herodianus, vitae suae temporum scriptor, Maximum dicat, non Puppienum, cum et Dexippus, Graecorum scriptor, Maximum et Balbinum imperatores dicat factos contra Maximinum post Gordianos duos et a Maximo victum Maximinum, non per Puppienum. 6 His accedit scriptorum inperitia, quae praef. praet. fuisse Gordianum parvulum dicunt, ignorantibus multis collo saepe vectum, ut militibus ostenderetur. 7 Imperarunt autem Maximus et Balbinus anno uno, cum Maximinus imperasset cum filio, ut quidam dicunt, per triennium, ut alii per biennium.

XVI. 1 Domus Balbinis etiam nunc Romae ostenditur in Carinis, magna et potens et ab eius familia huc usque possessa. 2 Maximus, quem Puppienum plerique putant, summae tenuitatis, sed virtutis amplissimae fuit. 3 Sub his pugnatum est a Carpis contra Moesos. Fuit et Scythici belli principium, fuit et Histriae eexcidium eo tempore, ut autem dexippus dicit, Histricae civitatis. 4 Dexippus Balbinum satis laudat et dicit forti animo militibus occurrisse atque interfectum, ut mortem non timeret, quem omnibus disciplinis instructum fuisse dicit; Maximum vero negat eius modi virum fuisse, qualem Gaeci plerique dixerunt. 5 Addit praeterea, tantum contra Maximinum Aquileiensium odium fuisse, ut de crinibus mulierum suarum arcubus nervos facerent atque ita sagittas emitterent. 6 Dexippus et Herodianus, qui hanc principum historiam persecuti sunt, Maximum et Balbinum fuisse principes dicunt, delectos a senatu contra Maximinum post interitum duorum in Africa Gordianorum, cum quibus etiam puer tertius Gordianus electus est. 7 Sed apud Latinos scriptores plerosque Maximi[ni] nomen non invenio et cum Balbino Puppienum imperatorem repperio, usque adeo ut idem Puppienus cum Maximino apud Aquileiam pugnasse dicatur, cum memoratis historicis asserentibus ne Maximus quidem contra Maximinum pugnasse doceatur, sed resedissee apud Ravennam atque illic patratam audisse victoriam: ut mihi videatur idem esse Puppienus qui Maximus dicitur.

XVII. 1 Quare etiam gratulatoriam epistolam subdidi, quae scripta est a consule sui temporis de Puppieno et Balbino, in qua laetatur redditam ab his post latrones improbos esse rem p.: 2 “Puppieno et Balbino Augustis Claudius Iulianus. Cum primum Iovis Op. M. et deorum immortalium senatusque iudicio

et consensu generis humani suscepisse vos rem p. a nefarii latronis scelere servandam regendamque Romanis legibus. Domini sanctissimi et invictissimi Augusti, quamquam nondum ex divinis litteris, sed tamen ex s[p]. c., quod ad me v. c. Celsus Aelianus collega transmiserat, conperissem: gratulatus sum urbi ROmae, cuius ad salutem estis electi, gratulatus senatui, cuius pro iudicio, quod in vos habuit, reddidistis prisnam dignitatem, gratulatus Italiae, quam cum maxime ab hostium vastatione defendistis, gradulatus provinciis, quas inexplibili avaritia tyrannorum laceratas ad spem salutis reduxistis, denique legionibus ipsius et auxiliis, quae ubique terrarum iam vultus vestros adorant, quod deposito dedecore pristino nunc in vestro nomine dignam Romani principatus speciem receperunt. 3 Quodcirca nulla vox < tam > fortis, nulla oratio tam felix, nullum ingenium tam fecundum numquam fuerit, quod possit publicam felicitatem digne exprimere. 4 Quae quanta et cuius modi si[n]t, iam in ipso exordio principatus vestri cognoscere potuimus, qui leges Romanas aequitatemque abolitam et clementiam, quae iam nulla erat, et vitam et mores et libertatem et spem successionum atque heredum reduxistis. 5 Haec enumerare difficile est, nedum prosequi consentanae dicendi dignitate. 6 Nam quod nobis vita per vos reddita est, quam dimissis passim per provincias carnificibus sceleratus latro sic petit, ut se amplissimo ordini profiteretur iratum, quomodo dicam aut prosequar ? 7 Praesertim cum mediocritas mea non modo publicam felicitatem, sed ne peculiare quidem gaudium animi mei possit exprimere, cum eos Augustos et principes generis humani videam, quorum antehac perpetuo cultu mores et modestiam meam tamquam veteribus censoribus meis cuperem probata, et haec < etsi confirmata > esse confidam in priorum principum testimoniis, vestris tamen ut gravioribus iudiciis gloriater. 8 Di praestent praestabuntque hanc orbi Romano felicitatem. Nam cum ad vos respicio, nihil aliud optare possum, quam quod apud deos dicitur victor Carthaginis precatus, ut scilicet in eo statu rem p. servarent, in quo tunc esset, quod nullus melior inveniretur. 9 Ita ego precor, ut in eo statu vobis rem p. servent, in quo eam vos adhuc nutantem collocaritis.”

XVIII. 1 Haec epistola probat Puppienum eundem esse, qui a plerisque Maximus dicitur. 2 Si quidem per haec tempora apud Graecos non facile Puppienus, apud Latinos non facile Maximus inveniatur, et ea, quae gesta sunt contra Maximinum, modo a Puppieno modo a Maximo acta dicantur.

VALERIANI DUO TEBELLI POLLIONIS

I. 1 Sapor rex regum Velsolus : “Si scirem posse aliquando Romanos penitus vinci, gauderem tibi de victoria, quam praefero. 2 Sed quia vel fato vel virtute gens illa plurimum potest, vide, ne, quod senem imperatorem cepisti, et id quidem fraude, male tibi cedat, posterisve tuis. 3 Cogita, quantas gentes Romani ex hostibus suas fecerint, a quibus saepe victi sunt. 4 Audivimus certe, quod Galli eos vicerint et ingentem illam civitatem incenderint: certe Romanis serviunt. Quid Afri ? Certe serviunt Romanis. 5 De longioribus exemplis et fortasse interioribus nihil dico. Mithridates Ponticus totam Asiam tenuit: certe victus est, certe Asiam Romanorum est. 6 Si meum consilium requiris, utere occasione pacis et Valerianum suis redde. Ego gratulor felicitati tuae, si tamen illa uti tu scias”.

II. 1 Velenus rex Cadusiorum sic scripsit : “Remissa mihi auxilia integra et incolumnia gratanter accepi. At captum Valerianum principem principum non satis gratulor, magis gratularer, si redderetur. Romani enim graviores tunc sunt, quando vincuntur. 2 Age igitur ut prudentem decet, nec fortuna te inflammet, quae multos decepit. Valerianus et filium imperatorem habet et nepotem Caesarem, et quid ad omnem orbem illum Romanorum, qui contra te totus insurget ? 3 Redde igitur Valerianum et fac cum Romanis pacem, nobis etiam ob gentes Ponticas profuturam”.

III. 1 Artabasdes rex Armeniorum talem ad Saporem epistolam misit : “In partem gloriae venio, sed vereor, ne non tam viceris quam bella severis. 2 Valerianum et filius repetit et nepos et duces Romani omnis Gallia et omnis Africa et omnis Hispania et omnis Italia et omnes gentes, quae sunt in Illyrico atque in oriente et in Ponto, quae cum Romanis consentiunt aut Romanorum sunt. 3 Unum ergo senem cepisti, sed omnes gentes orbis terrarum infestissimas tibi fecisti, fortassis et nobis, qui auxilia misimus, qui vicini sumus, qui semper vobis inter vos pugnantibus laboramus.”

IV. 1 Bactrani et Hiberi et Albani et Tauroscythae Saporis litteras non receperunt, sed ad Romanos duces scripserunt auxilia pollicentes ad Valerianum de captivitate liberandum. 2 Sed Valeriano apud Persas consenescente Odenatus Palmyrenus collecto exercitu rem Romanam prope in pristinum statum reddidit. 3 Cepit regis thesauros, cepit etiam, quas thesauris cariores habent reges Parthici, concubinas. 4 Quare magis reformidans Romanos duces Sapor timore Ballistae atque Odenati in regnum suum ocius se recepit. Atque hic interim finis belli fuit Persici.

V. 1 Haec sunt digna cognitu de Valeriano, cuius per annos septuaginta vita

laudabilis in eam conscenderat gloriam, ut post omnes honores et magistratus insigniter gestos imperator fieret, non, ut solet, tumultuario populi concursu, non militum strepitu, sed iure meritorum et quasi ex totius orbis una sententia. 2 Denique si data esset omnibus potestas promendi arbitrii, quem imperatorem vellent, alter non esset electus. 3 Et ut scias, quanta vis in Valeriano meritorum fuerit publicorum, ponam senatus consulta, quibus animadvertant omnes, quid de illo semper amplissimus ordo iudicaverit. 4 Duobus Decii cons. sexto kal. Novembrium die, cum ob imperatorias litteras in aede Castrorum senatus haberetur ireturque per sententias singulorum, cui deberet censura deferri (nam id Decii posuerant in senatus amplissimi potestate), ubi primum praeto rediit : “Quid vobis videtur, p.c., de censore deligendo?” atque eum, qui erat princeps tunc senatus, sententiam rogasset absente Valeriano (nam ille in procinctu cum Decio tunc agebat), omnes una voce dixerunt interrupto more dicendae sententiae : “Valeriani vita censura est. 5 Ille de omnibus iudicet, qui est omnibus melior. ille de senatu iudicet, qui nullum habet crimen. Ille de vita nostra sententiam ferat, cui nihil potest obici. 6 Valerianus a prima pueritia fuit censor. Valerianus in tota vita sua fuit censor. Prudens senator, modestus senator, gravis senator, amicus bonorum, inimicus tyrannorum, hostis criminum, hostis vitiorum. 7 Hunc censorem omnes accipimus, hunc imitari omnes volumus. Primus genere, nobilis sanguine, emendatus vita, doctrina clarus, moribus singularis exemplo antiquitatis.” 8 Quae cum essent saepius dicta, addiderunt : “omnes”, atque ita discessum est.

VI. 1 Hoc enatus consultum ubi Decius accepit, omnes aulicos convocavit, ipsum etiam Valerianum praecepit rogari atque in conventu summorum virorum recitato senatus consulto : 2 “Felicem te”, inquit, “Valerianum, totius senatus sententia, immo animis atque pectoribus totius orbis humani. Suscipe censuram, quam tibi detulit Romana res publica, quam solus mereris, iudicaturus de moribus omnium, iudicaturus de moribus nostris. 3 Tu aestimabis, qui manere in curia debeant, tu censibus modum pones, tu vectigalia firmabis, divides, statu<es, tu> res publicas recensebis; 4 tibi legum scribendarum auctoritas dabitur, tibi de ordinibus militum iudicandum est; 5 tu arma respicies, 6 tu de nostro Palatio, tu de iudiciis, tu de praefectis eminentissimis iudicabis, excepto denique praefecto urbis Romae, exceptis consulibus ordinariis et sacrorum rege ac maxima virgine Vestalium - si tamen incorrupta permanebit -, de omnibus sententias feres. Laborabunt autem etiam illi, ut tibi placeant, de quibus non potes iudicare.” Haec Decius. 7 Sed Valeriano sententia huiusmodi fuit : “Ne, quaeso, sanctissime imperator, ad hanc me necessitatem alliges, ut ego iudicem de populo, de militibus, de senatu, de omni penitus orbe iudiciis et tribunis ac ducibus. 8 Haec sunt, <propter> quae Augustum nomen tenetis; apud vos

censura desedit, non potest hoc implere privatus. 9 Veniam igitur eius honoris peto, cui vita inpar est, inpar est confidentia, cui tempora sic repugnant, ut censuram hominum natura non quaerat.”

VII. 1 Poteram multa alia et senatus consulta et iudicia principum de Valeriano proferre, nisi et vobis pleraque nota essent, et puderet altius virum extollere, qui fatali quadam necessitate superatus est. Nunc ad Valerianum minorem revertar.

VIII. 1 Valerianus iunior, alia quam Gallienus matre genitus, forma conspicuus, verecundia probabilis, eruditione pro aetate clarus, moribus periucundus atque a fratris dissolutione seiunctus, a patre absente Caesar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Caelestinus dicit, Augustus. 2 Nihil habet praedicabile in vita, nisi quod est nobiliter natus, educatus optime et miserabiliter interemptus. 3 Et quoniam scio errare plerosque, qui Valeriani imperatoris titulum in sepulchro legentes illius Valeriani redditum putant corpus, qui a Persis est captus, ne ullus error obrepat, mittendum in litteras censui hunc Valerianum circa iussu : “Valerianus imperator.” 4 Non puto plus aliquid vel de maiore Valeriano vel de iuniore requirendum. 5 Et quoniam vereor, ne modum voluminis transeam, si Gallienum, Valeriani filium, de quo iam multus [et fortasse nimius] nobis fuit sermo [in illius vita,] vel Saloninum filium etiam Gallieni, qui et [Saloninus et] Gallienus est dictus in [historia sui temporis, huic] libro adiunctos [edam, nunc] ad aliud volumen transeam[us, ut iubetur.] semper enim me vobis dedim[us] et famae, cui negare nihil possumus.

GALLIENI DUO TREBELLI POLLIONIS

I. 1 Capto Valeriano, (enimvero unde incipienda est Gallieni vita, nisi ab eo praecipue malo, quo eius vita depr[a]essa est ?) nutante re. p., cum Odenatus iam orientis cepisset imperium, Gallienus comperta patris captivitate gauderet, vagabantur exercitus, mur<murabant> — duces, erat [omnium], — maeror, [quod] — imperator — Roman<us> i<n> Persida serl<viliter> tene<re>tur — ior omnium — quod Gallienus na — pater facto sic — moribus re p. — perdiderat. 2 Gallieno igitur et Volusiano cons. Macrianus et Ballista in unum coeunt, exercitus reliquias convocant et, cum Romanum in oriente nutaret imperium, quem facerent imperatorem, requirunt, Gallieno tam neglegenter se agente, ut eius ne mentio quidem apud exercitum fieret. 3 Placuit denique, ut Macrianum cum filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem p. defensandam capesseren — sic igitur — delatum est — imperium — Macriano — 4 causae Macri<ano> — imperandi cum filiis haec fuerunt : primum, quod nemo eo tempore sapientior ducum habebatur, nemo ad res regendas aptior; deinde ditissimus et qui privatis posset fortunis publica explere dispendia. 5 Huc accedebat quod liberi eius, fortissimi iuvenes, tota mente in bellum ruebant, ut essent legionibus exemplo ad omnia — <milit>aria.

II. 1 Ergo Ma<crianus> — undique auxilia — petit occupa<tis> a se — partibus, quas ipse — posuerat ita <ut> — imperium — hoc bellum inst<r>uxit — cum par esset omni<bus> — quae contra eum poterant cogitari. 2 Idem Macrianus Pisonem, unum ex nobilibus ac principibus senatus, ad Achaïam destinavit ob hoc, ut Valentem, qui illic proconsulari imperio rem p. gubernabat, opprimeret. 3 Sed Valens comperto, quod Piso contra se veniret, sumpsit imperium. Piso igitur in Thessaliam se recepit. 4 Ubi missis a Valente militibus cum plurimis interfectus est, ipse quoque imperator appellatus cognomento Thessalicus. 5 <sed> Macrianus retento in oriente uno ex filiis, pacatis iam rebus Asiam primum venit, Illyricum petit. 6 In Illyrico cum Aureoli imperatoris, qui contra Gallienum imperium sumpserat, duce, Domitiano nomine, manum conseruit, unum ex filiis secum habens et triginta milia militum ducens. 7 Sed victus est Macrianus cum filio Macriano nomine deditusque omnis exercitus Aureolo imperatori.

III. 1 Turbata interim re p. toto penitus orbe terrarum, ubi Odenatus comperit Macrianum cum filio interemptum, regnare Aureolum, Gallienum remissius rem gerere, festinavit ad alterum filium Macriani cum exercitu, si hoc daret fortuna, capiendum. 2 Sed hi, qui erant cum filio Macriani, Quieto nomine, consentientis Odenato auctore praefecto Macriani Ballista iuvenem occiderunt missoque per

murum corpore Odenato se omnes statim dedidereunt. 3 Totius prope igitur orientis factus est Odenatus imperator, cum Illyricum teneret Aureolus, Romam Gallienus. 4 Idem Ballista multos Emisenos, ad quos confugerant Macriani milites, cum Quieto et Thesaurorum custode interfecit, ita ut civitas paene deleretur. 5 Odenatus inter haec, quasi Gallieni partes ageret, cuncta eidem nuntiari ex veritate faciebat. 6 Sed Gallienus cognito, quod Macrianus cum suis liberis esset occisus, quasi securus rerum ac patre iam recepto, libidini et voluptati se dedit. 7 Ludos circenses ludosque scaenicos, ludos gymnicos, ludiarum etiam venationem et ludos gladiatorios dedit populumque quasi victorialibus diebus ad festivitatem ac plausum vocavit. 8 Et cum plerique patris eius captivitatem maererent, ille specie decoris, quod pater eius virtutis studio deceptus videretur, supra modum laetatus est. 9 Constabat autem, censuram parentis eum ferre non potuisse, votivumque illi fuisse, quod imminens cervicibus suis gravitatem patriam non haberet.

IV. 1 Per idem tempus Aemilianus apud Aegyptum sumpsit imperium occupatisque horreis multa oppida malo famis pr[a]essit. 2 Sed hunc dux Gallieni Theodotus conflictu habito cepit atque imperatori — u vivum transmisit. Aegypt<us>{enim} — data est — (A)emiliano — a — strangu<lato> — milites — vitum est - — ribus. 3 Cum Gallienus in luxuria et improbitate persisteret cumque ludibriis et helluationi vacaret neque aliter rem p. gereret, quam cum pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates, Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxuriosos principes ferre non posse, Postumum ad imperium vocarunt, exercitibus quoque consentientibus, quod occupatum imperatorem libidinis querebantur. 4 Contra hunc <Gallienus> — exercitum duxit cumque urbem, in qua<m> iverat — Postumus, obsidere coepisset, <defen>dentibus Gallis, Gallienus muros circumiens sagitta ictus est. 5 Nam per annos septem Postumus imperavit et Gallias ab omnibus circumfluentibus barbaris validissime vindicavit. 6 His coactus malis Gallienus pacem cum Aure[li]olo facit oppugnandi Postumi studio longoque bello tracto per diversas obsidiones ac proelia rem modo feliciter modo infeliciter gerit. 7 Accesserat praeterea his malis, quod Scythae Bithyniam invaserant civitatesque deleverant. 8 Denique <Asta>con tum, quae Nicomedia postea dicta est, incensam graviter vastaverunt. 9 Denique quasi coniuratione totius mundi concussis orbis partibus etiam in Sicilia quasi quoddam servile bellum extitit latronibus evagantibus, qui vix oppressi sunt.

V. 1 Et haec omnia Gallieni contemptu fiebant; neque enim quicquam est ad audaciam malis, ad splendorem bonis promptius quam cum vel malus timetur vel dissolutus contemnitur imperator. 2 Gallieno et Faustiano cons. inter tot bellicas clades etiam terrae motus gravissimus fuit et tenebrae per multos <dies>, 3

auditum praeterea tonitruum terra mugiente, non Iove tonante, quo motu ipsae multae fabricae devoratae sunt cum habitatoribus, multi terrore emortui; quod quidem malum tristius in Asiae urbibus fuit. 4 Mota est et Roma, mota Libya. Hiatus terrae plurimis in locis fuerunt, cum aqua salsa in fossis appareret. Maria etiam multas urbes occuparunt. 5 Pax igitur deum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae libris factumque Iovi Salutari, ut praeceptum fuerat, sacrificium. Nam et pestilentia tanta extiterat vel Romae vel in Achaicis urbibus, ut uno die quinque milia hominum pari morbo perirent. 6 Saeviente fortuna, cum hinc terrae motus, inde hiatus soli, ex diversis partibus pestilentia orbem Romanum vastaret, capto valeriano, Gallis parte maxima opsessis, cum bellum Odenatus inferret, cum Aureolus perurgeret — cum Aemiliamus Aegyptum occupasset, Gothorum pars — a quo dictum est superius, Gothis inditum est, occupatis Thraciis Macedoniam vastaverunt, Thessalonicam obsederunt, neque usquam quies mediocriter sal[u]tem ostentata est. 7 Quae omnia contemptu, ut saepius diximus, Gallieni fiebant, hominis luxuriosissimi et, si esset securus, ad omne dedecus paratissimi.

VI. 1 Pugnatum est in Achaia Marciano duce contra eosdem Gothos, unde victi per Achaeos recesserunt. 2 Scythae autem, hoc est pars Gothorum, Asiam vastabant. Etiam templum Lunae ephesiae dispoliatum et incensum est, cuius operis fama satis nota <per> populos. 3 Pudet prodere, inter haec tempora, cum ista gererentur, quae saepe Gallienus malo generis humani quasi per iocum dixerit. 4 Nam cum ei nuntiatum esset Aegyptum descivisse, dixisse fertur : “Quid ? Sine lino Aegyptio esse non possumus ?” 5 Cum autem vastatam Asiam et elementorum concussionibus et Scytharum incursionibus comperisset : “Quid”, inquit, “sine afronitris esse non possum ?” 6 Perdita Gallia risisse ac dixisse perhibetur : “Num Atrabaticis sagis tuta res p. est ?” 7 Sic denique de omnibus partibus mundi, cum eas amitteret, quasi detrimentis vilium ministeriorum videretur affici, iocabatur. 8 Ac ne quid mali deesset Gallieni temporibus, Byzantium civitas, clara navalibus bellis, claustrum Ponticum, per eiusdem Gallieni milites ita omnis vastata est, ut prorsus nemo superesset. 9 Denique nulla vetus familia apud Byzantios invenitur, nisi si aliquis peregrinatione vel militia occupatus evasit, qui antiquitatem generis nobilitatemque repraesentet.

VII. 1 Contra Postumum igitur Gallienus cum Aureolo et Claudio duce, qui postea imperium optinuit, principe generis Constanti Caesaris nostri, bellum iniit, et cum multis auxiliis Postumus iuvaretur Celticis atque Francicis, in bellum cum Victorino processit, cum quo imperium participaverat. Victrix Gallieni pars fuit pluribus proeliis eventuum variatione decursis. 2 Erat in Gallieno subitae virtutis audacia, nam aliquando iniuriis graviter movebatur.

Denique ad vindictam Byzantium processit et, cum non putaret recipi se posse muris, receptus alia die omnes milites inermes armatorum corona circumdatos interemit fracto foedere, quod promiserat. 3 Per eadem tempora etiam Scythae in Asia Romanorum ducum virtute ac ductu vastati ad propria recesserunt. 4 Interfectis sane militibus apud Byzantium Gallienus, quasi magnum aliquid gessisset, Romam cursu rapido convolvit convocatisque patribus decennia celebravit novo genere ludorum, nova specie pomparum, exquisito genere voluptatum.

VIII. 1 Iam primum inter togatos patres et equestrem ordinem albato[s] milite[s] et omni populo praeunte, servis etiam prope omnium et mulieribus cum cereis facibus lampadis praecedentibus Capitolium petit. 2 Praecesserunt etiam alitrinsecus centeni albi boves cornuis auro iugatis et dorsualibus sericis discoloribus praefulgentes; 3 agnae candentes ab utraque parte ducentae praecesserunt et decem elefanti, qui tunc erant Romae, mille ducenti gladios pompabiliter ornati cum auratis vestibus matronarum, mansu[a]etae ferae diversi generis ducentae ornatu quam maximo affectae, carpenta cum mimis et omni genere histrionum, pugillem flacculis, non veritate pugillantes. Cyclopea etiam luserunt omnes apenarii, ita ut miranda quaedam et stupenda monstrarent. 4 Omnes viae ludis strepituque et plausibus personabant. 5 Ipse medius cum picta toga et tunica palmata inter patres, ut diximus, omnibus sacerdotibus praetextatis Capitolium petit. 6 Hastae auratae alitrinsecus quingenae, vexilla centena praeter ea, quae collegiorum erant, dracones et signa templorum omniumque legionum ibant. 7 Ibant praeterea gentes simulatae, ut Gothi, Sarmatae, Franci, Persae, ita ut non minus quam ducem globis singulis ducerentur.

IX. 1 Hac pompa homo ineptus eludere se credidit populum Romanum, sed, ut sunt Romanorum facetiae, alius Postumo favebat, alius Regiliano, alius Aureolo aut Aemiliano, alius Saturnino, nam et ipse iam imperare dicebatur. 2 Inter haec ingens querella de patre, quem inultum filius liquerat, et quem externi utcumque vindicaverant. 3 Nec tamen Gallienus ad talia movebatur obstupefacto voluptatibus corde sed ab his, qui circum eum erant, requirebat : “Ecquid habemus in prandio ? Ecquae voluptates paratae sunt? Et qualis cras erit scaena qualesque circenses ?” 4 Sic confecto itinere celebratisque hecatombiis ad domum regiam redit conviviiisque et epulis decursis alios dies voluptatibus publicis deputabat. 5 Praetereundum non est haud ignobile facetiarum genus. Nam cum grex Persarum quasi captivorum per pompam - rem ridiculam - duceretur, quidam scurrae miscuerunt se Persis, diligentissime scrutantes omnia atque unius cuiusque vultum mira inhiatione rimantes. 6 A quibus cum quaereretur, quidnam ageret illa insolentia, illi responderunt : “Patrem principis quaerimus.” 7 Quod cum ad Gallienum pervenisset, non pudore, non maerore,

non pietate commotus est scurrasque iussit vivos exuri. 8 Quod populus factum tristius, quam quisquam aestimat, tulit, milites vero ita doluerunt, ut non multo post vicem redderent.

X. 1 Gallieno et Saturnino cons. Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius orientis imperium, idcirco praecipue, quod se fortibus factis dignum tantae maiestatis infulis declaravit, Gallieno aut nullas aut luxuriosas aut ineptas res agente. 2 Denique statim bellum Persis in vindictam Valeriani, quam eius filius neglegebat, indixit. 3 Nisibin et Carras statim occupat tradentibus sese Nisibenis atque Carrenis et increpantibus Gallienum. 4 Nec defuit tamen reverentia Odenati circa Gallienum; nam captos satrapas insultandi prope gratia et ostentandi sui ad eum misit. 5 Qui cum Romam deducti essent, vincente Odenato triumphavit Gallienus nulla mentione patris facta, quem ne inter deos quidem nisi coactus rettulit, cum mortuum audisset, sed adhuc viventem, nam de illius morte falso compererat. 6 Odenatus autem Ctesifontem Parthorum multitudinem obsedit vastatisque circum omnibus locis innumeros homines interemit. 7 Sed cum satraepae omnes ex omnibus regionibus illuc defensionis communis gratia convolassent, fuerunt longa et varia proelia, longior tamen Romana victoria. 8 Et cum nihil aliud ageret nisi ut Valerianum Odenatus liberaret, instabat cottidie, ac locorum difficultatibus in alieno solo imperator optimus laborabat.

XI. 1 Dum haec apud Persas geruntur, Scythae in Cappadociam pervaserunt. Illic captis bello etiam vario diu acto se ad Bithyniam contulerunt. 2 Quare milites iterum de novo imperatore faciendo cogitarunt. Quos omnes Gallienus more suo, cum placare atque ad gratiam suam reducere non posset, occidit. 3 Cum tamen sibi milites dignum principem quaerent, Gallienus apud Athenas archon erat, id est summus magistratus, vanitate illa, qua et civis adscribi desiderabat et sacris omnibus interesse. 4 Quod neque Hadrianus in summa felicitate neque Antoninus in adulta fecerat pace, cum tanto studio Graecarum ducti sint litterarum, ut raro aliquibus doctissimis magnorum arbitrio cesserint virorum. 5 Areopagitarum praeterea cupiebat ingeri numero contempta prope re p. 6 Fuit enim Gallienus, quod negari non potest, oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus. 7 Huius illud est epitalamion, quod inter centum poetas praecipuum fuit. Nam cum fratrum suorum filios iungeret <et> omnes poetas Graeci Latinique epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos, ille, cum manus sponsorum teneret, ut quidam dicunt, saepius ita dixisse fertur :

8 Ite, agite, o pueri, pariter sudate medullis
omnibus inter vos, non mumura vestra columbae,
brachia non hederarum, non vincant oscula conchae.

9 Longum est eius versus orationesque conectere, quibus suo tempore tam inter poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit. Sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur.

XII. 1 Laudatur sqane eius optimum factum; nam consulatu Valeriani fratris sui et Lucilli propinqui ubi comperit ab Odenato Persas vastatos, redactam Nisibin et Carras in potestatem Romanam, omnem Mesopotamiam nostram, denique Ctesifontem esse perventum, fugisse regem, captos satrapas, plurimos Persarum occisos, Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit eiusque monetam, qua Persas captos traheret, cudi iussit. Quod et senatus et urbs et omnis aetas gratanter accepit. 2 Fuit praeterea idem ingeniosissimus, cuius ostendendi acumin[h]is scilicet pauca libet ponere : 3 nam cum taurum ingentem in harenam misisset exissetque ad eum feriendum venator neque productum decies potuisset occidere, coronam venatori misit, 4 mussantibusque cunctis, quid rei esset, quod homo ineptissimus coronaretur, ille per curionem dici iussit : 5 “Taurum totiens non ferire difficile est.” Idem, cum quidam gemmas vitreas pro v[it]eris vendidisset eius uxori atque illa re prodita vindicari vellet, subripi quasi ad leonem venditorem iussit, deinde e cavea caponem emitti, mirantibusque cunctis rem tam ridiculam per curionem dici iussit : “Inposturam fecit et passus est.” Deinde negotiatorem demisit. 6 Occupato tamen Odenato bello Persico, Gallieno rebus ineptissimis, ut solebat, incubante Scythae navibus factis Heracleam pervenerunt atque inde cxum praeda in solum proprium reverterunt, quamvis multi naufragio perierint navali bello superati [sint].

XIII. 1 Per idem tempus Odenatus insidiis consobrini sui interemptus est cum filio Herode, quem et ipsum imperatorem appellaverat. 2 Cum Zenobia, uxor eius, quod parvuli essent filii eius, qui supererant, Herennianus et Timolaus, ipsa suscepit imperium diuque rexit, non muliebriter neque more femineo, 3 sed non solum Gallieno, quo quae virgo melius imperare potuisset, verum etiam multis imperatoribus fortius atque solertius. 4 Gallienus sanne, ubi ei nuntiatum Odenatum interemptum, bellum Persis ad seram nimis vindictam patris paravit collectisque per Heraclianum ducem militibus sollertis principis rem gerebat. 5 Qui tamen Heraclianus, cum contra Persas profectus esset, a Palmyrenis victus omnes, quos paraverat, milites perdidit, Zenobia Palmyrenis et orientalibus plerisque viriliter imperante. 6 Inter haec Scythae per Euxinum navigantes Histrum ingressi multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt. Quibus compertis Gallienus Cleodamum et Athenaeum Byzantios instaurandis urbibus muniendisque praefecit, pugnatumque est circa Pontum, et a Byzantiis ducibus victi sunt barbari. 7 Veneriano item duce navali bello Gothi superati sunt, cum ipse Veneriaqnus militari perit morte. 8 Atque inde Cyzicum et Asiam, deinceps Achaia omnem vastarunt et ab Atheniensibus duce Dexippo, scriptore horum

temporum, victi sunt. Unde pulsi per Epirum, Macedoniam, Moesiam pervagati sunt. 9 Gallienus interea vix excitatus publicis malis Gothis vagantibus per Illyricum occurrit et fortuito plurimos interemit. Quo comperto Scythae facta carragine per montem Gessacem fugere sunt conati. 10 Omnes inde Scythas Marcianus varia bellorum fortuna — quae omnes Scythas ad rebellionem excitarunt.

XIV. 1 Et haec quidem Heracliani ducis erga rem p. devotio fuit. Verum cum Gallieni tantam improbitatem ferre non possent, consilium inierunt Marcianus et Heraclianus, ut alter eorum imperium caperet — 2 et Claudius quidem, ut suo dicemus loco, vir omnium optimum, electus est, qui consilio non adfuerat, eaque apud cunctos reverentia, ut iuste dignus videretur imperio, quemadmodum postea conprobatum est. 3 Is enim est Claudius, a quo Constantius, vigilissimus Caesar, originem ducit. 4 Fuit isdem socius in appetendo imperio quidam Ceronius sive Cecropius, dux Dalmatarum, qui eos et urbanissime et prudentissime adiuvit. 5 Sed cum imperium capere vivo Gallieno non possent, huius modi eum insidiis adpetendum esse duxerunt, ut labem inprobissimam malis fessa re p. a gubernaculis humani generis dimoverent, ne diutius theatro et circo addicta res p. per voluptatum deperiret inlecebras. 6 Insidiarum genus fuit tale : Gallienus ab Aureolo, qui principatum invaserat, dissidebat, sperans cotidie gravem et intolerabilem tumultuarii imperatoris adventum. 7 Hoc scientes Marcianus et Cecropius subito Gallieno iusserant nutiari Aureolum iam venire. 8 Ille igitur militibus cogitatis quasi certum processit ad proelium atque ita missis percussoribus interemptus est. 9 Et quidem Cecropii Dalmatarum ducis <gladio> Gallienus dicitur esse percussus, ut quidam ferunt, circa Mediolanium, ubi continuo et frater eius Vlaerianus est interemptus, quem multi Augustum, multi Caesarem, multi neutrum fuisse dicunt. 10 Quod veri simile non est, si quidem capto iam Valeriano scriptum invenimus in fastis : “Valeriano imperatore consule”. Quis igitur alius potuit esse Valerianus nisi Gallieni frater ? 11 Constat de genere, non satis tamen constat de dignitate vel, ut coeperunt alii loqui, de maiestate.

XV. 1 Occiso igitur Gallieno seditio ingens militum fuit, cum spe praedae ac publicae vastationis imperatorem sibi utilem, necessarium, fortem, efficacem ad invidiam faciendam dicerent raptum. 2 Quare consilium principum fuit, ut milites eius quo solent placari genere sedarentur. Promissis itaque per Marcianum aureis vicenis et acceptis - nam praesto erat thesaurorum copia - Gallienum tyrannum militari iudicio in fastos publicos rettulerunt. 3 Sic militibus sedatis Claudius, vir sanctus ac iure venerabilis et bonis omnibus carus, amicus patriae, amicus legibus, acceptus senatui, populo bene cognitus accepit imperium.

XVI. 1 Haec vita Gallieni fuit, breviter a me litteris intimata, qui natus abdomini et voluptatibus dies ac noctes vino et stupris perdidit, orbem terrarum viginti prope <per> tyrannos vastari fecit, ita ut etiam mulieres illo melius imperarent. 2 Ac ne eius praetereatur miseranda solertia, veris tempore cubicula de rosis fecit. Hieme summa melones exhibuit. Mustum quem ad modum toto anno haberetur, docuit. Ficos virides et poma ex arboribus recentia semper alienis mensibus praebuit. 3 Mantelibus aureis semper stravit. Gemmata vasa fecit eademque aurea. 4 Crinibus suis auri scobem aspersit. Radiatussaepe processit. Cum clamyde purpurea gemmatisque fibulis et aureis Romae visus est, ubi semper togati principes videbantur. Purpuream tunicam auratamque virilem eandemque manicatam habuit. Gemmato balt[h]eo usus est. Corrigias gemmeas adnexuit, cum campagos reticulos appellaret. 5 Convivatus in publico est. 6 Congiariis populum mollivit. Senatui sportulam sedens erogavit. Matronas ad consilium suum rogavit isdemque manum sibi osculantibus quaternos aureos sui nominis dedit.

XVII. 1 Ubi de Valeriano patre comperit quod captus esset, id quod philosophorum optimus de filio amisso, dixisse fertur : “Sciebam me genuisse mortalem”. [Nec defuit an ille sic dixit : “Sciebam patrem meum esse mortalem”.] 2 Nec defuit Annius Cornicula, qui eum quasi constantem principem falsus sua voce laudaret. [Peior tamen ille qui credidit.] 3 Saepe ad tibicinem processit, ad organum se recepit, cum processui et recessui cani iuberet. 4 Lavit ad diem septimo aestate vel sexto, hieme secundo vel tertio. 5 Bibit in aureis semper poculis aspernatus vitrum, ita ut diceret nil esse communius. 6 Semper vina variavit neque umquam in uno convivio ex uno vino duo pocula bibit. 7 Concubinae in eius tricliniis saepe accubuerunt. Mensam secundam scurrarum et mimorum semper prope habuit. 8 Cum iret ad hortos nominis sui, omnia palatina officia sequebantur. Ibant et praefecti et magistri officiorum omnium adhibebanturque conviviis et natationibus lavabant simul cum principe. 9 Admittebantur saepe etiam mulieres, cum ipso pulchrae puellae, cum illis anus deformes. Et iocari se dicebat, cum orbem terrarum undique perdidisset.

XVIII. 1 Fuit tamen nimiae crudelitatis in milites, nam et terna milia et quaterna militum singulis diebus occidit. 2 Statuam sibi maiorem colosso fieri praecepit Solis habitu, sed ea imperfecta perit. Tam magna denique coeperat fieri, ut duplex ad colossum videretur. 3 Poni autem illam voluerat in summo Esquiliarum monte, ita ut hastam teneret, per cuius scapum infans ad summum posset ascendere. 4 Sed et Claudio et Aureliano deinceps stulta res vita est, si quidem etiam equos et currum fieri iusserat pro qualitate statuae atque in altissima base poni. 5 Porticum Flam[m]iniam usque ad pontem Molvium et ipse

paraverat ducere, ita ut tetrastichae fierent, ut autem alii dicunt, pentastichae, ita ut primus ordo pilas haberet et ante se columnas cum statuis, secundus et tertius et deinceps octiduas tessarum columnas. 6 Longum est eius cuncta in litteras mittere, quae qui volet scire, legat Palfurium Suram, qui ephemeridas eius vitae composuit. Nos ad Saloninum revertamur.

SALONINUS GALLIENUS

XIX. 1 Hic Gallieni filius fuit, nepos Valeriani, de quo quidem prope nihil est [quod] dignum <quod> in litteras mittatur, nisi quod nobiliter natus, educatus regie, occisus deinde non sua sed patris causa. 2 De huius nomine magna est ambiguitas. Nam multi eum Gallienum, multi Saloninum historiae prodiderunt. 3 Et qui Saloninum, idcirco quod apud Salonas natus esset, cognominatum ferunt, qui autem Gallienum, patris nomine cognominatum et avi Gallieni, summi quondam in re p. viri. 4 Fuit denique hactenus statua in pede monti[c]is Romulei, hoc est sacrum viasm, inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam ad arcum Fabianum, quae haberet inscriptum “Gallieno iuniori”, “Salonino” additum; ex quo eius nomen intellegi poterit. 5 Transisse decennium imperii Gallienum satis clarum est. Quod idcirco addidi, quia multi eum imperii sui anno <nono> perisse dixerunt. 6 Fuisse autem et alios rebelliones sub eodem proprio dicemus loco, si quidem placuit viginti tyrannos uno volumine includere, idcirco quod nec multa de his dici possunt et in Gallieni vita pleraque iam dicta sunt. 7 Et haec quidem de Gallieno hoc interim libro dixisse sufficiet. Nam et multa iam in Valeriani vita dicta sunt, <multa> in libro, qui de triginta tyrannis inscribendus est, iam loquemur, quae iterari ac saepius dici minus utile videbatur. 8 Huc accedit quod quaedam etiam studiose praetermisi, ne eius posteris multis rebus editis laederentur.

XX. 1 Scis enim ipse, quales homines cum his, qui aliqua de maioribus eorum scripserint, quantum gerant bellum, nec ignota esse arbitror, quae dixit Marcus Tullius in Hortensio, quem ad exemplum protreptici scripsit. 2 Unum tamen ponam, quod iucunditatem quandam sed vulgarem habuit, morem tamen novum fecit. 3 Nam cum cingula sua plerique militantium, qui ad convivium venerant, ponerent hora convivii, Saloninus puer sive Gallienus his auratos costilatosque balteos rapuisse perhibetur, et, cum esset difficile in aula Palatina requirere quod perisset ac tacitis vultibus viri detrimenta pertulissent, postea rogati ad convivium cincti adhibuerunt. 4 Cumque ab his quaereretur, cur non solverent cingulum, respondisse dicuntur : “Salonino deferimus”, atque hinc tractum morem, ut deinceps cum imperatore cincti discumberent. 5 Negare non possum aliunde plerisque videri huius rei ortum esse morem : dicunt militare prandium,

quod dictum est parandium ab eo, quod ad bellum milites paret, a cinctis initum; cui rei argumentum est, quod a discinctis etiam cum imperatore cenatur. Quae idcirco posui, quia digna et memoratu videbantur et cognitu.

XXI. 1 Nunc transeamus ad viginti tyrannos, qui Gallieni temporibus contemptu mali principis extiterunt. De quibus breviter et pauca dicenda sunt; 2 neque enim digni sunt eorum plerique, ut volumen talium hominum saltem nominibus occupetur, quamvis aliqui non parum in se virtutis habuisse videantur, multum etiam rei p. profuisse. 3 Tam variae item opiniones sunt de Salonini nomine, ut, qui se verius putet dicere, a matre sua Salonina appellatum esse — quamvis perditae dilexit, Piparam nomine, barbaram regis filiam — 4 Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit. 5 De annis autem Gallieni et Valeriani ad imperium pertinentibus adeo incerta traduntur, ut, cum quindecim annos eosdem imperasse constet, id est Gallienus usque ad quintum decimum pervenisset, Valerianus vero sexto sit captus, alii novem annis, vix decem alii etiam Gallienum imperasse in litteras mittant, cum constet et decennalia Gothos ab eo victos, cum Odenato pacem factam, cum Aureolo initam esse concordiam, pugnatum contra Postumum, contra Lollianum, multae etiam ab eo gesta, quae ad virtutem, plura tamen, quae ad dedecus pertinebant; 6 nam et semper noctibus popinas dicitur frequentasse et cum lenonibus, mimis scurrisque vixisse.

TYRANNI TRIGINTA TREBELLI POLLIONIS

I. 1 Scriptis iam pluribus libris non historico nec diserto sed pedestri adloquio, ad eam temporum venimus seriem, in qua per annos, quibus Gallienus et Valerianus rem p. tenuerunt, triginta tyranni occupato Valeriano magnis belli Persici necessitatibus extiterunt, cum Gallienum non solum viri sed etiam mulieres contemptui haberent, ut suis locis probabitur. 2 Sed quoniam tanta obscuritas eorum hominum fuit, qui ex diversis orbis partibus ad imperium convolabant, ut non multa de his vel dici possint a doctioribus vel requiri, deinde ab omnibus historicis, qui Graece ac Latine scripserunt, ita nonnulli praetereantur, uti eorum <nec> nomina frequententur, postremo cum tam varie a plerisque super his nonnulla sint prodita: in unum eos libellum contuli et quidem brevem, maxime cum vel in Valeriani vel in Gallieni vita pleraque de his dicta nec repetenda tamen satis constet.

CYRIADES

II. 1 Hic patrem Cyriadem fugiens, dives et nobilis, cum luxuria sua et moribus perditis sanctum senem gravaret, direpta magna parte auri, argenti etiam infinito pondere Persas petit. 2 Atque inde Sapor regem coniunctus atque sociatus, cum hortator belli Romanis inferendi fuisset, Odomastem primum, deinde Saporem ad Romanum solumtraxit; Antiochia etiam capta et Caesarea Caesareanum nomen meruit. 3 Atque inde vocatus Augustus, cum omnem orientem vel virium vel audaciae terrore quateret, patrem vero interemisisset - quod alii historici negant factum - ipse per insidias suorum, cum Valerianus iam ad bellum Persicum veniret, occisus est. 3 Neque plus de hoc historiae quicquam mandatum est, quod dignum memoratu esse videatur, quem clarum perfugium et parricidium et aspera tyrannis et summa luxuria litteris dederunt.

POSTUMUS

III. 1 His vir in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo ut Saloninum filium suum eidem Gallienus in Gallia positum crederet quasi custodi vitae et morum et actuum imperialium institutori. 2 Sed, quantum plerique adserunt - quod eius non convenit moribus -, postea fidem fregit et occiso Salonino sumpsit imperium. 3 Ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se [ferre] imperare <ferre> non possent, eum, qui commissum regebat imperium,

imperatorem appellarunt missisque militibus adolescentem interfecerunt. 4 Quo interfecto ab omni exercitu et ab omnibus Gallis Postumus gratanter acceptus talem se praebuit per annos septem, ut Gallias instauraverit, cum Gallienus luxuriae et popinis vacaret et amore barbarae mulieris consenesceret. 5 Gestum est tamen a Gallieno contra hunc bellum tunc, cum sagitta Gallienus est vulneratus; si quidem nimius amor erga Postumum omnium erat in Gallicanorum mente populorum, quod summotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus Romanum in pristinam securitatem revocasset imperium. 7 Sed cum se gravissime gereret, more illo, quo Galli novarum rerum semper sunt cupidi, Lolliano agente interemptus est. 8 Si quis sane Postumi meritum requirit, iudicium de eo Valeriani ex hac epistula, quam ille ad Gallos misit, intellet: 9 “Transcrenani limitis ducem et Galliae praesidem Postumum fecimus, virum dignissimum severitate Gallorum, praesente quo non miles in castris, non iura in foro, non in tribunalibus lites, non in curia dignitas pereat, qui unicuique proprium et suum servet, virumquem ego prae ceteris stupeo, et qui locum principis mereantur iure, de quo spero quod mihi gratias agetis. 10 Quod si me fefellerit opinio, quam de illo habeo, sciatis nusquam gentium repperiri, qui possit penitus adprobari. 11 Huius filio Postumo nomine tribunatum Vocontiorum dedi, adolescenti, qui se dignum patris moribus reddet.”

POSTUMUS IUNIOR

IV. 1 De hoc prope nihil est quod dicatur, nisi quos a patre appellatus Caesar ac deinceps in eius honore Augustus cum patre dicitur interemptus, cum Lollianus in locum Postumi subrogatus delatum sibi a Gallis sumpsisset imperium. 2 Fuit autem - quod solum memoratu dignum est - ita in declamationibus disertus, ut eius controversiae Quintiliano dicantur insertae, quem declamatorem Romani generis acutissimum vel unius capitis lectio prima statim fronte demonstrat.

LOLLIANUS

V. 1 Huius rebellione in Gallia Post[h]umus, vir omnium fortissimus, interemptus est, cum iam nutante Gallia Gallieni luxuria in veterem statum Romanum formasset imperium. 2 Fuit quidem etiam iste fortissimus, sed rebellionis intuitu minorem apud Gallos auctoritatem de suis viribus tenuit. 3 Interemptus autem est a Victorino, Vitruviae filio vel Victoriae, quae postea mater castrorum appellata est et Augustae nomine affecta, cum ipsa per se fugiens tanti ponderis molem primum in Marium, deinde in Tetricum atque

filium contulisset imperia. 4 Et Lollianus quidem nonnihilum rei p. profuit. Nam plerasque Galliae civitates, nonnulla etiam castra, quae Postumus per septem annos in solo barbarico aedificaverat, quaeque interfecto Post[h]umo subita inruptione Germanorum et direpta fuerant et incensa, in statum veterem reformavit. Deinde a suis militibus, quod in labore nimius esset, occisus est. 5 Ita Gallieno perdente rem p. in Gallia primum Postumus, deinde Lollianus, Victorinus deinceps, postremo Tetricus, - nam de Mario nihil dicimus - adsertores Romani nominis extiterunt. 6 Quos omnes datos divinitus credo, ne, cum illa pestis inauditae luxuriae impediretur malis, possidendi Romanum solum Germanis daretur facultas. 7 Qui si eo genere tunc evasissent, quo Gothi et Persae, consentientibus in Romano solo gentibus venerabile hoc Romani nominis finitum esset imperium. 8 Lolliani autem vita in multis obscura est, ut et ipsius Postumi, sed privata: virtute enim clari, non nobilitatis pondere vixerunt.

VICTORINUS

VI. 1 Postumus senior cum videret multis se Gallieni viribus peti atque auxilium non solum militum verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victorinum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem contra Gallienum conflavit. 2 Cumque adhibitis ingentibus Germanorum auxiliis diu bella traxissent, victi sunt. 3 Tunc interfecto etiam Lolliano solus Victorinus in imperio remansit, qui et ipse, quod matrimoniis militum et militarium corrumpendis operam daret, a quodam actuario, cuius uxorem strupraverat, composita factione Agrippinae percussus, Victorino filio Caesare a matre Vitruvia sive Victoria, quae mater castrorum dicta est, appellato, qui et ipse puerulus statim est interemptus, cum apud Agrippinam pater eius esset occisus. 4 De hoc, quod fortissimus fuerit et praeter libidinem optimus imperator, a multis multa sunt dicta. 5 Sed satis credimus Iuli Atheriani partem libri cuiusdam ponere, in quo de Victorino sic loquitur: 6 “Victorino, qui Gallias post Iulium Postumum rexit, neminem aestimo praeferendum, non in virtute Traianum, non Antoninum in clementia, non in gravitate Nervam, non in gubernando aerario Vespasianum, non in censura totius vitae ac severitate militari Pertinacem vel Severum. 7 Sed omnia haec libido et cupiditas mulierariae voluptatis sic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtutes eius in litteras mittere, quem constat omnium iudicio meruisse puniri.” 8 Ergo cum id iudicii de Victorino scriptores habuerint, satis mihi videor eius dixisse de moribus.

VICTORINUS IUNIOR

VII. 1 De hoc nihil amplius in litteras est relatum quam quod nepos Victoriae Victorini filius fuit et a matre vel ab avia sub eadem hora, qua Victorinus interemptus, Caesar est nuncupatus ac statim a militibus ira occisus. 2 Extant denique sepulchra circa Agrippinam brevi marmore inpressa humilia, in quibus ulus est inscriptus: “Hic duo Victorini tyranni siti sunt.”

MARIUS

VIII. 1 Victorino et Lolliano, Postumo interemptis Marius ex fabro, ut dicitur, ferrario triduo tantum imperavit. 2 De hoc quid amplius requiratur, ignoro, nisi quod eum insignorum brevissimum fecit imperium. Nam ut ille consul, qui sex meridianis horis consulatum seffectum tenuit, a Marco Tullio tali aspersus est ioco: “Consulem habuimus tam severum tamque censorium, ut in eius magistratu nemo pranderit, nemo cenaverit, nemo dormiverit”, de hoc etiam dici posse videatur, qui una die factus est imperator, alia die visis est imperare, tertia interemptus est. 3 Et vir quidem strenuus ac militaribus usque ad imperium gradibus evectus, quem plerique Marmurium, nonnulli Veterium, opificem utpote ferrarium, nuncuparunt. 4 Sed de hoc nimis multa, de quo illud addidisse satis est nullius manus vel ad feriendum vel ad impellendum fortiores fuisse, cum in digitis nervos videretur habuisse non venas. 5 Nam et carra venienta digito salutari reppulisse dicitur et fortissimo quosque uno digito sic adflixisse, ut quasi ligni vel ferri obtunsioris ictu percussi dolerent. Multa duorum digitorum allisione contrivit. 6 Occisus est a quodam milite, qui, cum eius quondam in fabrili officina fuisset, contemptus est ab eodem, vel cum dux esset vel cum imperium cepisset. Addidisse vero dicitur interemptor: 7 “Hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti.” Huius contio prima talis fuisse dicitur: 8 “Scio, conmilites, posse mihi obici artem pristinam, cuius mihi omnes testes estis. 9 Sed dicat quisque quod vult. Utinam ferrum semper exerceam, non vino, non floribus, non mulierculis, non popinis, ut facit Gallienus, indignus patre suo et sui generis nobilitate, depeream. 10 Ars mihi obiciatur ferraria, dum me et exterarum gentes ferrum tractasse suis cladibus recognoscant. 11 Enitar denique, ut omnis Alamannia omnisque Germania cum ceteris, quae adiacent, gentibus Romanum populum ferratam putent gentem, ut specialiter in nobis ferrum timeant. 12 Vos tamen cogitetis velim fecisse vos principem, qui numquam quicquam scierit tractare nisi ferrum. 13 Quod idcirco dico, quia scio mihi a luxuriosissima illa peste nihil opponi posse nisi hoc, quod gladiatorum atque armorum artifex fuerim.”

INGENUUS

IX. 1 Tusco et Basso cons. cum Gallienus vino et popinis vacaret cumque se lenonibus, mimis et meretricibus dederet ac bona naturae luxurioiae continuatione deperderet, Ingenuus, qui Pannonias tunc regebat, a Moesiaticis legionibus imperator est dictus, ceteris Pannoniarum volentibus, neque in quoquam melius consultum rei p. a militibus videbatur quam quod instantibus Sarmatis creatus est imperator, qui fessis rebus mederi sua virtute potuisset. 2 Causa autem ipsi arripiendi tunc imperii fuit, ne suspectus esset imperatoribus, quod erat fortissimus ac rei p. necessarius et militibus, quod imperantes vehementer movet, acceptissimus. 3 Sed Gallienus, ut erat nequam perditus, ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, velox, fortis, vehemens, crudelis, denique Ingenium conflictu habito vicit eoque occiso in omnes Moesiaticos tam milites <quam> cives asperrime saevit. Nec quemquam suae crudelitatis exortem reliquit, usque adeo asper et truculentus, ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret. 4 Fertur sane idem Ingenuus civitate capta in aquam se mersisse atque ita vitam finisse, ne in tyranni crudelis potestatem veniret. 5 Extat sane epistola Gallieni, quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua eius nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur. Quam ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intellexerent hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas postulet: 6 “Gallienus Veriano. Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors in bellis interimere potuisset. 7 Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque inpuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. 8 Occidendus est quicum<que> male voluit, occidendus est quicumque male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem fratrem. 9 Ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, occide, concide, animum meum intellege, mea mente irascere, qui haec manu mea scripsi.”

REGILIANUS

X. 1 Fati publici fuit, ut Gallieni tempore quicumque potuit ad imperium prosiliret. Regilianus denique in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus iomperii Moesis, qui cum Ingenuo fuerant ante superati, in quorum parentes graviter Gallienus saevierat. 2 Hic tamen multa fortiter contra Sarmatas gessit, sed auctoribus Roxolanis consentientibusque militibus et timore provincialium, ne iterum Gallienus graviora faceret, interemptus est. 3 Mirabile fortasse videatur, si, quae origo imperii eius fuerit, declaretur. Capitali enim ioco regna promeruit. 4 Nam cum milites cum eo quidam c[a]enarent, extitit vicarius tribuni qui diceret: “Regiliani nomen unde credimus dictum?”. Alius continuo: “Credimus quod a regno”. 5 Tum is qui aderat scolasticus, coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare et dicere: “Rex regis regi Regilianus”. 6 Milites, ut est

hominum genus pronum ad ea, quae cogitant: “Ergo potest rex esse?” Item alius: “Deus tibi regis nomen inposuit.” 7 Quid multa? His dictis cum alia die mane processisset, a principiis imperator est salutatus. Ita quod aliis vel audacia vel iudicium, huic detulit iocularis astutia. 8 Fuit, quod negari non potest, vir in <re> militari semper probatus et Gallieno iam ante suspectus, quod dignus videretur imperio, gentis Daciae, Decibali ipsius, ut fertur, adfinis. 9 Extat epistola divi Claudii tunc privati, qua Regiliano, Illyrici duci, gratias agit ob redditum Illyricum, cum omnia Gallieni segnitia deperirent. Quam ego repertam in authenticis inserendam putavit, fuit enim publica. 10 “Claudius Regiliano multam salutem. Felicem rem p., quae te talem virum habere in castris belloicis meruit, felicem Gallienum, etiamsi ei vera nemo nec de bonis nec de malis nuntiat. 11 Pertulerunt ad me Bonitus et Celsus, stipatores principis nostri, qualis apud Scupos in pugnando fueris, quot uno die proelia et qua celeritate confeceris. Dignus eras triumpho, si antiqua tempora exstarent. 12 Sed quid multa? Memor cuiusdam hominis cautius velim vincas. Arcus Sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fiblatoria, cum ipse misi de nostris.” 13 Hac epistola ostenditur, quid de Regiliano senserit Claudius, cuius gravissimum iudicium suis temporibus fuisse non dubium est. 14 Nec a Gallieno quidem vir iste promotus est, sed a patre eius Valeriano, ut et Claudius et Macrianus et Ingenuus et Postumus et Aureolus, qui omnes in imperio interempti sunt, cum mererentur imperium. 15 Mirabile autem hoc fuit in Valeriano principe, quod omnes, quoscumque duces fecit, postea militum testimonio ad imperium pervenerunt, ut appareat senem imperatorem in diligendis rei p. ducibus talem fuisse, qualem Romana delicias, si continuari fataliter potuisset sub bono principe, requirebat. 16 Et utinam vel illi, qui arripuerant imperia, regnare potuissent, vel eius filius in imperio diutius non fuisset, utlibet se in suo statu rei p. nostra tenuisset. 17 Sed nimis sibi Fortuna indulgendum putavit, quae et cum Valeriano bonos principes tulit et Gallienum diutius quam oportebat rei p. reservavit.

AUREOLUS

XI. 1 Hic quoque [in] Illyricianos exercitus regns in contemptu Gallieni, ut omnes eo tempore, coactus a militibus sumpsit imperium. 2 Et cum Macrianus cum filio suo Macrino contra Gallienum veniret cum plurimis, exercitus eius cepit, aliquos corruptos fidei suae addixit. 3 Et cum factus esset hinc validus imperator cumque Gallienus expugnare virum fortem frustra temptasset, pacem cum eo {fecit} contra Post[h]umum pugnaturus. Quorum pleraque et dicta sunt et dicenda. 4 Hunc eundem Aureolum Claudius interfecto iam Gallieno conflictu

habito apud eum pontem interemit, qui nunc pons Aureoli nuncupatur, atque illic ut tyrannum sepulchro humiliore donavit. Extat etiam nunc epigramma Graecum in hanc formam:

Dono sepulchrorum victor post multa tyranni
proelia iam felix Claudius Aureolum
munere prosequitur mortali et iure superstes,
vivere quem vellet, si pateretur amor
militis egregii, vitam qui iure negavit
omnibus indignis et magis Aureolo.
Ille tamen clemens, qui corporis ultima servans
et pontem Aureoli dedicat et tumulum.

6 Hos ego versus a quodam grammatico translato ita posui, ut fidem servarem, non quo <non> melius potuerint transferri, sed ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo. 7 Rem enim vobis proposui deferre, non verba, maxime tanta rerum copia ut in triginta tyrannorum simul vitis.

MACRIANUS

XII. 1 Capto Valeriano, diu clarissimo principe civitatis, fortissimo deinde imperatore, ad postremum omnium infelicissimo, vel quod senex apud Persas consenuit vel quod indignos se posteros dereliquit, cum Gallienum contemnendum Ballista praefectus Valeriani et Macrianus primus ducum intellexerent, quaerentibus etiam militibus principem unum in locum concesserunt quaerentes, quid faciendum esset. 2 Tuncque constitit Gallieno longe posito, Aureolo usurpante imperium debere aliquem principem fieri, et quidem optimum, ne quispiam tyrannus existeret. 3 Verba igitur Ballistae - quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui consilio interfuit, adserit - haec fuerunt: 4 “Mea et aetas et professio et voluntas longe ab imperio absunt, et ego, quod negare non possum, bonum principem quaero. 5 Sed quis tandem est, qui Valeriani locum possit implere, nisi talis qualis tu es, fortis, constans, integer, probatus in re p. et, quod maxime ad imperium pertinet, dives? 6 Arripe igitur locum meritis tuis debitum. Me praefecto, quamdiu voles, uteris. Tu cum re p. tantum bene agas, ut te Romanus orbis factum principem gaudeat.” 7 Ad haec Macrianus: “Fateor, Ballista, imperium prudenti non frustra est. Volo enim rei p. subvenire atque illam pestem a legum gubernaculis dimovere, sed non hoc in me aetatis est: senex sum, ad exemplum equitare non possum, lavandum mihi est

frequentius, edendum delicatius, divitiae me iam dudum ad usu militiae retraxerunt. 8 Iuvenes aliqui sunt quaerendi, nec unus sed duo vel tres fortissimi, qui ex diversis partibus orbis humani rem p. restituant, quam Valerianus fa[c]to, Gallienus vitae suae genere perdiderunt.” 9 Post haec intellexit eum Ballista sic agere, ut de filiis suis videretur cogitare, atque adeo sic adgressus est: 10 “Prudentiae tuae rem p. tradimus. Da igitur liberos tuos Macrianum et Quietum, fortissimos iuvenes, olim tribunos a Valeriano factos, quia Gallieno imperante, quod boni sunt, salvi esse non possunt.” 11 Tunc ille ubi intellectum se esse comperit: “Do”, inquit, “Manus de meo stipendium militi duplex daturus. Tu tantum praefecti mihi studium et annonam in necessariis locis praebe. Iam ego faxim, ut Gallienus, sordissimus feminarum omnium, duces sui parentis intellegat.” 12 Factus est igitur cum Macriano et Quieto duobus filiis cunctis militibus volentibus imperator ac statim contra Gallienum venire coepit utcumque rebus in oriente derelictis. 13 Sed cum quadraginta quinque milia militum secum duceret, in Illyrico vel in Thraciarum extimis congressus cum Aureolo victus et cum filio interemptus est. 14 Triginta denique milia militum in Areoli potestatem concessere. Domitianus autem eundem vicit, dux Aureoli fortissimus et vehementissimus, qui se originem diceret a Domitiano trahere atque a Domitilla. 15 De Macriano autem nefas mihi videtur iudicium Valeriani praeterire, quod ille in oratione sua, quam ad senatum e Persidis finibus miserat, posuit. Inter cetera ex oratione divi Valeriani: 16 “Ego, p. c., bellum Persicum gerens Macriano totam rem p. credidi <et> quidem a parte militari. Ille vobis fidelis, ille mihi devotus, illum et amat et timet miles, ille utcumque res exegerit, cum exercitibus agit. 17 Nec, p. c., nova vel inopina nobis sunt: pueri eius virtus in Italia, adulescentis in Gallia, iuvenis in Thracia, in Africa iam provecti, senescentis denique in Illyrico et Dalmatia conprobata est, cum in diversis proeliis ad exemplum fortiter faceret. 18 Huc accedit quod habet iuvenes filios Romano dignus collegio, nostra dignus amicitia” et reliqua.

MACRIANUS IUNIOR

XIII. 1 Multa de hoc in patris imperio praelibata sunt, qui numquam imperator factus esset, nisi prudentiae patris eius creditum videretur. 2 De hoc plane multa miranda dicuntur, quae ad fortitudinem pertineant iuvenalis aetatis. Sed <quid> ad fata aut quantum in bellis unius valet fortitudo? 3 Hic enim vehemens cum prudentissimo patre, cuius merito imperare coeperat, a Domitiano victus triginta, <ut> dixi superius, milibus militum spoliatus est, matre nobilis, patre tantum forte et ad bellum parato atque ab ultima militia in summum perveniente ducatus splendore sublimi.

QUIETUS

XIV. 1 Hic, ut diximus, Macrini filius fuit. Cum patre et fratre Ballistae iudicio imperator est factus. Sed ubi comperit Odenatus, qui olim iam orientem tenebat, ab Aureolo Macrianum, patrem Quieti, cum eius fratre Macriano victos, milites in eius potestatem concessisse, quasi Gallieni partes vindicaret, adulescentem cum Ballista praefecto dudum interemit. 2 Idem quoque adulescens dignissimus Romano imperio fuit, ut vere Macriani filius, Macriani etiam frater, qui duo adflctis rebus potuerunt rem p. gerere, videretur. 3 Non mihi praetereundum videtur de Macrianorum familia, quae hodieque floret, id dicere, quod speciale semper habuerunt. 4 Alexandrum Magnum Macedonem viri in anulis et argento, mulieres et in reticulis et dextrocheriis et in anulis et in omni ornamentorum genere exculptum semper habuerunt, eo usque ut tunicae et limbi et paenulae matronales in familia eius hodieque sint, quae Alexandri effigiem de liciis variantibus monstrent. 5 Vidimus proxime Cornelium Macrum ex eadem familia virum, cum caenam in templo Herculis daret, pateram electrinam, quae in medio vultum Alexandri haberet et in circuitu[m] omnem historiam contineret signis brevibus et minutulis, pontifici propinare, quam quidem circumferri ad omnes tanti illius viri cupidissimos iussit. 6 Quod idcirco posui, quia dicuntur iuvari in omni actu suo, qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento.

ODENATUS

XV. 1 Nisi Odenatus, princeps Palmyrenorum, capto Valeriano, fessis Romanae rei p. viribus sumpsisset imperium, in oriente perditae res essent. 2 Quare adsumpto nomine primum regali cum uxore Zenobia et filio maiore, cui erat nomen Herodes, minoribus Herenniano et [a] Timolao collecto exercitu contra Persas profectus est. 3 Nisibin primum et orientis pleraque cum omni Mesopotamia in postestatem recepit, deinde ipsum regem victum fugere coegit. 4 Postremo Ctesifonta usque Saporem et eius liberos persedutus captis consubinis, capta etiam magna praeda d orientem vertit, sperans, quod Macrianum, qui imperare contra Gallienum coeperat, posset opprimere, sed illo iam profecto contra Aureolum et contra Gallienum, eo interempto filium <eius> Quietum interfecit, Ballista, ut plerique adserunt, regnum, usurpante, ne et ipse posset occidi. 5 Composito igitur magna ex parte orientis statu a consobrino suo Maeonio, qui et ipse imperium sumpserat, interemptus est cum filio suo Herode, qui et ipse post reditum de Perside cum patre imperator est appellatus. 6 Iratos fuisse rei p. deos credo, qui interfecto Valeriano noluerint Odenatum reservare. 7

Ille plane cum uxore Zenobia non solum orientem, quem iam in pristinum reformaverat statum, sed et omnes omnino totius orbis partes reformasset, vir acer in bellis et, quantum plerique scriptores loquuntur, venatu memorabili semperinclitus, qui a prima aetate capiendis leonibus et pardis, ursis ceterisque silvestribus animalibus sudorem officii virilis inpendit quique semper in silvis ac montibus vixit, perferens calorem, pluvias et omnia mala, quae in se continent venatoriae voluptates. 8 Quibus duratus solem ac pulverem in bellis Persicis tulit, non aliter etiam coniuge adsueta, quae multorum sententia fortior marito fuisse perhibetur, mulier omnium nobilissima orientalium feminarum et, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.

HERODES

XVI. 1 Non Zenobia matre sed priore uxore genitus Herodes cum patre accepit imperium, homo omnium delicatissimus et prorsus orientalis et Graec[i]ae luxuriae, cui erant sigillata tentoria et aurati papiliones et omnia Persica. 2 Denique ingenio eius usus Odenatus quicquid concubinarum regaliū, quicquid divitiarum gemmarumque cepit, eidem tradidit paternae indulgentiae adfectione permotus. 3 Et erat circa illum Zenobia novercali animo, qua re commendabiliorem patri eum fecerat. Neque plura sunt quae de Herode dicantur.

MAEONIUS

XVII. 1 Hic consobrinus Odenati fuit nec ulla re alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia imperatorem optimum interemit, cum ei nihil aliud obiceret praeter filii Herodis <luxuriem>. 2 Dicitur autem primum cum Zenobia consensisse, quae ferre non operat, ut privignus eius Herodes priore loco quam filii eius, Herennianus et Timolaus, principes dicerentur. 3 Sed hic quoque spurcissimus fuit. Quare imperator appellatus per errorem brevi a militibus pro suae luxuriae meritis interemptus est.

BALLISTA

XVIII. 1 De hoc, utrum imperavit, scriptores inter se ambigunt. Multi enim dicunt Quieto per Odenatum occiso Ballistae veniam datam et tamen eum imperasse, quod nec [a] Gallieno nec Aureolo nec Odenato se crederet. Alii adserunt privatum eum in agro suo, quem apud Dafnidem sibi compararat, interemptum. 3 Multi et sumpsisse illum purpuram, ut more Romano imperaret, exercitum duxisse et de se plura promisisse dixerunt, occisum autem per eos,

quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum, Macriani filium, quem praedam suam esse dicebat. 4 Fuit vir insignis, eruditus ad gerendam rem p., in consiliis vehemens, in expeditionibus clarus, in provisione annonaria singularis, Valeriano sic acceptus, ut eum quibusdam litteris hoc testimonio prosecutus sit: 5 “Valerianus Ragonio Claro praefecto Illyrici et Galliarum. Si quid in te bonae frugis est, quam esse scio, parens Clare, dispositiones tu Ballistae persequere. 6 His rem p. informa. Videsne ut ille provinciales non gravet, ut illic equos contineat, ubi sunt pabula, illic annonas militum mandet, ubi sunt frumenta, ubi sunt frumenta, non provincialem, non possessorem cogat illic frumenta, ubi non habet, dare, illic equum, ubi non potest, pascere? 7 Nec est ulla alia provisio melior quam ut in locis suis erogentur quae nascuntur, ne aut vehiculis aut sumptibus rem p. gravent. 8 Galatia frumentis abundat, referta est Thracia, plenum est Illyricum: illic pedites conlocentur, quamquam in Thracia etiam equites sine noxa provincialium hiemare possint. Multum enim ex campis feni colligitur. 9 Iam vinum, laridum, iam ceterae species in his dandae sunt locis, in quibus adfatim redundant. 10 Quae omnia sunt Ballistae consilia, qui ex quadam provincia unam tantum speciem praeberi iussit, quod ea redundaret, atque ab ea milites submoveri. Id quod publicitus est decretum.” 11 Est et alia eius epistola, qua gratias Ballistae agit, in qua docet sibi praecepta gubernandae rei p. ab eodem data, gaudens, quod eius consilio nullum adscripticium - id est vacantem - haberet et tribunum, nullum stipatorem, qui non vere aliquid ageret, nullum militem, qui non vere pugnaret. 12 Hic igitur vir in tentorio suo cubans a quodam gregario milite in Odenati et Gallieni gratiam dicitur interemptus. 13 De quo ipse vera non satis comperi, idcirco quod scriptores temporum de huius praefectura multa, de imperio pauca dixerunt.

VALENS

XIX. 1 Hic vir militaris, simul etiam civilium virtutum gloria pollens proconsulatum Achaiae dato a Gallieno tunc honore gubernabat. 2 Quem Macrianus vehementer reformidans, simul quod in omni genere vitae satis clarum norat, simul quod inimicum sibi esse invidia virtutum sciebat, misso Pisone, nobilissimae tunc et consularis familiae viro, interfici praecepit. 3 Valens diligentissime cavens et providens neque aliter sibi posse subveniri aestimans sumpsit imperium et brevi a militibus interemptus est.

VALENS SUPERIOR

XX. 1 Et bene venit in mentem, ut, cum de hoc Valente loquimur, etiam de illo

Valente, qui superiorum principum temporibus interemptus est, aliquid diceremus. 2 Nam huius Valentis, qui sub Gallieno imperavit, avunculus magnus fuisse perhibetur; alii tantum avunculum dicunt. 3 Sed par in ambobus fuit fortuna. Nam et ille, <cum> paucis diebus Illyrico imperasset, occisus est.

PISO

XXI. 1 Hic a Macriano ad interficiendum Valentem missus, ubi eum providum futurorum imperare cognovit, Thessaliam concessit atque illic paucis sibi consentientibus sumpsit imperium Thessalicusque appellatus [vi] interemptus est, vir summae sanctitatis et temporibus suis Frugi dictus et qui ex illa Pisonum familia ducere originem diceretur, cui se Cicero nobilitandi causa sociaverat. 2 Hic omnibus principibus acceptissimus fuit. Ipse denique Valens, qui ad eum percussores misisse perhibetur, dixisse dicitur non sibi apud deos inferos constare rationem, quod quamvis hostem suum Pisonem tamen iussisset occidi, virum cuius similem Romana res p. non haberet. 3 Senatus consultum de Pisone factum ad noscendam eius maiestatem libenter inserui: die septimo kal. Iuliarum cum esset nuntiatum Pisonem a Valente interemptum, ipsum Valentem a suis occisum, Arellius Fuscus, consularis primae sententiae, qui in locum Valeriani successerat, ait: “Consul, consule.” 4 Cumque consultus esset “Divinos” inquit “Honores Pisoni decerno, p. c., Gallienum et Valerianum et Saloninum imperatores nostros id probaturos esse confido. Neque enim melior vir quisquam fuit neque constantior.” 5 Post quem ceteri consulti statuam inter triumphales et currus quadriugos Pisoni decreverunt. 6 Sed statua eius videtur, quadrigae autem, quae decretae fuerant, quasi transferendae ad alium <locum> positae sunt nec adhuc redditae. 7 Nam in his locis fuerunt, in quibus thermae Diocletianae sunt exaedificatae, tam aeterni nominis quam sacrat.

AEMILIANUS

XXII. 1 Est hoc familiare populi Aegyptiorum, ut velut furiosi ac dementes de levissimis quibus usque ad summa rei p. pericula perducantur: 2 saepe illi ob neglectas salutationes, locum in balneis non concessum, carnem et olera sequestrata, calciamenta servilia et cetera talia usque ad summum rei p. periculum <in> seditiones, ita ut armarentur contra eos exercitus, pervenerunt. 3 Familiari ergo sibi furore, cum quadam die cuiusdam servus curatoris, qui Alexandriam tunc regebat, militari ob hoc caesus esset, quod crepidas suas meliore esse quam militis diceret, collecta multitudo ad domum Aemiliani ducis venit atque eum omni seditionum instrumento et furore persecuta est: ictus est

lapidus, petitus est ferro, nec defuit ullum seditionis telum. 4 Qua re coactus Aemilianus sumpsit imperium, cum sciret sibi undecumque pereundum. 5 Consenserunt ei Aegyptiacus exercitus, maxime in Gallieni odium. 6 Nec eius ad regendam rem p. vigor defuit, nam Thebaidem totamque Aegyptum peragravit et, quaternus potuit, barbarorum gentes forti auctoritate summovit. 7 Alexander denique vel Alexandrinus - nam incertum id quoque habetur - virtutum merito vocatus est. 8 Et cum contra Indos pararet expeditionem, misso Theodoto duce Gallieno iubente dedit poenas, set quidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur. 9 Tacendum esse non credo, quod, cum de Aegypto loquor, vetus suggessit historia, simul etiam Gallieni factum. 10 Qui cum [e] Theodoto vellet imperium proconsulare decernere, a sacerdotibus est prohibitus, qui dixerunt fasces consulares ingredi Alexandriam non licere; 11 cuius rei etiam Ciceronem, cum contra Gabinium loquitur, meminisse satis novimus. Denique nunc extat memoria rei frequentatae. 12 Quare scire oportet Herennium Celsum, vestrum parentem, consulatum cupit, hoc quod desiderat non licere. 13 Fertur enim apud Memfim in aurea columna Aegyptiis esse litteris scriptum tunc demum Aegyptum liberam fore, cum in eam venissent Romani faces et praetexta Romanorum. 14 Quod apud Proculum grammaticum, doctissimum sui temporis virum, cum de peregrinis regionibus loquitur, invenitur.

SATURNINUS

XXIII. 1 Optimus ducum Gallieni temporis, sed Valeriano dilectus Saturninus fuit. 2 Hic quoque, cum dissolutionem Gallieni, pernoctantis in publico, ferre non posset et milites non exemplo imperatoris sui, sed suo regeret, ab exercitibus sumpsit imperium, vir prudentiae singularis, gravitatis insignis, vitae amabilis, victoriarum barbaris etiam ubique notarum. 3 Hic ea die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio, contione adhibita dixisse fertur: “Commitiones, bonum ducem perdidistis et malum principem fecistis.” 4 Denique cum multa strenue in imperio fecisset, quod esset severior et gravior militibus, ab isdem ipsis, a quibus factus fuerat, interemptus est. 5 Huius insigne est quod convivio discumbere milites, ne inferiora nudarentur, cum sagis iussit, hieme gravibus, aestate perlucidis.

TETRICUS SENIOR

XXIV. 1 Interfecto Victorino et eius filio mater eius Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum senatorem p. R. praesidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium hortata, quod eius erat, ut plerique loquuntur, adfinis, Augustum appellari fecit filiumque

eius Caesarem nuncupavit. 2 Et cum multa Tetricus feliciterque gessi<sse>t et diuque imperasset, ab Aureliano victus, cum militum suorum inpudentiam et procacitatem ferre non posset, volens se gravissimo principi et severissimo dedit. 3 Versus denique illius fertur, quem statim ad Aurelianium scripserat: “Eripe me his, invicte, malis”. 4 Quare cum Aurelianus nihil simplex neque mite aut tranquillium facile cogitarete, senatorem p. R. eundemque consularem, qui iure praesidali omnes Gallias rexerat, per triumphum duxit, eodem tempore quo et Zenobiam Odenati uxorem cum filiis minoribus Odenati, Herenniano et Timolao. 5 Pudore tamen victus vir nimium severus eum, quem triumphaverat, conrectorem totius Italiae fecit, id est Campaniae, Samni, Lucaniae Brittiorum, Apuliae Calabriae, Etruriae atque Umbriae, Piceni et Flaminiae omnisque annonariae regionis, ac Tetricum non solum vivere, sed etiam in summa dignitate manere passus est, cum illum saepe collegam, nonnumquam commilitionem, aliquando etiam imperatorem appellaret.

TETRICUS IUNIOR

XXV. 1 Hic puerulus a Victoria Caesar est appellatus, cum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset. 2 Qui et ipse cum patre per triumphum ductus postea omnibus senatoriis honoribus functus est inlibato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit, ut Arellius Fuscus dicit, semper insignis. 3 Narrabat avus meus hunc sibi familiarem fuisse neque quemquam [quam] illi ab Aureliano aut postea ab aliis principibus esse praelatum. 4 Tetricorum domus hodieque extat in monte Caelio inter duos lucos contra Isium Metellinum pulcherrima, in qua Aurelianus pictus est utrique praetextam tribuens et senatoriam dignitatem, accipiens ab his sceptrum, coronam, cycladem - pictura est de museo; - quam cum dedicassent, Aurelianium ipsum dicuntur duo Tetrici adhibuisse convivio.

TREBELLIANUS

XXVI. 1 Pudet iam persequi, quanti sub Gallieno fuerint tyranni vitio pestis illius, si quidem erat in eo ea luxuria, ut rebelles plurimos mereretur, et ea crudelitas, ut iure timeretur. Quare et in Trebellianum <bellatum>, factum in Isauria principem ipsis Isauris sibi ducem quaerentibus. Quem cum alii archipiratam vocassent, ipse se imperatorem appellavit. Monetam etiam cudi iussit. 3 Palatium in arce Isauria constituit. Qui quidem cum se intima et tuta Isaurorum loca munitus difficultatibus locorum et montibus contulisset, aliquandiu apud Cilicas imperavit. 4 Sed per Gallieni ducem Camsisoleum,

natione Aegyptium, fratrem Theodoti qui Aemilianum ceperat, ad campum deductus victus est et occisus. 5 Neque tamen postea Isauri timore, ne in eos Gallienus saeviret, ad aequalitem perducere quavis principum humanitate potuerunt. 6 Denique post Trebellianum pro barbaris habentur; etenim in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes includitur, locis defensa, non hominibus; 7 nam sunt non satuti decori, non virtute graves, non instructi armis, non consiliis prudentes, sed hoc solo securi, quod in editis positi adiri nequeunt. Quos quidem divus Claudius paene ad hoc perduxerat, ut a suis semotos locis in Cilicia conlocaret, daturus uni ex amicissimis omnem Isaurorum possessionem, ne quid ex ea postea rebellionis oreretur.

HERENNIANUS

XXVII. 1 Odenatus moriens duos parvulos reliquit, Herrenianum et fratrem eius Timolaum, quorum nomine Zenobia usurpato sibi imperio diutius quam feminam decuit rem p. obtinuit, parvulos Romani imperatoris habitu praeferens purpuratos eosdemque adhibens contionibus, quas illa viriliter frequentavit, Didonem et Samiramidem et Cleopatram sui generis principem inter cetera praedicans. Sed <de> horum exitu incertum est; 2 multi enim dicunt eos ab Aureliano interemptos, multi morte suo esse consumptos, si quidem Zenobiae posterius etiam nunc Romae inter nobiles manent.

TIMOLAUS

XXVIII. 1 De hoc ea putamus digna notione, quae de fratre sunt dicta. 2 Unum tamen est quod eum a fratre separat, quod tanti fuit ardoris ad studia Romana, ut brevi consecutus, quae insinuaverat grammaticus, esse dicatur, potuisse quin etiam summum Latinorum rhetorem facere.

CELSUS

XXIX. 1 Occupatis partibus Gallicanis, orientalibus, quin etiam Ponti, Thraciarum et Illyrici, dum Gallienus popinatur et balneis ac leonibus deputat vitam, Afri quoque auctore Vibio Passieno, proconsule Africae, et Fabio Pomponiano, duce limitis Libycis, Celsum imperatorem appellaverunt peplo deae Caelestis ornatum. 2 Hic privatus ex tribunis in Africa positus in agris suis vivebat, sed ea iustitia et corporis magnitudine, ut dignus videretur imperio. 3 Quare cratus per quandam mulierem, Gallienam nomine, consobrinam Gallieni,

septimo imperii die interemptus est atque adeo etiam inter obscuros principes vix relatus est. 4 Corpus eius a canibus consumptum est Siccensibus, qui Gallieno fidem servaverant, perurgentibus, et novo iniuriae genere imago in crucem sublata persultante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse Celsus videretur adfixus.

ZENOBIA

XXX. 1 Omnis iam consumptus est pudor, si quidem fatigata re p. eo usque perventum est, ut Gallieno nequissime agente optime etiam mulieres imperarent, et quidem peregrinae. 2 <peregrina> enim, nomine Zenobia, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, quae se de Cleopatrarum Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odenatum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu Didonis ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius, quam femineus sexus patiebatur, imperavit. 3 Si quidem Gallieno adhuc regente rem p. regale mulier superba munus obtinuit et Claudio bellis Gothicis occupato vix denique ab Aureliano victa et triumphata concessit in iura Romana. 4 Extat epistola Aureliani, quae captivae mulieri testimonium fert. Nam cum a quibusdam reprehenderetur, quod mulierem veluti ducem aliquem vir fortissimus triumphasset, missis ad senatum populumque Romanum litteris hac se adtestatione defendit: 5 “Audio, p. c., mihi obici, quod non virile munus impleverim Zenobiam triumphando. Ne illi, qui me reprehendunt, satis laudarent, si scirent, quae illa sit mulier, quam prudens in consiliis, quam constans in dispositionibus, quam erga milites gravis, quam larga, cum necessitas postulet, quam tristis, cum severitas poscat. 6 Possum dicere illius esse, quod Odenatus Persas vicit ac fugato Sapore Ctesifonta usque pervenit. 7 Possum adserere tanto apud orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commoverent. 8 Nec ego illi vitam conservassem, nisi eam scissem multum Romanae rei publicae profuisse, cum sibi vel liberis suis orientis servaret imperium. 9 Sibi ergo habeant propriarum venena linguarum hi, quibus nihil placet. 10 Nam si vicisse ac triumphasse feminam non est decorum, quid de Gallieno loquuntur, in cuius contemptu haec bene rexit imperium? 11 Quid de divo Claudio, sancto ac venerabili duce, qui eam, quod ipse Gothicis esset expeditionibus occupatus, passus esse dicitur imperare? Idque consulte ac prudenter, ut illa servante orientalis finis imperii ipse securius, quae instituerat, perpetraret.” 12 Haec oratio indicat, quid iudicii Aurelianus habuerit de Zenobia. Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur, ut ne virum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis conceptionibus. Nam cum semel concubisset, expectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum potestatem quaerendis liberis dabat. 13 Vixit regali

pompa. More magis Persico adorata est. 14 Regum more Persarum convicata est. Imperatorum more Romanorum ad contiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam coclide veluti fibula muliebri adstricta, brachio saepe nudo. 15 Fuit vultu subaquilo, fusci coloris, oculis supra modum vigentibus nigris, spiritus divini, venustatis incredibilis. Tantus candor in dentibus, ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere, non dentes. 16 Vox clara et virilis. Severitas, ubi necessitas postulabat, tyrannorum, bonorum principum clementia, ubi pietas requirebat. Larga prudenter, conservatrix thesaurorum ultra femineum modum, 17 usa vehiculo carpentario, raro pilento, aequo saepius. Fertur autem vel tria vel quattuor milia frequenter cum peditibus ambulasse. 18 Venata est Hispanorum cupiditate. Bibit saepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria; bibit et cum Persis atque Armeniis, ut eos vinceret. 19 Usa est vasis aureis gemmatis ad convivia, usa Cleopatranis. In ministerio eunuchos gravioris aetatis habuit, puellas nimis raras. 20 Filios Latine loqui iusserat, ita ut Graece vel difficile vel raro loquerentur. 21 Ipsa Latini sermoni[bus] non usque quaque gnara, sed ut loqueretur pudore cohibita; loquebatur et Aegyptiace ad perfectum modum. 22 Historiae Alexandrinae atque orientalis ita perita, ut eam epitomasse dicatur; Latinam autem Graece legerat. 23 Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset: “Quid est, Zenobia? Ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?” Illa dixisse fertur: “Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui vincis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putavi. Victoriā mei similem credens in consortium regni venire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optavi.” 24 Ducta est igitur per triumphum ea species, ut nihil pompabilius p. R. videretur iam primum ornata gemmis ingentibus, ita ut ornamentorum onere laboraret. 25 Fertur enim mulier fortissima saepissime restitisse, cum diceret se gemmarum onera ferre non posse. 26 Victi erant praetera pedes auro, manus etiam catenis aureis, nec collo aureum vinculum deerat, quod scurra Persicus praeferebat. 27 Huic ab Aureliano concessa est, ferturque vixisse cum liberis matronae iam more Romanae data sibi possessione in Tiburti, quae hodieque Zenobia dicitur, non longe ab Hadriani palatio atque ab eo loco, cui nomen est Concae.

VICTORIA

XXXI. 1 Non tam digna res erat, ut etiam Vitruvia sive Victoria in litteras mitteretur, nisi Gallieni mores hoc facerent, ut memoria dignae etiam mulieres censerentur. 2 Victoria enim, ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos, Postumum, deinde Lollianum, Marium etiam, quem principem milites nuncupaverant, interemptos, Tetricum, de quo superius dictum est, ad imperium

hortata est, ut virile semper facinus auderet. Insignita est praeterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se diceret matrem. 3 Cusi sunt eius nummi aerei, aurei et argentei, quorum hodieque forma extat apud Treviros. 4 Quae quidem non diutius vixit. Nam Tetrico imperante, ut plerique loquuntur, occisa, ut alii adserunt, fatali necessitate consumpta. 5 Haec sunt quae de triginta tyrannis dicenda videbantur. Quos ego in unum volumen idcirco contuli, ne, de singulis singula quaeque narrarem, nasceretur indigna fastidia et ea, quae ferre lector non posset. 6 Nunc ad Claudium principem redeo. De quo speciale mihi volumen quamvis breve merito vitae illius videtur edendum addito fratre singuli viro, ita ut de familia tam snacta et tam nobili saltem pauca referantur. 7 Studiose in medio feminas posui ad ludibrium Gallieni, quo nihil prodigiosius passa est Romana res p., duos etiam nunc tyrannos quasi extra numerum, quod alieni essent temporis, additurus, unum qui fuit Maximini temporibus, alterum qui Claudii, ut tyrannorum triginta viri hoc volumine tenerentur. 8 Quaeso, qui expletum iam librum acceperas, boni consultas atque hos volumini tuo volens addas, quos ergo, quem ad modum Valentem superiorem huic volumini, sic post Claudium et Aureliam his qui inter Tacitum et Diocletianum fuerunt, addere destinaveram. 9 Sed errorem meum memor historiae diligentia tuae eruditionis avertit. 10 Habeo igitur gratiam, quod titulum meum prudentiae tuae benignitas inplevit. Nemo in templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos [cum risu et ioco], tyrannas videlicet vel tyrannides, ut ipsi de me solent <cum risu et ioco> iactitare, posuisse. 11 Habent integrum numerum ex arcanis historiae in meas litteras datum. 12 Titus enim et Censorinus <inseruntur>, quorum unus, ut dixi, sub Maximino, alter sub Claudio fuit, qui ambo ab isdem militibus, a quibus purpura velati fuerant, interempti sunt.

TITUS

XXXII. 1 Docet Dexippus nec Herodianus tacet omnesque, qui talia legenda posteris tradiderunt, Titum, tribunum Maurorum, qui a Maximino inter privatos relictus fuerat, timore violentae mortis, ut illi dicunt, invitum vero et a militibus coactum, ut plerique adserunt, imperasse atque hunc intra paucos dies post vindicatam defectionem, quam consularis vir Magnus Maximino paraverat, a suis militibus interemptum; imperasse autem dicitur mensibus sex. 2 Fuit hic vir de primis erga rem p. domi forisque laudabilis, sed in imperio parum felix. 3 Alii dicunt ab Armeniis sagittariis, quos Maximinus ut Alexandrinos et oderat et offenderat, principem factum. 4 Nec mireris tantam esse varietatem de homine, cuius vix nomen agnoscitur. 5 Huius uxor Calpurnia fuit, sancta et venerabilis femina de genere Caesoninorum, id est Pisonum, quam maiores nostri univiriam

sacerdotem inter sacratissimas feminas adorarunt, cuius statuum in templo Veneris adhuc vidimus acrolitham sed auratam. 6 Haec uniones Cleopatranos habuisse perhibetur, haec lancem centum librarum argenti, cuius plerique poetae meminerunt, in qua maiorum eius expressa ostenderetur historia. 7 Longius mihi videor processisse quam res postulabat. Sed quid faciam? Scientia naturae facilitate verbosa est. 8 Quare ad Censorinum revertar, hominem nobilem sed qui non tam bono quam malo rei p. septem diebus dicitur imperasse.

CENSORINUS

XXXIII. 1 Vir plane militaris et antiquae in curia dignitatis, bis consul, bis praefectus praetorii, ter praefectus urbi, quarto pro consule, tertio consularis, legatus praetorius secundo, quarto aedilicius, tertio quaestorius, extra ordinem quoque legatione Persica functus, etiam Sarmatica. 2 Post omnes tamen honores cum in agro suo degeret senex atque uno pede claudicans vulnere, quod bello Persico Valeriani temporibus acceperat, factus est imperator et scurrarum ioco Claudius appellatus est. 3 Cumque se gravissime gereret neque a militibus ob disciplinam censoriam ferri posset, ab his ipsis, a quibus fuactus fuerat, interemptus est. 4 Extat eius selpulchrum <circa Bononiam>:, in quo grandibus litteris [circa Bononiam] incisi sunt omnes eius honores; ultimo tamen versu adscriptum est: 5 “felix omnia, infelicissimus imperator”. Extat eius familia Censorinorum nomine frequentata, cuius pars Thracias odio rerum Romanarum, pars Bithyniam petit; 6 extat etiam domus pulcherrima adiuncta gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibetur. 7 Habes integrum triginta numerum tyrannorum, qui cum malevolis quidem sed bono animo causabaris. 8 Da nunc cuivis libellum non tam diserte quam fideliter scriptum. Neque ego eloquentiam mihi videor pollicitus esse, sed rem, qui hos libellos, quos de vita principum edidi, non scribo sed dicto, et dicto cum ea festinatione, quam, si quid vel ipse promiserio vel tu petieris, sic perurgueo, ut respirandi non habeam facultatem.

DIVUS CLAUDIUS TREBELLI POLLIONIS

I. Ventum est ad principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constanti Caesaris cum cura in litteras digerendus est. De quo ego idcirco recusare non potui, quod alios, tumultuarios videlicet imperatores ac regulos, scripseram eo libro, quem te tringinta tyrannis edidi, qui Cleopatranam etiam stirpem Victorianamque nunc detinet; 2 si quidem eo res processit, ut mulierum etiam vitas scribi Gallieni comparatio effecerit. 3 Neque enim fas erat eum tacere principem, qui tantam generis sui prolem <reliquit>, qui bellum Gothicum s[t]ua virtute confecit, qui manum publicis cladibus victor inposui, qui Gallienum, prodigiosum imperatorem, etiamsi non auctor consilii fuit, tamen ipse imperaturus bono generis humani a gubernaculis publicis depulit qui si diutius in hac esset commoratus re p., Scipiones nobis et Camillos omnesque illos veteres suis viribus, suis consiliis, sua providentia reddidisset.

II. 1 Breve illius, negare non possum, in imperio fuit tempus, sed breve fuisset, etiamsi quantum hominum vita suppetit, tantum vir talis imperare potuisset. 2 Quid enim in illo non mirabile? Quid non conspicuum? Quid non triumphalibus vetustissimis praeferendum? 3 In quo Traiani virtus, Antonini pietas, Augusti moderatio et magnorum principum bona sic fuerunt, ut non ille ab aliis exemplum caperet sed, etiamsi illi non fuissent, hic ceteris reliquisset exemplum. 4 Doctissimi mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes Mosen solum, dei, ut Iudaeorum libri locuntur, familiarem, centum viginti quinque annos vixisse; qui cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret, responsum ei ab incerto ferunt numine neminem plus esse victurum. 5 Quare etiamsi centum et viginti quinque annos Claudius vixisset, ne necessariam quidem mortem eius expectandam fuisse, ut Tullius de Scipione sic loquitur [pro Milone], stupenda et mirabilis docet vita. 6 Quid enim magnum vir ille domi forisque non habuit? Amavit parentes. Quid mirum? Amavit et fratres : iam potest dignum esse miraculo. Amavit propinquos : res nostris temporibus comparanda miraculo; invidit nulli, malos persecutus est. Fures iudices palam aperteque damnavit, stultis quasi reglegenter indulxit. 7 Leges optimas dedit. 8 Talis in re p. fuit, ut eius stirpem ad imperium summi principes eligeret, emendatior senatus optaret.

III. 1 In gratiam me quispiam putet Constantii Caesaris loqui, sed testis est et tua conscientia et vita mea me nihil umquam cogitasse, fecisse gratiosum. 2 Claudium principem loquor, cuius vita, probitas et omnia, quae in re p. gessit, tantam posteris famam dedere, ut senatus populusque Romanus novis eum

honoribus post mortem adfecerit : 3 illi clypeus aureus vel, ut grammatici locuntur, clypeum aureum senatus totius iudicio in Romana curia conlocatum est, ut etiam nunc videtur expressa thorace vultus eius. 4 Illi, quod nulli antea, populus Romanus sumptu suo in Capitolio ante Iovis Optimi Maximi templum statuam auream decem pedem conlocavit. 5 Illi totius orbis iudicio in rostris posita est columna palmata statua superfixa librarum argenti mille quingentarum. 6 Ille, velut futurorum memor, gentes Flavias, quae Vespasiani quoque et Titi, noo autem dicere Domitiani fuerant, propagavit. Ille bellum Gothicum brevi tempore inplvit. 7 Adulator igitur senatus, adulator populus R., adulatrices exterae gentes, adultatrices provinciae, si quidem omnes ordines, omnis aetas, omnis civitas statu, vexillis, coronis, fanis, arcubus bonum principem [aris ac templis] honoraverit.

IV. 1 Interest et eorum, qui bonos imitantur principes, et totius orbis humani cognoscere, quae de illo viro senatus consulta sint condita, ut omnes iudicium publicae mentis adnoscant : 2 nam cum esset nuntiatum VIII. kal. Aprilis ipso in sacrario Matris sanguinis die Claudium imperatorem factum neque cogi sanatus sacrorum celebrandorum causa posset, sumptis togis itum est ad Apollinis templum ac lectis litteris Claudii principis haec in Claudium dicta sunt : 3 “Auguste Claudii, dii te praestent.” Dictum sexagies. “Claudii Auguste, <te> principem aut qualis tu es, semper optavimus.” Dictum quadragies. “Claudii Auguste, te res p. requirebat.” Dictum quadragies. “Claudii Auguste, tu frater, tu pater, tu amicus, tu bonus senator, tu vere princeps.” Dictum octogies. 4 “Claudii Auguste, tu nos ab Aureolo vindica.” Dictum quinquies. “Claudii Auguste, tu nos a Palmyrenis vindica.” Dictum quinquies. “Claudii Auguste, tu nos a Zenobia et a Vitruvia libera.” Dictum septies. “Claudii Auguste, Tetricus nihil fecit.” Dictum septies.

V. 1 Qui primum, ut factus est imperator, Aureolum, qui gravior rei p. fuerat, quod Gallieno multum placebat, conflictu habito a rei p. gubernaculis depulit tyrannumque missis ad populum edictis, datis etiam ad senatum orationibus iudicavit. 2 His accepit quod regantem Aureolum et foedus petentem imperator gravis et serius non audivit, responso tali repudiatum : “Haec a Gallieno petenda fuerant; qui consentiret moribus, poterat et timere”. 3 Denique iudicio suorum militum apud Mediolanium Aureolum dignum exitum vita ac moribus suis habuit, et hunc tamen quidam historici laudare conati sunt, et ridicule quidem. 4 Nam Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum et historicorum dehonestamentum, principium de Aureolo habuit : “Venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui.” 5 Magna videlicet virtus ab auro nomen accipere. At ego scio saepius inter gladiatores bonis propugnatoribus hoc nomen adpositum. Habuit proxime tuus libellus munerarius hoc nomen in indice ludiorum.

VI. 1 Sed redeamus ad Claudium. Nam, ut superius diximus [triginta], illi Gothi, qui evaserant eo tempore, quo illos Marcianus est persecutus, quosque Claudius emit non siverat, ne [qu]id fieret, quod effectum est, omnes gentes suorum ad Romanas incitaverant praedas. 2 Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peuci, Grutungi Austrogoti, Tervingi, Visi, Gipedes, Celtae et Eruli, praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum inrup[uen]erunt atque illic pleraque vastarunt, dum aliis occupatus est Claudius dumque se ad id bellum, quod confecit, imperatorie instruit, ut videantur fata Romana boni principis occupatione lentata, 3 sed credo, ut Claudii gloria ad cresceret eiusque fieret gloriosior toto penitus orbe victoria. 4 Armatorum denique gentium trecenta viginti milia tunc fuere. 5 Dicat nunc, qui nos adulationis accusat, Claudium minus esse amabilem. Armatorum trecenta viginti milia : quis tandem Xerxes hoc habuit? Quae fabella istum numerum adfinxit? Quis poeta conposuit? Trecenta viginti milia armatorum fuerunt. 6 Adde servos, adde familias, adde carraginem et epotata flumina consumptasque silvas, laborasse denique terram ipsam, quae tantum barbarici tumoris excepit.

VII. 1 Extat ipsius epistola missa ad senatum legenda ad populum, qua indicat de numero barbarorum, quae talis est : 2 “Senatui populoque Romano Claudius princeps.” (Hanc autem ipse dictasse perhibetur, ego verba magistri memoriae non requiro.) 3”p. c., mirantes audite quod verum est. Trecenta viginti milia barbarorum in Romanorum solum armati venerunt : haec si vicero, vos vicem reddite meritis; si non vicero, scitote me post Gallienum velle pugnare. 4 Fatigata est tota res p. pugnamus post Valerianum, post Ingenium, post Regilianum, post Lollianum, post Postumum, post Celsum, post mille alios, qui contemptu <G>al<l>i<en>i principis a re p. defecerunt. 5 Non scuta, non spathae, non pila iam supersunt. Gallias et Hispanias, vires rei p., Tetricus tenet, et omnes sagittarios, quod pudet dicere, Zenobia possidet. Quicquid fecerimus, satis grande est.” 6 Hos igitur Claudius ingenita illa virtute superavit, hos brevi tempore adtrivit, de his vix aliquos ad patrium solum redire permisit. Rogo, quantum petium est clypeus in curia tantae victoriae? Quantum una aurea statua? 7 Dicit Ennius de Scipione : “Quantam statuam faciet populus R., quantam columnam, quae res tuas gestas loquatur?” 8 Possumus dicere Flavium Claudium, unicum in terris principem, non columnis, non statuis, sed famae viribus adiuvari.

VIII. 1 Habuerunt praeterea duo milia navium, duplicem scilicet numerum quam illum, quo tota pariter Graecia omnisque Thessalia urbes Asiae quondam expugnare conata est. Sed illud poeticus stilus fingit, hoc vera continet historia. 2 Claudio igitur scriptores adulamur, qui duo milia navium barbararum et trecenta viginti milia armatorum delevit, oppressit, adtrivit, qui carraginem tantam,

quantam numerus hic armatorum sibimet aptare potuit et parare, nunc incendi fecit, nunc cum omnibus familiis Romano servitio deputavit, 3 ut docetur eiusdem epistola, quam ad Iunium Brocchum scripsit Illyricum tuentem : 4 “Claudius Broccho. delevimus trecenta viginti milia Gothorum, duo milia navigium mersimus. 5 Tecta sunt flumina scutis, spatibus et lanceolis omnia litora operiuntur. Campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter purum est, ingens carrago deserta est. 6 Tantum mulierum cepimus, ut binas et ternas mulieres victor si<bi> miles possit adiungere.

IX. 1 Et utinam Gallienum non esset passa res p.! Utinam sescentos tyrannos non pertulisset! Saxis militibus quos varia proelia sustulerunt, saxis legionibus, quas Gallienus male victor occidit, quantum esset additum rei p.! 2 Si quidem nunc membra naufragii publici colligit nostra diligentia ad Romanae rei p. <corpus>. 3 Pugnatum est enim apud Moesos et multa proelia fuerunt apud Marcianopolim. 4 Multi naufragio perierunt, plerique capti reges, captae diversarum gentium nobiles feminae, inpletae barbaris servis Scythicisque cultoribus Romanae provinciae. Factus limitis barbari colonus e Gotho. 5 Nec ulla fuit regio, quae Gothum servum triumphali quodam servitio non haberet. 6 Quid boum barbarorum nostri videre maiores? Quid ovium? Quid equarum, quas fama nobilitat, Celticarum? Hoc totum ad Claudii gloriam pertinet. Claudius et securitate rem p. et opulentiae nimietate donavit. Pugnatum praeterea est apud Byzantios, ipsis, qui superfuerant, Byzantinis fortiter facientibus. 8 Pugnatum apud Thessalonicenses, quos Claudio absente obsederant barbari. 9 Pugnatum in diversis regionibus et ubique auspiciis Claudianis victi sunt Gothi, prorsus ut iam tunc Constantio Caesari nepoti futuro videretur Claudius securam parare rem p.

X. 1 Et bene venit in mentem : exprimenda est sors, quae Claudio data esse perhibetur Commagenis, ut intellegant omnes genus Claudii ad felicitatem rei p. divinitus constitutum. 2 Nam cum consuleret factus imperator, quamdiu imperaturus esset, sors talis emersit :

3 Tu, qui nunc patrias gubernas oras
et mundum regis, arbiter deorum,
tu <vinces> veteres tuis novellis;
regnabunt etenim <tui> minores
et reges facient suos minores.

4 Item cum in Appennino de se consuleret, responsum huius modi accepit :
Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas.

5 Item cum de posteris suis :

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora ponam.

6 Item cum de fratre Quintillo, quem consortem habere volebat imperii, responsum est :

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.

7 Quae idcirco posui ut sit omnibus clarum Constantium divini generis virum, sanctissimum Caesarem et Augustae ipsum familiae esse et Augustos multos de se daturum, salvis Diocletiano et Maximiano Augustis et eius fratre Galerio.

XI. 1 Sed dum haec a divo Claudio aguntur, Palmyreni ducibus Saba et Timagene contra Aegyptios bellum summunt atque ab his Aegyptia pervicaria et indefessa pugnandi continuatione vincuntur. 2 Dux tamen Aegyptiorum Probatius Timagenis insidiis interemptus est. Aegyptii vero omnes se Romano imperatori dederunt in absentis Claudii verba iurantes. 3 Atticiano et Orfito cons. Auspicia Claudiana favor divinus adiuvit. Nam cum se Haemimontum multitudo barbararum gentium, quae superfuerant, contulisset, illic ita fame ac pestilentia laboravit, ut iam Claudius dedignaretur et vincere. 4 Denique finitum est asperrium bellum, terroresque Romani nominis sunt depulsi. 5 Vera dici fides cogit, simul ut sciant hi, qui adulatores nos aestimari cupiunt, id, quod historia dici postulat, <nos> non tacere : 6 eo tempore, quo parta est plena victoria, plerique milites Claudii secundis rebus elati, quae sapientium quoque animos fatigant, ita in praedam versi sunt, ut non cogitarent a paucissimis se posse fu[t]igari, dum occupati animo atque corporibus avertendis praedis inserviunt. 7 Denique in ipsa victoria prope duo milia a paucis barbaris et his, qui fugerant, interempta sunt. 8 Sed ubi hoc comperit Claudius, omnes, qui rebelles animos extulerant, conducto exercitu rapit atque in vincla Romam etiam mittit ludo publico deputandos. Ita id, quod vel fortuna vel milites egerat, virtute boni principis antiquatum est. Nec sola de hoste victoria, sed etiam vindicta praesumpta est. 9 In quo bello, quod (a Claudio) gestum est, equitum Dalmatarum in gens extitit virtus, quod originem ex ea provincia Claudius videbatur ostendere quamvis alii Dardanum et ab Ilo Traianorum <auctore> atque ab ipso Dardano sanguinem dicerent trahere.

XII. 1 Fuerunt per ea tempora et apud Cretam Scythae et Cyprum vastare temptarunt, sed ubique morbo atque <fame> exercitu laborante superati sunt. 2 Finito sane bello Gothico gravissimus morbus increbruit, tunc cum etiam Claudius adfectus morbo mortalis reliquit et familiare virtutibus suis petit caelum. 3 Quo ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante Quintillus frater eiusdem, vir sanctus et sui fratris, ut vere dixerim, frater, delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit imperium, non hereditarium sed merito virtutum, qui factus esset imperator, etiamsi frater Claudii principis non fuisset. 4 Sub hoc barbari, qui superfuerant, Anchialon vastare conati sunt, Nicopolim etiam optinere. Sed illi provincialium virtute obtriti sunt. 5 Quintillus autem ob brevitatem temporis

nihil dignum imperio gerere potuit, nam septima decima die, quod se gravem et serium contra milites ostenderat ac verum principem pollicebatur, eo genere, quo Galba, quo Pertinax interemptus est. 6 Et Dexippus quidem Claudium non dicit occisum, sed tantum mortuum, nec tamen addit morbo, ut dubium sentire videatur.

XIII. 1 Quoniam res bellicas diximus, de Claudii genere et familia saltem pauca dicenda sunt, ne ea, quae scienda sunt, praeterisse videamur : 2 Claudius, Quintillus et Crispus fratres fuerunt. Crispi f[am]ilia Claudia; ex ea et Eutropio, nobilissimo gentis Dardanae viro, Constantius Caesar est genitus. 3 Fuerunt etiam sorores, quarum una, Constantina nomine nupta tribuno Assyriorum, in primis annis defecit. 4 De avis nobis parum cognitum. Varia enim plerique prodiderunt. 5 Ipse Claudius insignis morum gravitate, insignis vita singulari et unica castimonia, vini parcus, ad cibum promptus, statura procerus, oculis ardentibus, lato et pleno vultu, digitis usque adeo fortibus, ut saepe equis et multis ictu pugni dentes excusserit. 6 Fecerat hoc etiam adulescens in militia, cum ludicro Martiali in campo luctamen inter fortissimos quosque monstraret. 7 Nam iratus ei, qui non bateum sed genitalia sibi contorserat, omnes dentes uno pugno excussit. Quae res indulgentiam meruit pudoris vindictae; 8 si quidem tunc Decius imperator, quo praesente fuerat perpetrarum, et virtutem et verecundiam Claudii publice praedicavit donatumque armillis et torquibus a militum congressu facessere praecepit, ne quid atrocius, quam luctamen exigit, faceret. 9 Ipsi Claudio liberi nulli fuerunt, Quintillus duos reliquit, Crispus, ut diximus, filiam.

XIV. 1 Nunc ad iudicia principum veniamus, quae <de> illo a diversis edita sunt, et eatenus quidem ut appareret quandocumque Claudium imperatorem futurum. 2 Epistola Valeriani ad Zosimionem, procuratorem Syriae : “Claudium, Illyricianae gentis virum, tribunum Martiae quintae legioni fortissimae ac devotissimae dedimus, virum devotissimis quibusque ac fortissimis veterum praeferendum. 3 Huic salarium de nostro privato aerario dabis annuos frumenti modois tria milia, hordei sex milia, laridi libras duo milia, vini veteris sextarios tria milia quingentos, olei boni sextarios centum quinquaginta, olei secundi sextarios sescentos, salis modios viginti, cerae pondo centum quinquaginta, feni, paleae, aceti, holeris, herbarum quantum satis est, pellium tentoriarum decurias tringinta, mulos annuos sex, equos annuos tres, camelas annuas decem, mulas annuas novem, argenti in opere annua pondo quinquaginta. Filippeos nostri vultus annuos centum quinquaginta et in sternis quadraginta septem et trientes centum sexaginta. 4 [Item in cauco scyfo pondo undecim]. Item in cauco et scyfo et zuma pondo undecim. 5 Tunicas russas militares annuas duas, sagoclamydes annuas duas, fibulas argenteas inauratas duas, fibulam auream

cum acu Cyprea unam. Balteum argenteum inauratum unum, anulum bigemmem unum uncialem, brachialem unam unciarum septem, torquem libralem unum, cassidem inauratam unam, scuta chrysografata duo, loricam unam, quam refundat. 6 Lanceas Herculianas duas, aclydes duas, falces duas, falces fenarias quattuor. 7 Cocum, quem refundat, unum, mulionem, quem refundat, unum. 8 Mulieres speciosas ex captivis duas. Albam subsericam unam cum purpura Girbitana, subarmalem unum cum purpura Maura. 9 Notarium, quem refundat, unum, structorem, quem refundat, unum. 10 Accubitalium Cypriorum paria duo, interulas puras duas, fascias viriles duas, togam, quam refundat, unam, latum clavum, quem refundat, unum. 11 Venatores, qui obsequantur, duo, carpentarium unum, curam praetorii unum, aquarium unum, piscatorem unum, ducliarium unum. 12 Ligni cotidiari pondo mille, si est copia, sin minus, quantum fuerit et ubi fuerit; coctilium cotidiana vatilla quattuor. 13 Balneatorem unum et ad balneas ligna, sin minus, lavetur in publico. 14 Iam cetera, quae propter minutias suas scribi nequeunt, pro moderatione praestabis, sed ita ut nihil adaeret, et si alicubi aliquid defuerit, noin praestetur nec in nummo exigatur. 15 Haec autem omnia idcirco specialiter non quasi tribuno sed quasi duci detuli, quia vir talis est, ut ei plura etiam deferenda sint.”

XV. 1 Item ex epistola eiusdem alia inter cetera ad Ablavium Murenam praef. Praetori : “Desine autem conqueri, quod adhuc Claudius est tribunus nec exercitus ducis loco accipit, unde etiam senatum et populum conqueri iactabas. 2 Dux factus est et dux totius Illyrici. Habet in potestatem Thracios, Moesos, Dalmatas, Pannonios, Dacos exercitus. 3 Vir ille summus nostro quoque iudicio speret consulatum e[s]t, si eius animo commodum est, quando voluerit, [accipiat] praetorianam accipiat praefecturam. 4 Sane scias tantum ei a nobis decretum salarii, quantum habet Aegypti praefectura, tantum vestium, quantum proconsulatu Africano detulimus, tantum argenti, quantum accipit curator Illyrici metallarius, tantum ministeriorum, quantum nos ipsi nobis per singulas quasque decernimus civitates, ut intellegant omnes, quae sit nostra de viro tali sententia”.

XVI. 1 Item epistola Decii de eodem Claudio. “Decius Messalae praesidi Archaiae salutem.” Inter cetera : “Tribunum vero nostrum Claudium, optimum iuvenem, fortissimum militem, constantissimum civem, castris, senatui et rei p. necessarium, in Thermopylas ire praecipimus mandata eidem cura Peloponnensium, scientes neminem melius omnia, quae iniungimus, esse curaturum. 2 Huic ex regione Dardanica dabis milites ducentos, ex catafractariis centum, ex equitibus sexaginta, ex sagittariis Creticis sexaginta, ex tyronibus bene armatos mille. 3 Nam bene illi novi creduntur exercitus; neque enim illo quisquam devotior, fortior, gravior invenitur.”

XVII. 1 Item epistola Gallieni, cum nuntiatum esset per frumentarios Claudium irasci, quod ille mollius viveret : 2 “Nihil me gravius accepit, quam quod notaria tua intimasti Claudium, parentem amicumque nostrum, insinuatibus sibi falsis plerisque graviter irasci. 3 Quaeso igitur, mi Venuste, si mihi fidem exhibes, ut eum facias a Grato et Herenniano placari, nescientibus hoc militibus Dascianis, qui iam saeviunt, ne graviter rem ferant. 4 Ipse ad eum dona misi, quae ut libenter accipiat, tu facies. Curandum praeterea est, ne me hoc scire intellegat ac sibi suscensere iudicet et pro necessitate ultimum consilium capiat. 5 Misi autem ad eum pateras gemmatas trilibres duas, scyphos aureos gemmatos trilibres duos, discum corymbiatum argenteum librarum viginti, lancem argenteam pampinatam librarum triginta, paternam argenteam hederaciam librarum viginti et trium, boletar alieuticum argenteum librarum viginti, urceos duos auro inclusos, argenteos librarum sex et in vasis minoribus argenti libras viginti quinque, calices Aegyptios operisque diversi decem, 6 clamydes veri luminis limbatas duas, veste diversas sedecim, albam subsericam, paragaudem triuncem unam, zancas de nostris Parthicas paria tria, singiliones Dalmatenses decem, clamydem Dardanicam mantuelem unam, paenulam Illyricianam unam, bardocucullum unum, cucutia villosa duo, 7 oraria Sarabdena quattuor, aureos Valerianos centum quinquaginta, trientes Saloninianos trecentos.”

XVIII. 1 Habuit et senatus iudicia, priusquam ad imperium perveniret, ingentia. Nam cum esset nuntiatum illum cum Marciano fortiter contra gentes in Illyrico dimicasse, adclamavit senatus : 2 “Claudi, dux fortissime, haveas! Virtutibus tuis, devotioni tuae! Claudio statuam omnes dicamus. Claudium consulem omnes cupimus. 3 Qui amat rem p., sic agit, qui amat principes, sic agit, antiqui milites sic egerunt. Felicem te, Claudii, iudicio principum, felicem te virtutibus tuis, consulem te, praefectum te. Vivas Valeri et ameris a principe.” 4 Longum est tam multa, quam meruit vir ille, perscribere; unum tamen tacere non debeo, quod illum et senatus et populus et ante imperium et in imperio et post imperium sic dilexit, ut satis constet neque Traianum neque Antoninos neque quemquam alium principem sic amatum.

DIVUS AURELIANUS FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. 1 Hilaribus, quibus omnia festa et fieri debere scimus et dici, impletis sollemnibus vehiculo suo me et iudiciali carpento praef. urbis, vir inlustris ac praefata reverentia nominandus, Iunius Tiberianus accepit. 2 Ibi cum animus a causis atque a negotiis publicis solutus ac liber vacaret, sermonem multum a Palatio usque ad hortos Varianos instituit et in eo praecipue de vita principum. 3 Cumque ad templum Solis venissemus ab Aureliano principe consecratum, quod ipse non nihilum ex eius origine sanguinem duceret, quaesivit a me, quis vitam eius in litteras rettulisset. 4 Cui cum ego respondissem neminem a me Latinorum, Graecorum aliquos lectitatos, dolorem gemitus sui vir sanctus per haec verba profundit: 5 “ergo Thersiten, Sinonem ceteraque illa prodigia vetustatis et nos bene scimus et posteri frequentabunt: divum Aurelianum, clarissimum principem, severissimum imperatorem, per quem totus Romano nomini orbis est restitutus, posteri nescient? Deus avertat hanc amentiam. 6 Et tamen, si bene novi, ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus. Etiam bella caractere historico digesta, quae velim accipias et per ordinem scribas, additis quae ad vitam pertinent. 7 Quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana sua scribi praeceperat, pro tua sedulitate condiscas. Curabo autem, ut tibi ex Ulpia bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur. 8 Tu velim Aurelianum ita ut est, quatenus potes, in litteras mittas.” 9 Parui, mi Piniane, praeceptis, accepi libros Graecos et omnia mihi necessaria in manum sumpsit, ex quibus ea, quae digna erant memoratu, in unum libellum contuli. 10 Tu velim meo muneri boni consulas et, si hoc contentus non fueris, lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros requiras, quos Ulpia tibi bibliotheca, cum volueris, ministrabit.

II. 1 Et quoniam sermo nobis de Trebellio Pollione, qui a duobus Philippis usque ad divum Claudium et eius fratrem Quintillum imperatores tam claros quam obscuros memoriae prodidit, in eodem vehiculo fuit adserente Tiberiano, quod Pollio multa incuriose, multa breviter prodidisset, me contra dicente neminem scriptorum, quantum ad historiam pertinet, non aliquid esse mentium, prodente quin etiam, in quo Livius, in quo Trogus manifestis testibus convincerentur, pedibus in sententiam transitum faciens ac manum porrigens iocando[m] praeterea: 2 “scribe”, inquit, “ut libet. Securus, quod velis, dices, habiturus mendaciorum comites, quos historicae eloquentiae miramur auctores.”

III. 1 Ac ne multa et frivola pro<o>emiis odiosus intexam, divus Aurelianus ortus, ut plures loquuntur, Sirmii familia obscuriore, ut nonnulli, Dacia ripensi. 2 Ego autem legisse me memini auctorem, qui eum Moesia genitum praedicaret. Et evenit quidem, ut de eorum virorum genitali solo nesciatur, qui humiliore loco et

ipsi plerumque solum genitale confingunt, ut dent posteritati de locorum splendore fulgorem. 3 Nec tamen magnorum principum in rebus summa sciendi est, ubi quisque sit genitus, sed qualis in re p. fuerit. 4 An Platonem magis commendat, quod Atheniensis fuerit quam quod unicum sapientiae munus inluxerit? 5 Aut eo minores invenientur Aristoteles Stragiritae Eleatesque Zenon aut Anacharsis Scythae, quod in nimiris nati sint viculis, cum illos ad caelum omnis philosophiae virtus extulerit?

IV. 1 Atque ut ad ordinem redeam, Aurelianus modicis ortus parentibus, a prima aetate ingenio vivacissimus, viribus clarus, nullum umquam diem praetermisit, quamvis festum, quamvis vacantem, quo non se pilo et sagittis ceterisque armorum exerceret officiis. 2 Matrem quidem eius Callicrates Tyrius, Graecorum longe doctissimus scriptor, sacerdotem templi Solis (i)nvi<cti> in vico eo, in quo habitabant parentes, fuisse dicit. 3 Habuisse quin etiam non nihil divinationis, adeo ut aliquando marito suo iurgans ingesserit, cum eius et stultitiam increparet et vilitatem: “en imperatoris patrem.” Ex quo constat illam mulierem scisse fatalia. 4 Idem dicit auspicia imperii Aureliano haec fuisse: primum pueri eius pelvem serpentem plerumque cinxisse neque umquam occidi potuisse, postremo ipsam matrem, quae hoc viderat, serpentem quasi familiarem occidere noluisse. 5 His accedit quod ex palliolo purpureo, quod Soli sui temporis imperator optulerat, sacerdos mulier crepundia filio fecisse perhibetur. 6 Addit etiam illud, quod vinctum fasceola Aurelianus aquila innoxie de cunis levaverit et in aram posuerit, quae iuxta sacellum forte sine ignibus erat. 7 Idem auctor est vitulum matri eius natum mirae magnitudinis, candidum sed purpurantibus maculis, ita ut haberet in latere uno “ave” et in alio coronam.

V. 1 Multa superflua in eodem legisse <me> memini; quippe qui adseveret etiam rosas in eiusdem mulieris chorte nato Aureliano ex[s]isse purpureas, odoris rosei, floris aurei. 2 Fuerunt et postea multa omina iam militanti futuri, ut res monstravit, imperii. 3 Nam ingrediente eo Antiochiam in vehiculo, quod prae vulnere tunc equo sedere non posset, ita pallium purpureum, quod in honore eius pansom fuerat, decidit, ut umeros eius tegeret. 4 Et cum in equum transire vellet, quia invidiosum tunc erat vehiculis in civitate uti, equus est ei imperatoris adplicatus, cui per festinationem insedit. Sed ubi comperit, semet ad suum transtulit. 5 Data est ei praeterea, cum legatus ad Persas isset, patera, qualis solet imperatori dari a rege Persarum, in qua insculptus erat Sol eo habitu, quo colebatur ab eo templo, in quo mater eius fuerat sacerdos. 6 Donatus eidem etiam elefantus praecipuus, quem ille imperatori optulit, solusque omnium privatus Aurelianus elefanti dominus fuit.

VI. 1 Sed ut haec et talia omittamus, fuit decorus ad gratiam, viriliter speciosus, statura procerior, nervis validissimis, vini et cibi paulo cupidior,

libidinis rarae, severitatis immensae, disciplinae singularis, gladii exserendi cupidus. 2 Nam cum essent in exercitu duo Aureliani tribuni, hic et alius, qui cum Valeriano captus est, huic signum exercitus adposuerat “manu ad ferrum”, ut si forte quaereretur, quis Aurelianus aliquid vel fecisset vel gessisset, suggereretur “Aurelianus manu ad ferrum” atque cognosceretur. 3 Privatim huius multa extant egregia facinora. Nam erumpentes Sarmates in Illyrico cum trecentis praesidiariis solus adtrivit. 4 Refert Theoclius, Caesareanorum temporum scriptor, Aurelianus manu sua bello Sarmatico una die quadraginta et octo interfecisse, plurimis autem et diversis diebus ultra nongentos quinquaginta, adeo ut etiam ballistia pueri et saltatiunculas <in> Aurelianus tales {componerent}, quibus diebus festis militariter saltitarent:

5 Mille mille mille decollavimus.
Unus homo! mille decollavimus.
Mille bibat qui mille occidit.
Tantum vini nemo habet, quantum fudit sanguinis.

6 Haec video esse perfrivola, sed quia supra scriptus auctor ita eadem ut sunt Latina suis scriptis inseruit, tacenda esse non credidi.

VII. 1 Idem apud Mogontiacum tribunus legionis sextae Gallicanae Francos inruentes, cum vagarentur per totam Galliam, sic adflixit, ut trecentos ex his captos septingentis interemptis sub corona vendiderit. 2 Unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena:

Mille Sarmates, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus,
mille Persas quaerimus.

3 Hic autem [ut supra] militibus ita timori fuit, ut sub eo, posteaquam semel cum ingenti severitate castrensia peccata correxit, nemo peccaverit. 4 Solus denique omnium militem, qui adulterium cum hospitis uxore commiserat, ita punivit, ut duarum arborum capita inflecteret, ad pedes militis deligaret easdemque subito dimitteret, ut scissus ille utrimque penderet, quae res ingentem timorem omnibus fecit. 5 Huius epistola militaris est ad vicarium suum data huius modi: “si vis tribunus esse, immo si vis vivere, manus militum contine. Nemo pullum alienum rapiat, ovem nemo contingat. Uvam nullus auferat, segetem nemo deterat, oleum, salem, lignum nemo exigat, annona sua contentus sit. De praeda hostis, non de lacrimis provincialium habeant. 6 Arma tersa sint, ferramenta samiata, calciamenta fortia. Vestis nova vestem veterem excludat. Stipendium in balteo, non in popina habeat. 7 Torquem, brachialem, anulum

adponat. Equum et sagmarium suum defricet, caput animalis non vendat, mulum centuriatum communiter curent. 8 Alter alteri quasi &ldom>in<o>, nemo quasi servus obsequatur, a medicis gratis curentur, haruspibus nihil dent, in hospitibus caste se agant, qui litem fecerit, vapulet.”

VIII. 1 Inveni nuper in Ulpia bibliotheca inter linteos libros epistolam divi Valeriani de Aureliani principe scriptam. Ad verbum, ut decebat, inserui. 2 “Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli. Culpa me familiaribus litteris, quod Postumo filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim, cum utique severiori et puer credendus fuerit et exercitus. Ne tu id iustius iudicabis, si bene scieris, quanta sit Aurelianus severitatis: 3 nimius est, multus est, gravis est et ad nostra iam non facit tempora. 4 Testor autem omnes deos me etiam timuisse, ne quid etiam erga filium meum severius [si quid] ille fecisset, cum — ut est natura pronus ad ludicra — levius cogitaret.” 5 Haec epistula indicat, quanta fuerit severitatis, ut illum Valerianus etiam timuisse se dicat.

IX. 1 Eiusdem Valeriani alia est epistola, quae laudes illius continet. Quam ego ex scriniis praefecturae urbanae protuli. Nam illi Romam venienti slaria sui ordinis sunt decreta. Exemplum epistolae: 2 “Valerianus Augustus Ceionio Albino praefecto urbi. Vellemus quidem singulis quibusque devotissimis rei p. viris multo maiora defferre compendia, quam eorum dignitas postulat, maxime ubi honorem vita commendat — debet enim quid praeter dignitatem pretium esse meritorum -, sed facit rigor publicus, ut accipere de provinciarum inlationibus ultra ordinis sui gradum nemo plus possit. 3 Aurelianus, fortissimum virum, ad inspicienda et ordinanda castra omnia destinavimus, cui tantum a nobis atque ab omni re p, communi totius exercitus confessione debetur, ut digna illo vix aliqua vel nimis magna sint munera. 4 Quid enim in illo non clarum? Quid non Corvinis et Scipionibus conferendum? Ille liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum restitutor, ille dux magni toti[u]s exempli. Et tamen nihil praeterea possum addere tanto viro ad muneris gratiam — <non> patitur sobrie et bene geranda res p. 6 Quare sinceritas tua, mi parens carissime, supra dicto viro ad[f]iciet, quamdiu Romae fuerit, panes militares mundo sedecim, panes militares castrenses quadraginta, vini mensalis sextarios quadraginta, porcellum dimidium, gallinaceos duos, porcinae ponda triginta, bubulae pondo quadraginta, olei sextarium unum et item [olei sextarium unum] liquaminios sextarium unum, salis sextarium unum, herbarum, holerum quantum sat est. 7 Sane quoniam ei aliquid praecipue decernendum est, quamdiu Romae fuerit, pabula extra ordinem decernes, ipsi autem ad sumptus aureos Antoninianos diurnos binos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, aeris denarios centum. Reliqua per praefectos aerarii praebeantur.”

X. 1 Frivola haec fortassis cuiquam et nimis levia esse videantur, sed curiositas

nil recusat. 2 Habuit ergo multos ducatus, plurimos tribunatus, vicarias ducum et tribunorum diversis temporibus prope quadraginta, usque adeo etiam Ulpii Criniti, qui se de Traiani genere referebat, et fortissimi re vera viri et traiani simillimi, qui pictus est cum eodem Aureliano in templo Solis, quem valerianus Caesaris loco habere instituerat, vicem sumeret, exercitum duceret, limitem restitueret, praedam militibus daret, Thrachias bubus, equis, mancipiis captis locupletaret, manubias in Palatio conlocaret, quingentos servos, duo milia vaccarum, equas mille, ovium decem milia, caprearum quindecim in privatam villam Valeriani congereret, 3 tunc cum Ulpius Crinitus publice apud Byzantium sedenti Valeriano in thermis egit gratias dicens magnum de se iudicium habitum, quod eidem vicarium Aurelianum dedisset. Quare eum statuit adrogare.

XI. 1 Interest epistolas nosse de Aureliano scriptas et ipsam adrogationem. Epistula Valeriani ad Aurelianum: “Si esset alius, Aureliane iucundissime, qui Ulpii Criniti vicem posset implere, tecum de eius virtute ac sedulitate cinferrem; nunc te cum <non meliorem> requirere potuissem, suscipe bellum a parte Nicopolis, ne nobis aegritudo Criniti obsit. 2 Fac, quidquid potes. Multa non dico: in tua erit potestate militiae magisterium. 3 Habes sagittarios Ityraeos trecentos, Armenios sescentos, Arabas centum quinquaginta, Saracenos ducentos, Mesopotamenos auxiliares quadringentos; 4 habes legionem tertiam Felicem et equites catafractarios octingentos. Tecum erit Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus, Carioviscus. 5 Commeatus a praefectis necessarius in opmnibus castris est constitutus. 6 Tuum est pro virtutibus tuis atque sollertia illic hiemalia et aestiva disponere, ubi tibi nihil deerit, quaerere praeterea, ubi carrago sit hostium, et vere scire, quanti qualesque sint, ut non in vanum aut annona consum[m]atur aut tela iaciantur, in quibus res bellica constituta est. 7 Ego de te tantum deo favente spero, quantum de Traiano, si viveret, posset sperare res p.; neque enim minor est, in cuius locum vicemque te legi. 8 Consulatum cum eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum sequentem a die undecimo kal. Iuniarum in locum Gallieni et Valeriani sperare te convenit sumptu publico. 9 Levanda est enim paupertas eorum hominum, qui diu in re p. viventes pauperes sunt, et nullorum magis.” 10 His quoque litteris indicatur, quantus fuerit Aurelianus; et re vera, neque enim quisquam aliquando ad summam rerum pervenit, qui non a prima aetate gradibus virtutis ascenderit.

XII. 1 Litterae de consulatu: “Valeriano, cui consulatum detulimus ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus est, ceteris maior, dabis ad editionem circensium aureos Antoninianos trecentos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos tria milia, in aere sestertium quinquagies, tunicas multicias viriles decem, lineas Aegyptias viginti, mantelia Cypria paria duo, tapetia Afra decem, stragula Maura decem, porcos centum, oves centum. 2 Convivium autem publicum edi iubebis senatoribus

equitibus Romanis, hostias maiores duas, minores quattuor.” 3 Et quoniam etiam de adrogatione aliqua me dixeram positurum, quae ad tantum principem pertinerent, 4 quaeso, ne odiosior verbosiorve in ea re videar, quam fidei causa inserendam credidi ex libris Acholi, qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis fuit, libro actorum eius nono:

XIII. 1 Cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium, praesente exercitu, praesente etiam officio Palatino, adsidentibus Nummio Tusco consule ordinario, Baebio Macro praefecto praet., Quinto Ancario praeside orientis, adsidentibus etiam a parte laeva Avulnio Saturnino Scythici limitis duce et Murrentio Mauricio ad Aegyptum destinato et Iulio Tryphone orientalis limitis duce et Maecio Brundisino praefecto annonae orientis et Ulpi[ci]o Crinito duce Illyriciani limitis et Thracici et Fulvio Boio duce Raetici limitis Valerianus Augustus dixit: 2”gratias tibi agit, Aureliane, res p., quod eam a Gothorum potestate liberasti. Abundamus per te praeda, abundamus gloria et his omnibus, quibus Romana felicitas crescit. 3 Cape igitur tibi pro rebus gestis tuis coronas murales quattuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, hastas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quattuor, tunicas russas ducales quattuor, pallia proconsularia duo, togam praetextam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, subarmalem profundum, sellam eburatam. 4 Nam te consulem hodie designo, scripturus ad senatum, ut tibi deputet scipionem, deputet etiam fasces; haec enim imperator non solet dare, sed a senatu, quando fit consul, accipere.”

XIV. 1 Post haec Valeriani dicta Aurelianus surrexit atque ad manus accessit agens gratias militaribus verbis, quae propria et ipsa adponenda decrevi. Aurelianus dixit: 2 “et ego, domine Valeriane, imperator Auguste, ideo cuncta feci, ideo vulnera patienter excepi, ideo et equos et coniuratos meos lassavi, ut mihi gratias ageret res p. et conscientia mea. 3 At tu plus fecisti. Ago ego gratias bonitati tuae et accipio consulatum, quem das. Dii faciant et deus Sol It;in>victus, ut et senatus de me sic iudicet.” 4 Agentibus igitur gratias omnibus circumstantibus Ulpus Crinitus surrexit atque hac oratione usus est: 5 “apud maiores nostros, Valeriane Auguste, quod et familiae meae amicum ac proprium fuit, ab optimis quibusque in filiorum locum fortissimi viri semper electi sunt, ut vel senescentes familias vel fetus matrimoniis iam caducos substitutae fecunditas prolis ornaret. 6 Hoc igitur, quod Cocceius Nerva in Traiano adoptando, quos Ulpus Traianus in Hadriano, quod Hadrianus in Antonino et ceteri deinceps proposita suggestionem fecerunt, in adrogando Aureliano, quam mihi vicarium iudicii tui auctoritate fecisti, censui esse referendum. 7 Iube igitur, ut lege agatur, sitque Aurelianus heres sacrorum nominis et bonorum totiusque iuris Ulpio Crinito iam consulari viro, ipse actutum te iudice consularis.”

XV. 1 Longum est cuncta pertexere. Nam et actae sunt Crinito a Valeriano gratiae, et adoptio, ut solebat, impleta. 2 Memini me in quodam libro Graeco legisse, quod tacendum esse non credidi, mandatum esse Crinito a Valeriano, ut Aurelianus adoptaretur, idcirco praecipue quod pauper esset; sed hoc in medio relinquendum puto. 3 Et quoniam superius epistolam posui, qua sumptus Aureliano ad consulatum delatus est, quare posuerim rem quasi frivolum, eloquendum putavi: 4 vidimus proxime consulatum Furii Placidi tanto ambitu in circo editum, ut non praemia dari aurigis sed patrimonia viderentur, cum darentur tunicae subsericae, lineae paragaudae, darentur etiam equi, ingemescentibus frugi hominibus. 5 Factum est enim, ut iam divitiarum sit, non hominum consulatus, quia utique, si virtutibus defertur, editorem spoliare non debet. 6 Perierunt casta illa tempora et magis ambitione populari peritura sunt. Sed nos, ut solemus, hanc quoque rem in medio relinquimus.

XVI. 1 His igitur tot ac talibus praeiudiciis muneribusque fultus Claudianus temporibus tantus enituit, ut post eum Quintillo quoque eius fratre interempto solus teneret imperium Aureolo interfecto, cum quo Gallienus fecerat pacem. 2 Hoc loco tanta est diversitas historicorum, et quidem Graecorum, ut alii dicant invito Claudio ab volente, alii ab imperatore iam Aureliano eundem occisum, alii vero adhuc a privato. 3 Sed haec quoque media relinquemus, ab ipsis petenda, per quos in litteras missa sunt. 4 Illud tamen constat omne contra Meotidas bellum divum Claudium nulli magis quam Aureliano credidisse.

XVII. 1 Extat epistula, quam ego, ut soleo, fidei causa, immo ut alios annalium scriptores fecisse video, inserendam putavi: 2 “Flavius Claudius [Valeriano] Aureliano suo salutem. Expetit a te munus solitum nostra res p.: adgredere. Quid moraris? Tuo magisterio milites uti volo, tuo ductu tribunos. Gothi oppugnandi sunt, Gothi a Thraciis amovendi. Eorum enim plerique Haemimontum Europamque vexant, qui te pugnante fugerunt. 3 Omnes exercitus Thracicos, omnes Illyricianos totumque limitem in tua potestate constituo: solitam en nobis [a]jede virtutem. Tecum erit etiam frater Quintillus, cum occurrerit. 4 Ego aliis occupatus summam belli illius virtutibus tuis credo. Misi sane equos decem, loricas duas et cetera, quibus munire ad bellum euntem necessitas cogit.” 5 Secundis igitur proeliis usus auspiciis Claudianis rem p. in integrum reddidit atque ipse statim, ut supra diximus, consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator.

XVIII. 1 Equites sane omnes ante imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, cum offensam magistri eorum incurrissent, quod temere Claudio non iubente pugnassent. 2 Idem Aurelianus contra Suebos et Sarmatas isdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit ac florentissimam victoriam rettulit. 3 Accepta est sane clades sub Aureliano a Marcomannis per errorem. Nam dum is

a fronte non curat occurrere subito erumpentibus, dumque illos a dorso persequi parat, omnia circa Mediolanum graviter evastata sunt. Postea tamen ipsi quoque Marcomanni superati sunt. 4 In illo autem timore, quo Marcomanni cuncta vastabant, ingentes Romae seditiones motae sunt paventibus cunctis, ne eadem, quae sub Gallieno fuerant, provenirent. 5 Quare etiam libri Sibyllini noti beneficiis publicis inspecti sunt inventumque, ut in certis locis sacrificia fierent, quae barbari transire non possent. 6 Facta denique sunt ea, quae praecepta fuerant in diverso caerimoniarum genere, atque ita barbari restiterunt, quos omnes Aurelianus carptim vagantes occidit. 7 Libet ipsius senatus consulti formam exponere, quo libros inspici clarissimi ordinis iussit auctoritas:

XIX. 1 Die tertio iduum Ianuariarum Fulvius Sabinus praetor urbanus dixit: “Referimus ad vos, p. c., pontificum suggestionem et Aureliani principis litteras, quibus iubetur, ut inspiciantur fatales libri, quibus spes belli terminandi sacratio deorum imperio continetur. 2 Scitis enim ipsi, quotiescumque gravior aliquis extitit motus, eos semper inspectos neque prius mala publica esse finita, quam ex his sacrificiorum processit auctoritas.” 3 Tunc surrexit primae sententiae Ulpius Silanus atque ita loquutus est: “sero nimis, p. c., de rei p. salute consulimur, sero ad fatalia iussa respicimus more languentium, qui ad summos medicos nisi in summa desperatione non mittunt, proinde quasi peritioribus viris maior facienda sit cura, cum omnibus morbis occurri sit melius. 4 Meministis enim, p. c., me in hoc ordine saepe dixisse, iam tum cum primum nuntiatum est Marcomannos erupisse, consulenda Sibyllae decreta, utendum Apollinis beneficiis inserviendum deorum immortalium praeceptis, recusasse vero quosdam, et cum ingenti calumnia recusasse, cum adulando dicerent tantam principis Aureliani esse virtutem, ut opus non sit deos colat, non de dis immortalibus speret. 5 Quid plura? Audivimus litteras, quibus rogavit opem [dei] deorum, quae numquam cuiquam turpis est. [ut] Vir fortissimus adiuvetur. 6 Agite igitur, pontifices, qua puri, qua mundi, qua sancti, qua vestitu animisque sacris commodi, templum ascendite, subsellia laureata construite, velatis manibus libros evolvite, fata rei p. quae sunt aeterna perquirite. Patrimis matrimisque pueris carmen indicite. Nos sumptum sacris, nos apparatus sacrificiis, nos aras tumultuarias indicemus.”

XX. 1 Post haec interrogati plerique senatores sententias dixerunt, quas longum est innectere. 2 Deinde aliis manus porrigentibus, aliis pedibus in sententias euntibus, plerisque verbo consentientibus conditum est senatus consultum. 3 Itum deinde ad templum, inspecti libri, proditi versus, lustrata urbs, cantata carmina, amburbnium celebratum, ambarvalia promissa, atque ita sollemnitas, quae iuebatur, expleta est. 4 Epistula Aureliani de libris Sibyllinis. Nam ipsam quoque indidi ad fidem rerum. 5 “Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris, proinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia,

non in templo deorum omnium tractaretis. 6 Agite igitur et castimonia pontificum caeremoniisque sollemnibus iuvate principem necessitate publica laborantem. 7 Inspiciantur libri; si quae facienda fuerint, celebrentur: quemlibet sumptum, cuiuslibet gentis captos, quaelibet animalia regia non abnuo, sed libens offero, neque enim indecorum est diis iuvantibus vincere. Sic apud maiores nostros multa finita sunt bella, sic coepta. 8 Si quid est sumptuum, datis ad praefectum aerarii litteris decerni iussi. Est praeterea vestrae auctoritatis arca publica, quam magis refertam repperio esse quam cupio”

XXI. 1 Cum autem Aurelianus vellet omnibus simul facta exercitus sui constipatione concurrere, tanta apud Placentiam clades accepta est, ut Romanum paene solveretur imperium. 2 Et causa quidem huius periculi perfidia et calliditas barbarici fuit motus. 3 Nam cum congregari aperto Marte non possent, in silvas se densissimas contulerunt atque ita nostros vespera incumbente tubarunt. 4 Denique nisi divina ope post inspectionem librorum sacrificiorumque curas monstris quibusdam speciebusque divinis impliciti essent barbari, Romana victoria non fuisset. 5 Finito proelio Marcomannico Aurelianus, ut erat natura ferocior, plenus irarum Romam petit vindictae cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggerebat. Incivilius denique usus imperio, vir alias optimus, seditionum auctoribus interemptis cruentius ea, quae mollius fuerant curanda, compescuit. 6 Interfecti sunt enim nonnulli etiam nobiles senatores, cum his leve quiddam et quod contemni a mitiore principe potuisset vel unus vel levis vel vilis testis obiceret. 7 Quid multa ? Magnum illud et quod iam fuerat et quod non frustra speratum est infamiae tristioris ictu contaminavit imperium. 8 Timeri coepiunt princeps optimus, non amari, cum alii dicerent perodiendum talem principem, non optandum, alii bonum quidem medicum, sed mala ratione curantem. 9 His actis cum videret posse fieri, ut aliquid tale iterum, quale sub Gallieno evenerat, proveniret, adhibito consilio senatus muros urbis Romae dilatavit. Nec tamen pomerio addidit eo tempore, sed postea. 10 Pomerio autem neminem principum licet addere nisi eum, qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam rem p. locupletaverit. 11 Addidit autem Augustus, addidit Traianus, addidit Nero, sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiae Romano nomini sunt tributae.

XXII. 1 Transactis igitur, quae saeptiones atque urbis statum et civilia pertinebant, contra Palmyrenos, id est contra Zenobiam, quae filiorum nomine orientale tenebat imperium, iter flexit. 2 Multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit. Nam in Thraciis et in Illyrico occurrentes barbaros vicit, Gothorum quin etiam ducem Cannaban sive Cannabauden cum quinque milibus hominum trans Danuvium interemit. 3 Atque inde per Byzantium in Bithyniam transitum fecit eamque nullo certamine optinuit. 4 Multa eius magna et praeclara

tam facta quam dicta sunt, sed omnia libro innectere nec possumus fastidii evitatione nec volumus, sed ad intellegendos mores atque virtutem pauca libenda sunt. 5 Nam cum Tyanam venisset eamque obclusam repperisset, iratus dixisse fertur: “canem in hoc oppido non relinquam.” 6 Tunc et militibus acrius incumbentibus spe praedae, et Heraclammone quodam timore, ne inter ceteros occideretur, patriam suam prodente civitas capta est.

XXIII. 1 Sed Aurelianus duo statim praecipua, quod unum severitatem ostenderet, alterum lenitatem, ex imperatoria mente monstravit. 2 Nam et Heraclammonem proditorem patriae suae sapiens victor occidit et, cum milites iuxta illud dictum, quo canem se relicturum apud T[h]yanos negarat, eversionem urbis exposcerent, respondit his: “canem”, inquit, “negavi in hac urbe me relicturum: canes omnes occidite.” 3 Grande principis dictum, grandius militum fac[a]tam, nam iocatum principis, quo praeda negabatur, civitas servabatur, totus exercitus ita quasi ditaretur, accepit. 4 Epistula de Heraclammone: “Aurelianus Augustus Mallio Chiloni. Occidi passus sum cuius quasi beneficio Tyanam recepi. Ego vero proditorem amare non potui et libenter tuli, quod eum milites occiderunt, neque enim mihi fidem servare potuisset, qui patriae non pepercit. 5 Solum denique ex omnibus, qui oppugnabantur, campus accepit. Divitem hominem negare non possum, sed cuius bona eius liberis reddidi, ne quis me causa pecuniae locupletem hominem occidi passum esse criminaretur.”

XXIV. 1 Capta autem civitas est miro modo. Nam cum Heraclammon locum ostendisset aggeris naturali specie tumentem, qua posset Aurelianus cultus ascendere, ille conscendit atque elata purpurea clamide intus civibus, foris militibus se ostendit, et ita civitas capta est, quasi totus in muris Aureliani fuisset exercitus. 2 Taceri non debet res, quae ad famam venerabilis viri pertinet. 3 Fertur enim Aurelianum de Tyanae civitatis eversione vere dixisse, vere cogitasse; verum Apollonium Tyanaeum, celeberrimae famae auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum vere deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma, qua videtur, subito adstitisse atque haec Latine, ut homo pannonius intellegeret, verba dixisse: 4 “Aureliane, si vis vincere, nihil est quod de civium meorum nece cogites. Aureliane, si vis imperare, a cruore innocentium abstine. Aureliane, clementer te age, si vis vivere.” 5 Norat vultum philosophi venerabilis Aurelianus atque in multis eius imaginem viderat templis. 6 Denique statim adtonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum eidem promisit atque in meliorem redit mentem. 7 Haec et a gravibus viris conperi et in Ulpiae bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii magis credidi. 8 Quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilius, antiquius diviniusque inter homines fuit? Ille mortuis reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit. Quae qui velit nosse, Graecos legat libros, qui de eius vita conscripti sunt.

9 Ipse autem, si vita suppetit atque ipsius viri favor vi[s]guerit, breviter saltem tanti viri facta in litteras mittam, non quo illius viri gesta munere mei sermonis indigeant, sed ut ea, quae miranda sunt, omnium voce praedicentur.

XXV. 1 Recepta Tyana Antiochiam proposita omnibus inpunitate brevi apud Dafnem certamine optinuit atque inde praeceptis, quantum probatur, venerabilis viri Apollonii parens humanior atque clementior fuit. 2 Pugnatum est post haec de summa rerum contra Zenobiam et Zabam eius socium apud Emessam magno certamine. 3 Cumque Aureliani equites fatigati iam paene discederent ac terga darent, subito vi numinis, quod postea est proditum, hortante quadam divina forma per pedites etiam equites restituti sunt. Fugata est Zenobia cum Zaba et plenissime parta victoria. 4 Recepto igitur orientis statu Emesam victor Aurelianus ingressus est ac statim ad templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communi officio vota soluturus. 5 Verum illic eam formam numinis repperit, quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. 6 Quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positis et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum, ut suo dicemus loco.

XXVI. 1 Post haec Palmyram iter flexit, ut ea oppugnata laborum terminus fieret. Sed in itinere a latronibus Syris male accepto frequenter exercitu multa perpressus est et in obsidione usque ad ictum sagittae periclitatus est. 6 Epistula ipsius extat ad Mucaporem missa, in qua de huius belli difficultate ultra pudorem imperialem fatetur: 3 “Romani me modo dicunt bellum contra feminam gerere, quasi sola mecum Zenobia et suis viribus pugnet, atque <non> hostium <tantum> quantum si vir a me oppugnandus esset, <adest, sed sub fem>ina (a) conscientia et timore longe deteriore. 4 Dici non potest, quantum hic sagittarum est, qui belli apparatus, quantum telorum, quantum lapidum, nulla pars muri est, quae non binis et ternis ballistis occupata sit; ignes etiam tormentis iaciuntur. 5 Quid plura? Timet quasi femina, pugnat quasi <vir> poenam timen[te]s. Sed credo adiuturos Romanam rem p. [vir] deos, qui numquam nostris conatibus defuerunt.” 6 Denique fatigatus ac pro malis fessus litteras ad Zenobiam misit deditionem illius petens, vitam promittens, quarum exemplum indidi: 7 “Aurelianus imperator Romani orbis et receptor orientis Zenobiae ceterisque, quos societas tenet bellica. 8 Sponte facere debuistis id, quod meis litteris nunc iubetur. Deditionem enim praecipio inpunitate vitae proposita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam, ubi te ex senatus amplissimi sententia conlocavero. 9 Gemmas, aurum, argentum,sericum, equos, camelos in Romanum aerarium conferatis. Palmyrenis ius suum servabitur.”

XXVII. 1 Hac epistula accepta Zenobia superbius insolentiusque rescripsit quam eius quoque fortuna poscebat, credo ad terrorem. Nam eius quoque epistulae exemplum indidi: 2 “Zenobia regina orientis Aureliano Augusto. Nemo

adhuc praeter te hoc, quod poscis, litteris petit. Virtute faciendum est quidquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum. 3 Deditionem meam petis, quasi nescias Cleopatram reginam perire maluisse quam in qualibet vivere dignitate. 4 Nobis Persarum auxillia non desunt, quae iam speramus, pro nobis sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. 5 Latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt. Quid? Si igitur illa venerit manus, quae undique speratur, pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quasi omnifariam victor, imperas.” 6 Hanc epistulam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. Nam illa superior Aureliani Graeca missa est.

XXVIII. 1 His acceptis litteris Aurelianus non erubuit, sed iratus est statimque collecto exercitu ac ducibus suis undique Palmyram obsedit neque quicquam vir fortis reliquit, quod aut imperfectum videretur aut incuratum. 2 Nam et auxilia, quae a Persis missa fuerant, interceptit et alas Saracenas Armaniasque corruptit atque ad se modo ferociter modo subtiliter transtulit, denique multa vi mulierem potentissimam vicit. 3 Victa igitur Zenobia cum fugeret cameliis, quos dromedas vocitant, atque in Aureliani potestatem deducta. 4 Victor itaque Aurelianus totiusque iam orientis possessor, cum in vinculis Zenobiam teneret, cum Persis, Armeniis, Saracenis superbior atque insolentior egit ea, quae ratio temporis postulabat. 5 Tunc illatae vestes, quas in templo Solis videmus, consertae gemmis, tunc Persici dracones et t[h]iarae, tunc genus purpurae, quod postea nec ulla gens detulit nec Romanus orbis vidit.

XXIX. 1 De qua pauca saltem libet dicere. Meministis enim fuisse in templo Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini pallium breve purpureum lanestre, ad quod cum matronae atque ipse Aurelianus iungerent purpuras suas, cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceterae divini comparatione fulgoris. 2 Hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: “Sume purpuram, qualis apud nos est.” 3 Sed hoc falsum fuit. Nam postea diligentissime et Aurelianus et Probus et proxime Diocletianus missis diligentissimis confectoribus requisiverunt tale genus purpurae nec tamen invenire potuerunt. Dicitur enim sandyx Indica talem purpuram facere, si curetur.

XXX. 1 Sed [sed] ut ad incepta redeamus: ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium Zenobiam ad poenam poscentium. 2 Sed Aurelianus indignum aestimans mulierem interimi, occisis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani oculis esset ostentui. 3 Grave inter eos, qui caesi sunt, de Longino filosofo fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Graecas litteras dicitur. Quem quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistula ipsius diceretur dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta. 4 Pacato igitur oriente in

Europam Aurelianus redit victor atque illic Carporum copias adflixit et, cum illum Carpicum senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse ioco fertur: “superest, p. c., ut me etiam Carpiaculum vocetis.” 5 Carpisclum enim genus calciamenti esse satis notum est. <Quod> cognomen [quod] deforme videbatur, cum et Gothicus et Sarmaticus et Armenicus et Parthicus et Adiabenicus iam ille diceretur.

XXXI. 1 Rarum est ut Syri fidem servant, immo difficile. Nam Palmyreni, qui iam victi atque contusi fuerant, Aureliano rebus Europensibus occupato non mediocriter rebellarunt. 2 Sandarionem enim, quem in praesidio illic Aurelianus posuerat, cum sescentis sagittariis occiderunt Achilleo cuidam parenti Zenobiae parantes imperium. 3 Verum adeo Aurelianus, ut eras paratus, e Rhodopa revertit atque urbem, quia ita merebatur, evertit. 4 Crudelitas denique Aureliani vel, ut quidam dicunt, severitas aetenus extitit, ut epistula eius feratur confessionem inmanissimi furoris ostentans. Cuius hoc exemplum est: 5 “Aurelianus Augustus Cerronio gladios. Iam satis Palmyrenorum caesum atque concisum est. Mulieribus non epercimus, infantes occidimus, senes iugulavimus, rusticos interemimus. 6 Cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus? Parcendum est his, qui remanserunt. Credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum suppliciis esse correctos. 7 Templum sane Solis, quod apud Palmyram aquiliferi legionis tertiae cum vexilliferis et draconario et cornicinibus atque liticinibus diripuerunt, ad eam formam volo, quae fuit, reddi. 8 Habes trecentas auri libras <de> Zenobiae capsulis, habes argenti mille octingenta pondo de Palmyrenorum bonis, habes gemmas regias. 9 Ex his omnibus fac cohonestari templum: mihi et diis immortalibus gratissimum feceris. Ego ad senatum scribam petens, ut mittat pontificem, qui dedicet templum.” 10 Haec litterae, ut videmus, indicant satiatam esse inmanitatem principis duri.

XXXII. 1 Securior denique iterum in Europam redit atque illic omnes, qui vagabantur, hostes nota illa sua virtute contudit. 2 Interim res per Thracias Europamque omnem Aureliano ingentes agente Firmus quidam extitit, qui sibi Aegyptum sine insignibus imperii, quasi ut esset civitas libera, vindicavit, 3 ad quem continuo Aurelianus revertit, nec illic defuit felicitas solita. Nam Aegyptum statim recepit atque, ut erat ferox animi, cogitationem ultus, vehementer irascens, quod adhuc Tetricus Gallias optineret, occidentem petit atque ipso Tetrico exercitum suum prodente, quod eius scelera ferre non posset, debitas sibi legiones optinuit. 4 Princeps igitur totius orbis Aurelianus pacatis oriente, Gallis atque undique terris [victo eripe me his invicte malis] Romam iter flexit, <ut> de Zenobia et Tetrico, hoc est de oriente et de occidente, triumphum Romanis oculis exhiberet.

XXXIII. 1 Non absque re est cognoscere, qui fuerit Aureliani triumphus; fuit enim speciosissimus. 2 Currus regit tres fuerunt, in his unus Odenati, argento,

auro, gemmis operosus atque distinctus, alter, quem rex Persarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipse quoque pari opere fabricatus, tertius, quem sibi Zenobia composuerat sperans se urbem Romam cum eo visuram; quod illam non fefellit, nam cum eo urbem ingressa est victa et triumphata. 3 Fuit alius currus quattuor cervis iunctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum. Quo, ut multi memoriae tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invectus est, ut illic caederet cervos, quos cum eodem curru captos vovisse Iovi Optimo Maximo ferebatur. 4 Praecesserunt elephantum viginti, ferae mansuetae Libycae, Palaestinae diversae ducentae, quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum annonae gravaret; tigrides quattuor, camelopardali, alces, cetera talia per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta — praeter captivos gentium barbararum — Blemmyes, Exomitae, Arabes Eudaemomones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus, Gothi, Halani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suevi, Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus, captivi utpote. 5 Praecesserunt inter hos etiam Palmyreni, qui superfuerant, principes civitatis et Aegyptii ob rebellionem.

XXXIV. 1 Ductae sunt et decem mulieres, quas virili habitu pugnae inter Gothos ceperat, cum multae essent interemptae, quas de Amazonum genere titulus indicabat: praelati sunt tituli gentium nomina continentes. 2 Inter haec fuit Tetricus clamide coccea, tunica galbina, braciis Gallicis ornatus, adiuncto sibi filio, quem imperatorem in Gallia nuncupaverat. 3 Incedebat etiam Zenobia, ornata gemmis, catenis aureis, quas alii sustentabant. Praeferebantur coronae omnium civitatum aureae titulis aminentibus proditae. 4 Iam populus ipse Romanus, iam vexilla collegiorum atque castrorum et catafractarii milites et opes regiae et omnis exercitus et senatus — etsi aliquantulo tristior, quod senatores triumphari videbant — multum pompae addiderant. 5 Denique vix nona hora in Capitolium pervenit, sero autem ad Palatium. 6 Sequentibus diebus datae sunt populo voluptates ludorum scaenicorum, ludorum circensium, venationum, gladiatorum, naumachiae.

XXXV. 1 Non praetereundum videtur, quod et populus memoria tenet et fides historica frequentavit, Aurelianus eo tempore, quo proficiscebatur ad orientem, bilibres coronas populo promisisse, si victor rediret, et, cum aureas populus speraret neque Aurelianus aut posset aut vellet, coronas eum fecisse de panibus, qui nunc siligineum suum cotidie toto aevo suo et unusquisque et acciperet et posteris suis dimitteret. 2 Nam idem Aurelianus et porcinae carnis p. R. distribuit, quae hodieque dividitur. 3 Leges plurimas sanxit et quidem salutes. Sacerdotia composuit, templum Solis fundavit et porticibus roboravit; decrevit etiam emolumenta sartis tectis et ministris. 4 His gestis ad Gallias profectus Vindelicos obsidione barbarica liberavit, deinde ad Illyricum redit paratoque magno potius quam ingenti exercitu Persis, quos eo quoque tempore, quo

Zenobiam superavit, gloriosissime iam vicerat, bellum indixit. 5 Sed cum iter faceret, apud Caenofrurium mansionem, quae est inter Heracliam et Byzantium, malitia notarii sui et manu Mucaporis interemptus est.

XXXVI. 1 Et causa occidendi eius quae fuerit et quemadmodum sit occisus, ne res tanta lateat, brevi edisseram. 2 Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit princeps. 3 Hic, cum usque eo severitatem tetendisset, ut et filiam sororis occideret non in magna neque in satis idonea causa, iam primum in odium suorum venit. 4 Incidit autem, ut se res fataliter agunt, ut Mnesteum quendam, quem pro notario secretorum habuerat, libertum, ut quidam dicunt, suum, infensiolem sibi minando redderet, quod nescio quid de [q]eo suspicatus esset. 5 Mnesteus, qui sciret Aurelianum neque frustra minari solere neque, si minaretur, ignoscere, brevem nominum conscripsit mixtis his, quibus Aurelianus vere irascebatur, cum his, de quibus nihil asperum cogitabat, addito etiam suo nomine, quo magis fidem faceret ingestae sollicitudinis, ac brevem legit singulis, quorum nomina continebat, addens disposuisse Aurelianum eos omnes occidere, illos vero debere suae vitae, si viri sint, subvenire. 6 Hic cum exarsissent, timore, qui merebantur offensam, dolore innocentes, <quod> beneficiis atque officiis Aurelianus videbatur ingratus, in supra dicto loco iter facientem principem subito adorti interemerunt.

XXXVII. 1 Hic finis Aureliano fuit, principi necessario magis quam bono. Quo interfecto cum esset res prodita, et sepulchrum ingens et templum illi detulerunt hi, a quibus interemptus est. 2 Sane Mnesteus postea subreptus ad stipitem bestiis obiectus est, quod statuae marmoreae positae in eodem loco utrimque significant, ubi in columnis divo Aureliano statuae constitutae sunt. 3 Senatus mortem eius graviter tulit, gravius tamen p. R., qui vulgo dicebat Aurelianum paedagogum esse senatorum. 4 Imperavit annis <mensibus> sex minus paucis diebus ac rebus magnis gestis inter divos relatus est. 5 Quia pertinet ad Aurelianum, id quod in historia relatum est, tacere non debui. Nam multi ferunt Quintillum, fratrem Claudii, cum in praesidio Italico esset, audita morte Claudii sumpsisse imperium, 6 verum postea, ubi Aurelianum comperit imperare, a toto exercitu eum derelictum; cumque contra eum convenis die vicessimo imperii sui perisse. 7 Quidquid sane scelerum fuit, quidquid denique factionum, Aurelianus toto penitus orbe purgavit.

XXXVIII. 1 Hoc quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror Vabalti filii nomine Zenobiam, non Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse quod tenuit. 2 Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum Felicissimo rationali auctore. Quod acerrime severissimeque conpescuit, septem tamen milibus suorum militum interemptis, ut epistola docet missa ad Ulpium Crinitum ter consulem, qui eum ante adoptaverat: 3 “Aurelianus Augustus Ulpio patri. Quasi fatale quiddam mihi

sit, ut omnia bella, quaecumque gessero, omnes motus ingravescant, ita etiam seditio intramurana bellum mihi gravissimum peperit. Monetarii auctore Felicissimo, ultimo servorum, cui procurationem fisci mandaveram, rebelles spiritus extulerunt. 4 Hi compressi sunt septem milibus Lembariorum et Riparensium et Castrianorum et Daciscorum interemptis. Unde apparet nullam mihi a dis immortalibus datam sine difficultate victoriam.”

XXXIX. 1 Tetricum triumphatum correctorem Lucaniae fecit, filio eius in senatu manente. 2 Templum Solis magnificentissimum constituit. Muros urbis Romae sic ampliavit, ut quinquaginta prope milia murorum eius ambitus teneant. 3 Idem quadru[m]platores ac delatores ingenti severitate persecutus est. Tabulas publicas ad privatorum securitatem exuri in foro Traiani semel iussit. 4 Amnestia etiam sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est [te] exemplo Atheniensium, cuius rei etiam Tullius in Philippicis meminit. 5 Fures provinciales repetundarum ac peculatus reos ultra militarem modum est persecutus, ut eos ingentibus supliciis cruciatibusque puniret. 6 In templo Solis multum auri gemmarumque constituit. 7 Cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam videret, provinciam Transdanuviam Daciam a Traiano constitutam sublato exercitu et provincialibus reliquit, desperans eam posse retineri, abductosque ex ea populos in Moesia conlocavit appellavitque suam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit. 8 Dicitur praeterea huius fuisse crudelitatis, ut plerisque senatoribus simulatam ingereret factionem coniurationis ac tyrannidis, <quo> facilius eos posset occidere. 9 Addunt nonnulli filium sororis, non filiam, ab eodem interfectum, plerique autem etiam filium sororis.

XL. 1 Quam difficile sit imperatorem in locum boni principis legere, et senatus sancti ordinis gravitas probat et exercitus prudentis auctoritas: 2 occiso namque severissimo principe de imperatore deligendo exercitus rettulit ad senatum, idcirco quod nullum de his faciendum putabat, qui tam bonum principem occiderant. 3 Verum senatus hanc eandem electionem in exercitum refudit, sciens non libenter iam milites accipere imperatores eos, quos senatus elegerit. 4 Denique id tertio factum est, ita ut per sex menses imperatorem Romanus orbis non habuerit, omnesque iudices hi permanerent, quos aut senatus aut Aurelianus elegerat, nisi quod pro consule Asiae Faltonius Probus in locum Arelli Fusci delegit<ur>.

XLI. 1 Non iniucundum est ipsas inserere litteras, quas ad senatum exercitus misit: “Felices ac fortes exercitus senatui P. Q. R. Aurelianus imperator noster per fraudem unius hominis et per errorem bonorum ac malorum interemptus est. 2 Hunc inter deos referte, sancti et <venerabiles> domini p. c., et de vobis aliquem, sed dignum vestro iudicio principem mittite. Nos enim de his, qui vel errarunt [qui] vel male fecerunt, imperare nobis neminem patimur.” 3

Rescriptum ex senatus consulto. Cum die III. nonarum Februariarum senatus amplissimus in curiam Pompilianam convenisset, Aurelius Gordianus consul dixit: “Referimus ad vos, p. c., litteras exercitus felicissimi.” 4 Quibus recitatis Aurelius Tacitus, primae sententiae senator, ita loquutus est: — hic autem est qui post Aurelianum sententia omnium imperator est appellatus. — 5 “recte atque ordine consuluisse dii immortales, p.c., si boni principes ferro inviolabiles extitissent, ut longiorem ducerent vitam neque contra eos aliqua esset potestas his, qui neces infandas tristissima mente concipiunt. 6 Viveret enim princeps Aurelianus, quo <neque fortior> neque utilior fuit quisquam. 7 Respirare certe post infelicitatem Valeriani, post Gallieni mala imperante Claudio coeperat nostra res p.; at aedem reddita fuerat Aureliano toto penitus orbe vincente. 8 Ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit, ille Vindelicis iugum barbaricae servitutis amovit. Illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est, redditae Romanis legibus Thraciae. 9 Ille, pro pudor[e], orientem femineo pressum iugo in nostra iura restituit, ille Persas, insultantes adhuc Valeriani nece, fudit, fugavit, oppressit. 10 Illum Saraceni, Blemmyes, Exsomitae, Bactrani, Seres, Hiberi, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti praesentem paene venerati sunt deum. 11 Illius donis, quae a barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum est Capitolium. Quindecim milia librarum auri ex eius liberalitate unum tenet templum, omnia in urbe fana eius micant donis. 12 Quare, p.c., vel deos ipsos iure convenio, qui talem principem interire passi sunt, nisi forte secum eum esse maluerunt. 13 Decerno igitur divinos honores, idque vos omnes aestimo esse facturos. Nam de imperatore diligendo ad eundem exercitum censeo esse referendum. 14 Etenim in tali genere sententiae nisi fiat quod dicitur, et electi periculum erit et eligentis invidia.” 15 Probata sententia est Taciti. Attamen cum iterum atque iterum mitteretur, ex senatus consulto, quod in Taciti vita dicemus, Tacitus factus est imperator.

XLII. 1 Aurelianus filiam solam reliquit, cuius posteri etiam nunc Romae sunt. 2 Aurelianus namque pro consule Ciliciae, senator optimus, sui vere iuris vitaeque venerabilis, qui nunc in Sicilia vitam agit, eius est nepos. 3 Quid hoc esse dicam, tam paucos bonos extitisse principes, cum iam tot Caesares fuerint ? Nam ab Augusto in Diocletianum Maximianumque principes quae series purpuratorum sit, index publicus tenet. 4 Sed in his optimi ipse Augustus, Fl(avius) Vespasianus, Fl(avius) Titus, Cocceius Nerva, divus Traianus, divus Hadrianus, Pius et Marcus Antonini, Severus Afer, Alexander Mammaeae, divus Claudius et divus Aurelianus. Valerianus, enim, cum optimus fuerit, ab omnibus infelicitas separavit. 5 Vides, quaeso, quam pauci sint principes boni, ut bene dicxtum sit a quodam mimico scurra Claudii huius temporibus in uno anulo bonos principes posse perscribi atque depingi. 6 At contra quae series malorum ?

Ut enim omittamus Vitellios, Caligulas et Neronas, quis ferat Maximinos et Filippos atque illam inconditae multitudinis faecem ? Tametsi D[a]ecios excerpere debeam, quorum et vita et mors veteribus comparanda est.

XLIII. 1 Et quaeritur quidem, quae res malos principes faciat: iam primum, mi amice, licentia, deinde rerum copia, amici praeterea improbi, satellites detestandi, eunuchi avarissimi, aulici vel stulti vel detestabiles et, quod negari non potest, rerum publicarum ignorantia. 2 Sed ego a patre meo audiui Diocletianum principem iam privatum dixisse nihil esse difficilius quam bene imperare. 3 Colligunt se quattuor vel quinque atque unum consilium ad decipiendum imperatorem capiunt, dicunt, quid probandum sit. 4 Imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit. Cogitur hoc tantum scire, quod illi loquuntur, facit iudices, quos fieri non oportet, amovet a re p., Quos debeat optinere. Quid multa ? Ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator. 5 Haec Diocletiani verba sunt, quae idcirco inserui, ut prudentia tua sciret nihil esse difficilius bono principe.

XLIV. 1 Et Aurelianum quidem multi neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponunt idcirco quod ei clementia, imperatorum dos prima, defuerit. 2 Verconnius Herennianus praefectus praetorii Diocletiani teste Asclepiodoto saepe dicebat Diocletianum frequenter dixisse, cum Maximiani asperitatem reprehenderet, Aurelianum magis ducem esse debuisse quam principem. Nam eius nimia ferocitas eidem displicebat. 3 Mirabile fortasse videtur quod conpertum Diocletiano Asclepiodotus Celsino consiliario suo dixisse perhibetur, sed de hoc posterius iudicabunt. 4 Docebat enim quodam tempore Aurelianum Gallicanas consuluisse Dryadas sciscitantem, utrum apud eius posteroa imperium permaneret, cum illas respondisse dixit nullius clarius in re p. nomen quam Claudii posterorum futurum. 5 Et est quidem iam Constantius imperator, eiusdem vir sanguinis, cuius puto posteros ad eam gloriam, quae a Dryadibus pronuntiata sit, pervenire. Quod idcirco ego in Aureliani vita constitui, quia haec ipsi Aureliano consulenti responsa sunt.

XLV. 1 Vectigal ex Aegypto urbi Romae Aurelianus vitri, chartae, lini, stuppae atque anabolicas species aeternas constituit. 2 Thermas in Transtiberina regione Aurelianus facere paravit hiemales, quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset. Forum nominis sui in Ostiensi ad mare fundare coepit. In quo postea praetorium publicum constitutum est. 3 Amicos suos honeste ditavit et modice, ut miseria paupertatis effugerent et divitiarum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent. 4 Vestem holosericam neque ipse in vestiario suo habuit neque alteri utendam dedit. 5 Et cum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut tunicopallio blatteo serico uteretur, ille respondit: “absit ut auro fila pensentur.” Libra enim auri tunc libra serici fuit.

XLVI. 1 Habuit in animo, ut aurum neque in cameras neque in tunicas neque in pelles neque in argentum mitteretur, dicens plus auri esse in rerum natura quam argenti, sed aurum per varios brattearum, filiorum et liquationum usus perire, argentum autem in suo usu manere. 2 Idem dederat facultatem, ut aureis, qui vellent, et vasis uterentur et poculis. 3 Dedit praeterea potestatem, ut argentatas privati carruchas haberent, cum antea aerata et eburata vehicula fuissent. 4 Idem concessit, ut blatteas matronae tunicas haberent, ceteras vestes, cum antea coloreas habuissent et ut multum oxypaederotinas. 5 Ut fibulas aureas gregarii milites haberent, idem primus concessit, cum antea argenteas habuissent. 6 Paragaudas vestes ipse primus militibus dedit, cum ante non nisi rectis purpureis acceperant, et quidem aliis monolores, aliis dilores, trilores aliis et usque ad pentelores, quales hodie lineae sunt.

XLVII. 1 Panibus urbis Romae unciam de Aegyptio vectigali auxit, ut quadam epistula data ad praefectum annonae urbis etiam ipse gloriatur: 2 “Aurelianus Augustus Fl(avio) Arabiano praefecto annonae. Inter cetera, quibus dis faventibus Romanam rem p. iuvimus, nihil mihi est magnificentius, quam quod additamento unciae omne[m] annonarum urbicarum genus iuvi. 3 Quod ut esset perpetuum, navicularios Niliacos apud Aegyptum novos et Romae amnicos posui, Tiberina extruxi ripas, vadum alvei tumentis effodi, diis et Perennitati vota constitui, almam Cererem consecravi. 4 Nunc tuum est officium, Arabiane iucundissime, elaborare, ne meae dispositiones in irritum veniant. Neque enim p. R. saturo quicquam potest esse laetius.”

XLVIII. 1 Statuerat et vinum gratuitum p. R. dare, ut, quem ad modum oleum et panis et porcina gratuita praebentur, sic etiam vinum daretur, quod perpetuum hac dispositione conceperat. 2 Etruriae per Aureliam usque ad Alpes maritimas ingentes agri sunt hique fertiles ac silvosi. Statuerat igitur dominis, locorum incultorum qui tamen vellent, gratis dare atque illic familias captivas constituere, vitibus montes conserere atque ex eo opere vinum dare, ut nihil reddituum fiscus acciperet, sed totum p. R. concederet. Facta erat ratio dogae, cuparum, navium et operum. 3 Sed multi dicunt Aurelianum, ne id faceret, praevenit, alii a praef. Praetorii suo prohibitum, qui dixisse fertur: “si et vinum p. R. damus, superest, ut et pullos et anseres demus”. 4 Argumento est id vere Aurelianum cogitasse, immo etiam facere disposuisse vel ex aliqua parte fecisse, quod in porticibus templi Solis fiscalia vina ponuntur, non gratuita populo eroganda sed pretio. 5 Sciendum tamen congiara illum ter dedisse, donasse etiam p. R. tunicas albas manicatas ex diversis provinciis et lineas Afras atque Aegyptias puras, ipsumque primum primum donasse oraria p. R. quibus uteretur populus ad favorem.

XLIX. 1 Displicebat ei, cum esset Romae, habitare in Palatio, ac magis placebat in hortis Sallusti vel in Domitiae vivere. 2 Miliarensem denique

porticum in hortis Sallusti ornavit, in qua cotidie et equos et se fatigabat, quamvis esset non bonae valetudinis. 3 Servos et ministros peccantes coram se caedi iubebat, ut plerique dicunt, causa tenendae severitatis, ut alii, studio crudelitatis. 4 Ancillam suam, quae adulterium cum conservo suo fecerat, capite punivit. 5 Multos servos ex familia propria, qui peccaverant, legibus audiendos iudiciis publicis dedit. 6 Senatum sive senaculum matronis reddi voluerat, ita ut primae illic quae sacerdotia senatu auctore meruissent. 7 Calceos mullos et cereos et albos et hederacios viris omnibus tulit, mulieribus reliquit. Cursores eo habitu, quo ipse habebat, senatoribus concessit. 8 Concubinas ingenuas haberi vetuit. Eunuchorum modum pro senatoriis professionibus statuit, idcirco quod ad ingentia pretia pervenissent. 9 Vas argenti eius numquam triginta libras transiit. Convivium de assaturis maxime fuit. Vino russo maxime delectatus est.

L. 1 Medicum ad se, cum aegrotaret, numquam vocavit, sed ipse se in[a]edia praecipue curabat. 2 Uxori et filiae annum sigillaricium quasi privatus instituit. 3 Servis suis vestes easdem imperator quas et privatus dedit praeter duos senes, quibus quasi libertis plurimum detulit, Antistium et Gillonem, <qui> post eum ex senatus sententia manu missi sunt. 4 Erat quidem rarus in voluptatibus, sed miro modo mimis delectabatur, vehementissime autem delectatus est fagone, qui usque eo multum comedit, ut uno die ante mensam eius aprum integrum, centum panes, herbicem et porcellum comederet, biberet autem infundibulo adposito plus orca. 5 Habuit tempus praeter sedditiones quasdam domesticas fortunatissimum. Populus eum Romanum amavit, senatus et timuit.

FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII TACITUS

I. 1 Quod post excessum Romuli novello adhuc Romanae urbis imperio factum pontifices, penes quos scribendae historiae potestas fuit, in litteras rettulerunt, ut interregnum, dum post bonum principem bonus alius quaeritur, iniretur, hoc post Aurelianum habito inter senatum exercitumque Romanum non invido non tristi sed grato reli<gi>osoque certamine sex totis mensibus factum est. 2 multis tamen modis haec ab illo negotio causa separata est. iam primum enim, cum interregnum initum est post Romulum, interreges tamen facti sunt totusque ille annus per quinos et quaternos dies sive ternos centum senatoribus deputatus est, ita ut, qui valerent, interreges essent singuli dumtaxat. 3 qua re factum est, ut et plus anno[s] interregnum iniretur, ne aliquis sub aequabili dignitate Romani expers remaneret imperii. 4 huc accedit quod etiam sub consulibus tribunisque militaribus praediti<s> imperio consulari, si quando interregnum initum est, interreges fuerunt, nec umquam ita vacua fuit hoc nomine Romana res p., ut nullus interrex biduo saltem triduo crearetur. 5 video mihi posse obici curules magistratus apud maiores nostros quadriennium in re p. non fuisse, sed erant tribuni plebis cum tribunicia potestate, quae pars maxima regalis imperii est. 6 tamen non est proditum interreges eo tempore non fuisse, quin etiam verioribus historicis referentibus declaratum est consules ab interregibus post creatos, qui haberent reliquorum comitia magistratuum.

II. 1 Ergo, quod rarum et difficile fuit, senatus populusque {Romanus} perpessus est, ut imperatorem per sex menses, dum bonus quaeritur, res p. non haberet. 2 quae illa concordia militum? quanta populo quies? quam gravis senatus auctoritas fu[er]it? nullus usquam tyrannus emerit, sub iudicio senatus et militum populiue Romani totus orbis est temperatus; non illi principem quemquam, ut recte facerent, non tribuniciam. potestatem formidabant, sed — quod est in vita optimum — se timebant. 3 Dicenda est tamen causa tam felicium morarum et speciatim in monumentis publicis inserenda, <servanda> eadem posteris humani generis stupenda moderatio, ut discant, qui regna cupiunt, non raptu<m> ire imperia sed mereri: 4 interfecto fraude Aureliano, ut superiore libro scriptum est, calliditate servi nequissimi, errore militarium, (ut apud quos qu<a>elibet commenta plurimum valent, dum modo irati audiunt, plerumque temulenti, certe consiliorum prope semper expertis,) reversis ad bonam mentem omnibus eisdemque ab exercitu[s] graviter confutatis, coeptum est quaeri, ecquis fieri deberet ex omnibus princeps. 5 tunc odio pr<a>esentium exercitus, qui creare imperatorem raptim solebat, ad senatum litteras misit, de quibus priore libro iam dictum est, petens, ut ex ordine suo principem legerent. 6

verum senatus, sciens lectos a se principes militibus non placere, rem ad milites rettulit, dumque id saepius fit, sextus peractus est mensis.

III. 1 Interest tamen, ut sciatur, quemadmodum Tacitus imperator sit creatus: 2 Die VII. kal. Oct(o)b. cum in curiam Pompilianam ordo amplissimus consedisset, Velius Cornificius Gordianus consul dixit: 3 ‘referemus ad vos, p. c., quod saepe rettulimus: imperator est diligendus, <cum> exercitus sine principe recte diutius stare non possit, simul quia cogit necessitas. 4 nam limitem Transrenanum Germani rupisse dicuntur, occupasse urbes validas, nobiles, divites et potentes. 5 iam si nihil de Persicis motibus nuntiatur, cogitate tam leves esse mentes Syrorum, ut regnare vel feminas cupiant potius quam nostram perpeti sanctimoniam. 6 quid Africam? quid Illyricum? quid Aegyptum earumque omnium partium exercitus? quo usque sine principe credimus posse consistere? 7 quare agite, p. c., et principem dicite. aut accipiet enim exercitus, quem elegeritis, aut, si refutaverit, alterum faciet.’

IV. 1 post haec cum Tacitus, qui erat primae sententiae consularis, sententiam incertum quam vellet dicere[t], omnis senatus adclamavit: 2 ‘Tacite Auguste, di[us] te serve<n>t. te diligimus, te principem facimus, tibi curam rei p. orbisque mandamus. 3 suscipe imperium ex senatus auctoritate, tui loci, tuae vitae, tuae mentis est, quod mereris. princeps senatus recte Augustus creatur, prim<a>e sententiae vir recte imperator creatur. 4 ecquis melius quam gravis imperat? ecquis melius quam litteratus imperat? quod bonum faustum salutareque sit, diu privatus fuisti: scis, quem ad modum debeas imperare, qui alios principes pertulisti; scis, quem ad modum debeas imperare, qui de aliis principibus iudicasti.’ 5 at ille: ‘miror, p. c., vos in locum Aureliani, fortissimi imperatoris, senem velle principem, facere. 6 en membra, quae iaculari valeant, quae <h>astile torquere, quae clipeis intonare, quae ad exemplum docendi militis frequenter equitare. vix munia senatus implemus, vix sententias, ad quas nos locus artat, edicimus. 7 videte diligentius, quam aetatem de cubiculo atque umbra in pruinis aestusque mittatis. ac probaturos senem imperatorem milites creditis? 8 videte, ne et rei p. non eum, quem velitis, principem detis, et mihi hoc solum obesse incipiat, quod me unanimiter delegistis.’

V. 1 post haec adclamations senatus haec fuerunt: ‘et Traianus ad imperium senex venit.’ dixerunt decies. ‘et Hadrianus ad imperium senex venit.’ dixerunt decies. ‘et Antoninus ad imperium senex venit.’ dixerunt decies. ‘et tu legisti: incanaque menta regis Romani.’ dixerunt decies. ‘ecquis melius quam senex imperat?’ dixerunt decies. ‘imperatorem te, non militem facimus.’ dixerunt vices. 2 ‘tu iube, milites pugnent.’ dixerunt tricies. ‘habes prudentiam et bonum fratrem.’ dixerunt decies. ‘Severus dixit caput imperare, non pedes.’ dixerunt tricies. ‘animum tuum, non corpus eligimus.’ dixerunt vices. ‘Tacite Auguste, di

te servant!’ deinde ‘omnes, {omnes, omnes}’. 3 interrogatus praeterea, qui post Tacitum sedebat senator consularis, Maecius Faltonius Nic[h]omac<h>us in haec verba disseruit:

VI. 1 ‘Semper quidem, p. c., recte atque prudenter rei p. magnificus hic ordo consuluit, neque a quoquam orbis terrae populo solidior umquam expectata sapientia est, attamen nulla umquam neque gravior neque prudentior in hoc sacrario dicta sententia est. 2 seniore principem fecimus et virum, qui omnibus quasi pater consulat. nihil ab hoc in maturum, nihil prae<pro>perum, nihil asperum formidandum est. omnia seria, cuncta gravia et quasi ipsa res p. iubeat, auguranda sunt. 3 scit enim, qualem sibi principem semper optaverit, nec potes<t> aliud nobis exhibere quam ipse desideravit et voluit. 4 enimvero si recolere velitis vetusta illa prodigia, Neronis dico et Heliogabalos et Commodos seu potius semper Incommodos, certe non hominum magis vitia illa quam aetatum fuerunt. 5 dii avertant principes pueros et patres patriae dici inpueres et quibus ad suscribendum magistri litterari manus teneant, quos ad consulatus dandos dulcia et circuli et quaecumque voluptas puerilis invitet. 6 quae (malum) ratio est habere imperatorem, qui famam curare non noverit, qui, quid sit res p., nesciat, nutritorem timeat, respiciat ad nutricem, virgarum magistralium ictibus terrorique subiaceat, faciat eos consules, duces, iudices, quorum vitam, merita, aetates, familias, gesta non norit. 7 sed quo[d] diutius, p. c., protrahor? magis gratulemur, quod habemus principem senem, quam illa iteremus, quae plus quam lacrimanda tolerantibus extiterunt. 8 gratias igitur diis immortalibus ago atque habeo, et quidem pro universa re p., teque, Tacite Auguste, convenio petens, obsecrans ac libere pro communi patria legibus<que> deposcens, ne parvulos tuos, si te citius fata praevenierint, facias Romani heredes imperii, ne sic rem p. patresque conscriptos populumque Romanum ut villulam tuam, ut colonos tuos, ut servos tuos relinquant. 9 quare circumspice, imitare Nervas, Traianos, Hadrianos. ingens est gloria morientis principis rem p. magis amare quam filios.’

VII. 1 Hac oratione et Tacitus ipse vehementer est motus et totus senatorius ordo concussus, statimque adclamatum est: ‘omnes, omnes.’ 2 Inde itum ad campum Martium. ibi comitiale tribunal ascendit. ubi praef. urbis <A>elius Cesettianus sic loquutus est: 3 ‘vos sanctissimi milites et sacratissimi vos Quirites, habetis principem, quem de sententia omnium exercitu<u>m senatus elegit: Tacitum dico, augustissimum virum, ut qui hactenus sententiis suis rem p., nunc <a>diu<v>et iussis atque consultis.’ 4 adclamatum est a populo: ‘felicissime Tacite Auguste, dii te servant’, et reliqua quae solent dici. 5 Hoc loco tacendum non est plerosque <in> litteras rettulisse Tacitum absentem et in Campania positum principem nuncupatum: verum est nec dissimulare possum. 6 nam cum rumor emersisset illum imperatorem esse faciendum, discessit atque in

Baiano duobus mensibus fuit. 7 sed inde deductus huic senatus consulto interfuit, quasi vere privatus et qui vere recusaret imperium.

VIII. 1 ac ne quis me temere Graecorum alicui Latinorumve aestimet credidisse, habet in bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit. 2 nam diu haec senatus consulta, quae ad principes pertineba<n>t, in libris elephantinis scribebantur. 3 Inde ad exercitus profectus. ibi quoque, cum primum tribunal ascendit, Moesius Gallicanus praefectus praetori in haec verba disseruit: 4 ‘dedit, sanctissimi commilitones, senatus principem, quem petistis; paruit praeceptis et voluntati castrensium ordo ille nobilissimus. plura mihi apud vos praesente iam imperatore non licet loqui. ipsum igitur, qui tueri nos debet, loquentem dignanter audite.’ 5 post hoc Tacitus Augustus dixit: ‘et Traianus ad imperium senex venit, sed ille ab uno delectus est, at me, sanctissimi commilitones, primum vos, qui scitis principes adprobare, deinde amplissimus senatus dignum hoc nomine iudicavit: curabo, enitar, efficiam, ne vobis desint, si non fortia facta, at sal[u]tem vobis atque imperatore digna consilia.’

IX. 1 Post hoc stipendium et donativum ex more promisit et primam orationem ad senatum talem dedit: ‘ita mihi liceat, p. c., sic imperium regere, ut a vo[li]bis me constet electum, ut ego cuncta ex vestra facere sententia et potestate decrevi. ve<st>rum est igitur ea iubere atque sancire, quae digna vobis, digna modesto exercitu, digna populo Romano esse videantur.’ 2 in eadem oratione Aureliano statuam auream ponendam in Capitolio decrevit, item statuam argenteam in curia[m], item in templo Solis, item in foro divi Traiani. sed aurea non est posita, dedicatae autem sunt solae argenteae. 3 in eadem oratione cavit, ut, si quis argento publice privatimque aes miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis aeri plumbum, capital esset cum bonorum proscriptione. 4 in eadem oratione cavit, ut servi in dominorum capita non interrogarentur, ne in causa maiestatis quidem. 5 addidit, ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent. divorum templum fieri iussit, in quo essent statuae principum bonorum, ita ut isdem natalibus suis et Parilibus et kalendis Ianuariis et Votis libamina ponerentur. 6 in eadem oratione fratri suo Floriano consulatum petit et non impetravit, idcirco quod iam senatus omnia nundi<ni>a suffectorum consulum clauserat. Dicitur autem multum laetatus senatus libertate, quod ei negatus est consulatus, quem fratri petierat. fertur denique dixisse: ‘scit senatus quem principem fecerit.’

X. 1 Patrimonium suum publicavit, quod habuit in redditibus, sestertium bis milies octingenties. pecuniam, quam domi collegerat, in stipendium militum vertit. togis et tunicis isdem est usus quibus privatus. 2 meritoria intra urbem stare vetuit, quod quidem diu tenere non potuit. thermas omnes ante lucernam

claudi iussit, ne quid per noctem seditionis oriretur. 3 Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus bibliothecis conlocari iussit. ne[c] lectorum incuria deperiret, librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in evicos archi<i>s iussit et in bybliotheis poni. 4 <h>olosericam vestem viris omnibus interdixit. domum suam destrui praecepit atque in eo loco thermas publicas fieri privato sumptu iussit. 5 columnas centum Numidicas pedum vicenum ternum Ostiensibus donavit de proprio. possessiones, quas in Mauritania habuit, sartis tectis Capitolii deputavit. 6 argentum mensale[m], quod privatus habuerat, ministeriis conviviorum, quae in templis fierent, dedicavit. 7 servos urbanos omnes manu misit utri<u>sque sexus, intra centum tamen ne Canini[m]am transire videretur.

XI. 1 Ipse fuit vitae parcissimae, ita ut sextarium vini tota die numquam potaverit, saepe intr<a h>eminam. 2 convivium vero unius galli[ca]nacei, ita ut <s>incipit adderet et ova. prae [h]om[i]nibus holeribus adfatim ministratis lactucis impatienter indulgit, somnum enim se mercari illa sumptus effusione dicebat. amariore cibos adpetivit. 3 balneis raro usus est atque adeo validior fuit in senectute. vitreorum diversitate atque operositate vehementer est delectatus. panem nisi siccum numquam comedit eundemque sale atque aliis rebus conditum. 4 fabricarum peritissimus fuit, marmorum cupidus, nitoris senatorii, venationum studiosus. 5 mensam denique suam numquam nisi agrestibus opimavit. fasianam avem nisi suo et suorum natali et diebus festissimis non posuit. hostias suas semper domum revocavit isdemque suos vesci iussit. 6 uxorem gemmis uti non est passus. auro clavatis vestibus idem interdixit. nam et ipse auctor Aureliano fuisse perhibetur, ut aurum a vestibus et cameris et pellibus summovertet. 7 multa huius feruntur, sed longum est ea in litteras mittere. quodsi quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire, legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam adfatim scripsit. 8 legit sane senex minutulas litteras ad stuporem nec umquam nocte<m> intermisit, qua non aliquid vel scriberet ille vel legeret praeter posterum kalendarum diem.

XII. 1 Nec tacendum est et frequenter intimandum tantam senatus laetitiam fuisse, quod eligendi principis cura ad ordinem amplissimum revertisset, ut et supplicationes decernerentur, et hecatombe[n] promitteretur, singuli[s] denique senatores ad suos scriberent, nec ad suos tantum sed etiam ad externos, mitterentur praeterea litterae ad provincias: scirent omnes socii omnesque nationes in antiquum statum re[d]disse rem p. ac senatum principes legere, immo ipsum senatum principem factum, leges a senatu petendas, reges barbaros senatui supplicaturos, pace<m> ac bella senatu auctore tractanda. 2 ne quid denique deesset cognitioni, plerasque huius modi epistulas in fine libri posui, et cum cupiditate et sine fastidio, ut aestimo, perlegendas.

XIII. 1 Et prima quidem illi cura imperatoris facti haec fuit, ut omnes, qui Aurelianum occiderant, interimere[n]t, bonos malosve, cum iam ille vindicatus esset. 2 et quoniam a Maeotide multi barbari eruperant, hos eosdem consilio atque virtute[o] conp[e]ressit. 3 ipsi autem Mae<o>tidae ita se gregabant, quasi accitu Aureliani ad bellum Persicum convenissent auxilium daturi nostris, si necessitas postularet. 4 M. Tullius dicit magnificentius esse dicere, quemadmodum <gesserit quam quemadmodum> ceperit consulatum: at in isto viro magnificum fuit quod tanta gloria cepit imperium; gessit autem propter brevitatem temporum nihil magnum. 5 interemptus est enim insidiis militaribus, ut alii dicunt, sexto mense, ut alii, morbo interiit. tamen constat factionibus eum oppressum mente atque animo defecisse. 6 hic idem mensem Septembrem Tacitum appellari iussit, idcirco quod eo mense et natus et factus est imperator.

Huic frater Florianus <in> imperio successit, de quo pauca ponenda sunt.

XIV. (Flor. 1) 1 Hic frater Taciti[s] germanu<s> fuit, qui post fratrem arripuit imperium, non senatus auctoritate sed suo motu, quasi hereditarium esse<t> imperium, cum sciret adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori c<o>episset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem principem faceret. 2 denique vix duobus mensibus imperium tenuit et occisus est Tarsi a militibus, qui Probum audierant imperare, quem omnis exercitus legerat; 3 tantus autem Probus fuit in[te] re militari, ut illum senatus optaret, miles eligeret, ipse p. R. adclamationibus peteret. 4 fuit etiam Florianus morum fratris imitator, nec tamen usque<qua>que. nam effusionem in eo frater frugi reprehendit, e<t> haec ipsa imperandi cupiditas aliis eum moribus ostendit fuisse quam fratrem. 5 Duo igitur principes una extiterunt domo, quorum alter sex mensibus, alter vix duobus imperaverunt, quasi quidam interreges inter Aurelianum et Probum. [post interregnum principes nuncupati.]

XV. (2) 1 Horum statuae fuerunt Interamnae duae pedum tricenum e marmore, quod illic eorum cenotafia constituta sunt in solo proprio; sed deiectae fulmine ita contritae sunt, ut membratim iaceant dissipatae. 2 quo tempore responsum est ab haruspibus quandocumque ex eorum familia imperatorem Romanum futurum seu per feminam seu per virum, qui det iudices Parthis ac Persis, qui Francos et [h]Alamannos sub Romanis legibus habeat, qui per omnem Africam barbarum non relinquat, qui Taprobanis praesidem inponat, qui ad Iuverniam insulam proconsulem mittat, qui Sarmatis omnibus iudicet, qui terram omnem, qua Oceano ambitur, captis omnibus gentibus suam faciat, postea tamen senatui reddat imperium et antiquis legibus vivat, ipse victurus annis centum viginti et sine herede moriturus. 3 futurum autem eum dixerunt a die fulminis praecipitati[s] statuisque confractis post annos mille. 4 non magna haec urbanitas haruspicum fuit, qui principem talem post mille annos futurum esse dixerunt,

quia, si post centum annos praedicerent, forte possent eorum depr[a]ehendi mendacia pollicentes, cum vix remanere talis possit historia. 5 ego tamen haec idcirco inserenda volumini credidi, ne quis me legens legisse non crederet.

XVI. (3) 1 Tacitus congiarium p. R. intra sex menses vix dedit. 2 imago eius posita est in Quintiliorum in una tabula quinquiplex, in qua semel togatus, semel clamydatus, semel armatus, semel palliatus, semel venatorio habitu. 3 de qua quidam epigrammatarius ita allusit, ut diceret: ‘non agnosco senem armatum, non clamydatum’ inter cetera, ‘sed agnosco togatum.’ 4 et Floriani liberi et Taciti multi extiterunt, quorum sunt posteri, credo, millesimum annum expectantes. in quos multa epigrammata {scripta sunt}, qui<bus> iocati sunt aruspices imperium pollicentes. 5 Haec sunt, quae de vita Taciti atque Floriani digna memoratu comper[r]isse <me> memini. 6 nunc nobis adgrediendus est Probus, vir domi, foris {que} conspicuus, vir Aureliano, Traiano, Hadriano, Antoninis, Alexandro, Claudioque praeferendus, nisi quia in illis varia, in hoc omnia praecipua iunc<tim> fuere, qui post Tacitum omnium iudicio bonorum imperator est factus orbemque terrarum pacatissimum gubernavit, dele[c]tis barbaris gentibus, deletis etiam plurimis tyrannorum, qui eius temporibus extiterunt, de quo dictum est <dignum esse>, ut Probus diceretur, etiamsi Probus nomine non fuisset. quem quidem multi ferunt etiam Sibyllinis libris promissum, qui si diutius fuisset, orbis terrae barbaros non haberet. 7 haec ego in aliorum vita de Probo credidi praelib[er]anda, ne dies, <h>ora, momentum aliquid sibi vindicaret in me necessitate fatali ac Probo indicto deperirem. 8 nunc quoniam interim meo studio {satisfeci, claudam istud volumen} satis factum arbitrans studio et cupiditati meae.

XVII. (4) 1 Omina imperii Tacito haec fuerunt: fanaticus quidam in templo Silvani tensis membris exclamavit: ‘tacita purpura, tacita purpura’, idque septimo. quod quidem postea om<i>ni deputatum est. 2 vinum, quo libaturus <Ta>citus fuerat in templo Herculis Fundani, subito purpureum factum est. 3 vitis, qu<a>e uvas Aminnias albas fereba[n]t, eo anno, quo ille imperium meruit, <pur>purascere plurima purpurea facta sunt. 4 mortis omina haec fuerunt: patris sepulchrum {subito} disruptis ianuis se aperuit. matris umbra se[m] per diem et Tacito et Floriano velut viventis optulit, nam diversis patribus nati ferebantur. in larario dii omnes seu terrae motu seu casu aliquo conciderunt. 5 imago Apollinis, quae ab his colebatur, ex summo fastigio in lectulo posita sine hominis cuiuspiam manu deprehensa est. sed quousque ultra progredimur? sunt a quibus ista dicantur. nos ad Probum et ad Probi gesta insignia reseruemus.

XVIII. (5) 1 Et quoniam me promisi aliquas epistulas esse positurum, quae creato Tacito principe gaudia senatus ostenderent, his additis finem scribendi faciam. 2 epistulae publicae: ‘senatus amplissimus curi<a>e Carthaginensi

salutem dicit. quod bonum, faustum, felix salutareque sit rei p. orbique Romano, dandi ius imperii, appellandi principis, nuncupandi Augusti ad nos revertit. 3 ad nos igitur referte, quae magna sunt. omnis provocatio prae<fecti> urbis erit, quae tamen a proconsulibus et ab ordinariis iudicibus emerit. 4 in quo quidem etiam vestram in antiquum statum redisse credimus dignitatem, si quidem primus hic ordo est, qui recipiendo vim suam ius suum ceteris servat.’ 5 alia epistula: ‘se[r]natus amplissimus curiae Trevirorum. ut estis liberi et semper fuistis, laetari vos credimus. creandi[s] principis iudicium ad senatum redit, simul etiam praefectur<a>e urbanae appellatio universa decreta est.’ 6 eodem modo scriptum est Antioch<h>ensibus, Aquileiensibus, Mediolanensibus, Alexandrinis, Thessalonicensibus, Corinthiis et Atheniensibus.

XIX. (6) 1 Privatae autem epistolae haec fuerunt: ‘Autronio Iusto patri Autronius Tiberianus salutem. nunc te, pater sancte, interesse decuit senatu<i> amplissimo, nunc sententiam dicere, cum tantum auctoritas amplissimi ordinis creverit, ut rever<s>a<e> in antiquum statum rei p. nos principes demus, nos faciamus imperatores, nos denique nuncupemus Augustos. 2 fac igitur ut convalescas, curiae interfuturus antiqu<a>e. nos recepimus ius proconsulare, redierunt ad praefectum urbi appellationes omnium potestatum et omnium dignitatum.’ 3 item alia: ‘Claudius Sappilianus Cereio M<a>eciano patruo salutem. opti<nui>mus, pater sancte, quod semper optavimus: in antiquum statum senatus revertit. nos principes facimus, nostri ordinis sunt potestates. 4 gratias exercitui Romano et vere Romano: reddidit nobis, quam semper habuimus potestatem. 5 abice Ba[t]ianos Puteolanosque secessus, da te urbi, da { te } curiae. floret Roma, floret tota res p.; imperatores damus, principes facimus; possumus et prohibere, qui coepimus facere. dictum sapienti sat est.’ 6 Longum est omnes epistulas c[u]nectere, quas repperi, quas legi. tantum illud dico senatores omnes ea esse laetitia elatos, ut in domibus suis omnes albas hostias c<a>ederent, imagines frequenter aperi<r>ent, albatii sederent, convivia sumptuosiora praebe[n]erent, antiquitatem sibi redditam crederent.

FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII PROBUS

I. 1 Certum est, quod Sallustius Crispus quo<d>que Marcus Cato et Gellius historici sententiae modo in litteras rettulerunt, omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse, qua<n>tas videri eas voluerint eorum ingenia, qui unius cuius<que> facta descripserint. 2 inde est quod Alexander Magnus Mac[h]edo, cum ad Achillis sepulchrum venisset, graviter ingemescens ‘felicem te’, inquit, ‘iuvenis, qui talem praeconem tuarum virtutum repperisti’, Homerum intellegi volens, qui Achillem tantum in virtutum studio fecit, quantum ipse valebat ingenio. 3 Quorsum haec pertineant, mi Celsine, fortassis requiris. Probum principem, cuius imperio oriens, occidens, meridi<s>, septentrio omnesque orbis partes in totam securitatem redactae sunt, scriptorum inopia iam paene nescimus. 4 occidit, pro pudor, tanti viri et talis historia, qualem non habent bella Punica, non terror Gallicus, non motus Pontici, non Hispaniensis astutia. 5 sed non patiar ego ille, a quo dudum solus Aurelianus est expetitus, cuius vitam quantum potui persecutus, Tacito Florianoque iam scriptis non me ad Probi facta conscendere, si vita suppetet, omnes, qui supersunt usque ad Maximianum Diocletianumque, dicturus. 6 neque ego nunc facultatem eloquentiamque polliceor sed res gestas, quas perire non patior.

II. 1 Usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam carissimam mihi familiaritatem tuam, praecipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea thermis Diocletianis, et item ex domo Tiberiana, usus etiam [ex] regestis scribarum porticus porphyreticae, actis etiam senatus ac populi. 2 et quoniam me ad colligenda talis viri gesta ephemeris Turduli Gallicani plurimum invit, viri honestissimi ac sincerissimi, beneficium amici senis tacere non debui. 3 Cn. Pompeium, tribus fulgentem triumphis belli piratici, belli Sertoriani, belli Mithridatici multarumque rerum gestarum maiestate sublimem, quis tandem nosset, nisi eum Marcus Tullius et Titus Livius in litteras rettulissent? 4 Publ<i>um Scipionem Afric<an>um, immo Scipiones omnes, seu Lucios seu Nasicas, nonne tenebrae possiderent ac tegerent, nisi commendatores eorum historici nobiles atque ignobiles extitissent? 5 longum est omnia persequi, quae ad exemplum huiusce modi etiam nobis tacentibus usurpanda sunt. 6 illud tantum contestatum volo me et rem scripsisse, quam, si quis voluerit, honestius eloquio celsiore demonstret, et mihi quidem id animi fuit, 6 <ut> non Sallustios, Livios, Tacito<s>, Trogos atque omnes disertissimos imitarer viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum, Fabium Marcellinum, Gargilium Martialem, Iulium Capitolinum, Aelium Lampridium ceterosque, qui haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. 8

sum enim unus ex curiosis, quod infi[ni]t<i>as ire non possum, ince<n>dentibus vobis, qui, cum multa sciatis, scire multo[s] plura cupitis. 9 et ne diutius ea, quae ad meum consilium pertinent, loquar, magnum et praeclarum principem et qualem historia nostra non novit, arripiam.

III. 1 Probus oriundus e Pannonia, civitate Sirmiensi, nobiliore matre quam patre, patrimonio moderato, adfinitate non magna, tam privatus quam imperator nobilissimus virtutibus claruit. 2 Probo, ut quidam in litteras rettulerunt, pater nomine Maximus fuit, qui, cum ordines honestissime duxisset, tribunatum adeptus apud Aegyptum vita functus est uxore ac filio et filia derelictis. 3 multi dicunt Probum Claudii propinquum fuisse, optimi et sanctissimi principis, quod, quia per unum tantum Graecorum relatum est, nos in medio relinquemus. 4 unum tamen dico, quod in ephemeride legisse me memini, a Claudia sorore Probum sepultum. 5 adulescens Probus corporis viribus tam clarus est factus, ut Valeriani iudicio tribunatum prope inerbis acciperet. 6 extat epistula Valeriani ad Gallienum, qua Probum laudat adhuc adulescentem et imitationi omnium proponit. 7 ex quo apparet neminem umquam pervenisse ad virtutum summam iam maturum, nisi qui puer seminario virtutum generosiore concretus aliquid inclitum designasset.

IV. 1 epistula Valeriani: ‘Valerianus pater Gallieno filio, Augustus Augusto. et meum secutus iudicium, quod semper de Probo adulescente primo habui, et omnium bonorum, qui eundem sui nominis virum dicunt, tribunatum in eum contuli datis sex cohor<ti>bus Saracenis, creditis etiam auxiliaribus Gallis cum ea Persarum manu, quam nobis Artabassis Syr[i]us mancipavit. 2 te quaeso, fili carissime, ut eum iuvenem, quem imitari pueris omnibus volo, in tanto habeas honore, quantum virtutes eius et merita pro debito mentis splendore desiderant.’ 3 alia epistula de eodem ad praef. praet. cum salario: ‘Valerianus Augustus Mulvio Gallicano praef. praet. mireris fortassis, quod ego inerbem tribunum fecerim con<tra> s<en>tentiam divi Hadriani, sed non multum miraberis, si Probum cogitas: 4 e<s>t adulescens vere probus; numquam enim aliud mihi, cum eum cogito, nisi eius nomen occurrit, quod nisi nomen haberet, potuit habere cognomen. 5 huic igitur dari iubebis, quoniam mediocris fortunae est, ut eius dignitas incrementis iuvetur, tunicas russulas duas, pallia Gallica duo fibulata, inte[g]rulas paragaudias duas, patinam argenteam librarum decem specellatam, aureos Antoninianos centum, argenteos Aurelianos mille, aereos Philippeos decem milia; 6 item in salario diurno bubulae pondo..., porcina<e> pondo sex, caprinae pondo decem, gallinaceum per biduum, olei per biduum sextarium unum, vini veteris diurnos sextarios decem cum Iarido, pabul<i>, ac<et>i, s[o]alis, olerum, lignorum quantum sat est. 7 hospitia praeterea eidem ut tribunis legionum praeberi iubebis.’

V. 1 Et haec quidem epistulis declarantur. nunc quantum ex ephemeride colligi potuit: cum bello Sarmatico iam tribunus tramisso Danubio multa fortiter fecisset, publice in contione donatus est hastis puris quattuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis puris quattuor, armillis aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera sacrificali quinquelibri una. 2 quo quidem tempore Valerium Flaccinum, adulescentem nobilem, parentem Valeriani, e Quadorum liberavit manu. 3 unde illi Valerianus coronam civicam detulit. verba Valeriani pro contione habita: ‘suscipe, Probe, praemia pro re p., suscipe coronam civicam pro parente.’ 4 quo quidem tempore legionem tertiam eidem addidit, sub testimonio huius modi. 5 epistula de legione tertia: ‘res gestae tuae, Probe carissime, faciunt, ut et serius tradere maiores tibi exercitus videar et cito tamen tradam. 6 recipe in fidem tuam legionem tertiam Felicem, quam ego adhuc nulli nisi provecto iam credidi; mihi autem eo tempore credita est, quo et me canosum, qui credebat cum gratulatione, vidit. 7 sed ego in te non expecto aetatem, cum et virtutibus fulgeas et moribus polleas. 8 vestes tibi triplices dari iussi, salarium duplex feci, vexillarium deputavi.’

VI. 1 Longum est, si per res gestas tanti percurram viri, quae ille sub Valeriano, quae sub Gallieno, quae sub Aureliano et Claudio privatus fecerit, quoties murum conscenderit, vallum diripuerit, hostem comminus interemerit, dona principum emeruerit, rem p. in antiquum statum sua virtute reddiderit. 2 docet Gallieni epistula ad tribunos data, qui fuerit Probus: ‘Gallienus Augustus tribunis exercitus Illyricianorum. etiamsi patrem meum fatalis belli Persici necessitas tenuit, habeo tamen parentem Aurelium Probum, quo laborante possim esse securus. qui si adfuisset, numquam ille ne nominandus quidem tyrannus sibi usurpasset imperium. 3 quare omnes vos consiliis eius cupio parere, qui et patris iudicio probatus est et senatus.’ 4 Non magnum fortassis iudicium Gallieni esse videatur, principis mollioris, sed, quod negari non potest, ne dissolutus quidem quispiam se nisi in eius fidem tradit, cuius sibi virtutes aestimat profuturas. 5 sed esto, Gallieni epistula sequestretur, quid Aureliani iudicium? qui Probo decimanos, fortissimos exercitus sui et cum quibus ipse ingentia gesserat, tradidit sub huius modi testimonio: 6 ‘Aurelianus Augustus Probo salutem dicit. ut scias, quanti te faciam, decimanos meos sume, quos Claudius mihi credidit. isti enim sunt, qui quadam felicitatis praerogativa praesules nisi futuros principes habere non norunt.’ 7 Ex quo intellectum est Aurelianum in animo hoc habuisse, ut, si quid sibi scienti prudentique eveniret, Probum principem faceret.

VII. 1 iam Claudii, iam Taciti iudicia de Probo longum est innectere, quamvis feratur in senatu Tacitus dixisse, cum eidem offerretur imperium, debere Probum principem fieri. sed ego senatus consultum ipsum non inveni. 2 Ipse

autem Tacitus imperator primam talem ad Probum epistulam dedit: 3 ‘Tacitus Augustus Probo. me quidem senatus principem fecit de prudentis exercitus voluntate[m]. attamen sciendum tibi est <t>uis nunc umeris magis incubuisse rem p., qui et quantus si<s>, omnes novimus, scit senatus. adesto igitur nostris necessitatibus, tuae familiae adsere, ut soles, rem p(ublicam). 4 nos tibi decreto totius orientis ducatu[s] salarium quinquiplex fecimus, ornamenta militaria geminavimus, consulatum in annum proximum nobiscum decrevimus; te enim manet pro virtutibus tuis Capitolina palmata.’ 5 Ferunt quidam Probo id pro imperii omine fuisse, quod Tacitus scripsit: ‘te manet Capitolina palmata.’ sed in hanc sententiam omnibus semper consulibus scribebatur.

VIII. 1 Amor militum erga Probum ingens semper fuit, neque enim umquam ille passus est peccare militem. ille quin etiam Aurelianum saepe a gravi crudelitate deduxit. 2 ille singulos manipu<los> adiit, vestes et calciamenta perspexit, si quid praedae fuit, ita divisit, ut sibi nihil praeter tela et arma servaret. 3 quin etiam cum de praedato, siv<e> ex Alanis sive ex aqua alia gente incertum est, reppertus esset equus non decorus neque ingens, qui, quantum captivi loquebantur, centum ad diem milia currere diceretur, ita ut per dies octo vel decem continuaret, et omnes crederent Probum tale[m] animal sibimet servaturum, iam primum dixit: ‘fugitivo militi potius, quam forti hic equu<s> convenit.’ 4 deinde in urnam milites iussit <nomen suum> mittere, ut aliqui eum sorte ductus accipere<t>. 5 et cum essent in exercitu quidam nomine Probi alii quattuor milites, casu evenit, ut qui primum <emergeret, ei> Probo nomen existeret, cum ipsius Pro<bi> ducis nomen missum non esset. 6 sed cum quattuor illi milites inter se contenderent ac sortem sibi quisque defendere<t>, iussit iterum agitari urnam, sed et iterum Probi nomen emersit; cumque tertio et quarto fecisset, quarto Probi nomen effusum est. 7 tunc omnis exercitus equum illum Probo duci dicavit, ipsis etiam militibus, quorum nomina exiera<n>t, id volentibus.

IX. 1 Pugnavit et contra Marmaridas in Africa fortissime eosdemque vicit atque ex Libya Carthaginem transiit ea<n>demque a rebellionibus vindicavit. 2 pugnavit et singulari certamine contra quendam Aradionem in Africa eundemque prostravit et, quia fortissimum ac pertinacissimum virum viderat, sepulchro ingent<i> honoravit, quod adhuc extat tumulo usque ad ducentos pedes terra elatum per milites, quos otiosos esse numquam est passus. 3 exta<n>t apud Aegyptum eius opera, quae per milites st<r>uxit, in plurimis civitatibus. in Nilo autem tam multa fecit, ut vectigal frumentarium solus adiuverit. 4 pontes, templa, porticus, basilicas labore militum struxit, ora fluminum multa patefecit, paludes plerasque siccavit atque in his segetes agrosque constituit. 5 pugnavit etiam contra Palmyrenos Odenati et Cleopat<a>e partibus Aegyptum

defendentes, primo feliciter, postea temere, ut paene caperetur, sed postea refectis viribus Aegyptum et orientis maximam partem in Aureliani potestatem redegit.

X. 1 Cum igitur his tot tantis virtutibus eniteret, Tacito absumpto fataliter ac Floriano imperium arripiente omnis orientalis exercitus eundem imperatorem fecerunt. 2 non in [a]e[gy]pta[m] neque inelegans fabula est scire, quem ad modum imperium Probus sumpserit: 3 cum ad exercitus nuntius venisset, tum primum animus militibus fuit praevenire Italicos exercitus, ne iterum senatus principem daret. 4 sed cum inter milites sermo esset, quis fieri deberet, et manipulatim in campo tribuni eos adloquerentur dicentes requirendum esse principem aliquem fortem, sanctum, verecundum, clementem, probum idque per multos circulos, ut fieri adsolet, diceretur, quasi divino nutu undique ab omnibus adclamatum est: ‘Probe Auguste, {dii te} servent!’ 5 deinde concursus et c<a>espiticius tribunal, appellatusque imperator, ornatus etiam pallio purpureo, quod de statua templi oblatum est, atque inde ad Palatium reductus, invitus et retractans et saepe dicens: ‘non vobis expedit milites, non mecum bene agetis. ego enim vobis blandiri non possum.’ 6 Prima eius epistula data ad Capitonem praef. praet. talis fuit: ‘imperium numquam optavi et invitus accepi. deponere mihi rem invidiosissimam non licet. 7 agenda est persona, quam mihi miles inposui<t>. te quaeso, Capito, ita mecum salva re[s] p. perfruaris, annona<m> et commeatus et, quicquid necessarium est ubique, militi[s] pares. ego, quantum in me est, si recte omnia gubernaveris, praefectum alterum non habebo.’ 8 Cognito itaque, quod imperaret Probus, milites Florianum, qui quasi hereditarium {arripuerat imperium}, interemerunt, scientes neminem dignius posse imperare, quam Probum. 9 ita ei sine ulla molestia totius orbis imperium et militum et senatus iudicio delatum est.

XI. 1 Et quoniam mentionem senatus fecimus, sciendum est, quid ipse ad senatum scripserit, quid item ad eum amplissimus ordo rescripserit: 2 oratio Probi prima ad senatum: ‘recte atque ordine, p. c., proximo superiore anno factum est, ut vestra <cl>ementia or<bi> terrarum pri<n>cipe<m> daret, et quidem de vobis, qui et estis mundi principes et semper fuistis et in vestris posteris eritis. 3 atque utinam id etiam Florianus expectare voluisset nec velut hereditarium sibi vendicasset imperium, vel illum vel alium quempiam maiestas vestra fecisset. 4 nunc quoniam ille imperium arripuit, nobis a militibus delatum est nomen Augustum, vindicatum quin etiam in illum a prudentioribus militibus, quod fuerat usurpatum. quaeso, ut de meis meritis <iudicetis>, facturus quicquid iusserit vestra clementia.’ 5 item senatus consultum die III. nona<s> Feb. in aede Concordiae. inter cetera: Aelius Scorpianus consul dixit: ‘audistis, p. c., litteras Aurelii Valerii Probi: de his quid videtur?’ tum adclamatum est: 6 ‘Probe

Auguste, dii te servant. olim dignus et fortis et iustus bonus ductor, bonus imperator; exemplum militiae, exemplum imperii. dii te servant. adsertor rei p[i]. 7 felix imperes, magister militiae felix imperes, te cum tuis dii custodiant. et senatus antea te delegit. aetate Tacito posterior, ceteris prior. 8 quod imperium suscepisti[s], gratias agimus. tuere nos, tuere rem p.; bene tibi committimus, quos ante servasti. 9 tu Francicus, tu Gothicus, tu Sarmaticus, tu Parthicus, tu omnia. et prius fuisti semper dignus imperio, dignus triumphis. felix agas, feliciter imperes.’

XII. 1 post haec Manlius Statianus, qui primae sententiae tunc erat, ita locutus est: ‘dis immortalibus gratias et prae <ce>teris, patres conscripti, Iovi Optimo, qui nobis principem talem, qualem semper optabamus, dederunt. 2 si recte cogitemus, non nobis Aurelianus, non Alexander, non Antonini, non Traianus aut Claudius requirendi sunt. omnia in uno principe constituta sunt, rei militaris scientia, animus clemens, vita venerabilis, exemplar agend<a>e rei p. atque omnium praerogativa virtutum. 3 enimvero quae mundi pars est, quam ille non vincendo didicerit? testes sunt Marmaridae, in Afric<a>e solo victi, testes Franci, <in> invi<i>s strati paludibus, testes Germani et Alamanni, longe a Rheni summoti litoribus. 4 iam vero quid Sarmatas loquor, quid Gothos, quid Parthos ac Persas atque omnem Ponticum tractum? ubique vige[a]nt Probe virtutis insignia. 5 longum est dicere, quot reges magnarum gentium fugarit, quot duces manu sua occiderit, quantum armorum sit, quae ipse cepit privatus. 6 superiores principes quas illi gratias egerint, testes sunt litter<a>e publicis insert<a>e monumentis. dii boni, quoties ille donis militaribus est donatus! quas militum laudes emeruit! adulescens tribunatus, non longe post adulescentiam regendas legiones accepit. 7 Iuppiter Optime Maxime, Iuno regina tuque virtutum praesul Minerva, tu orbis Concordia et tu Romana Victoria, date hoc senatui populoque Romano, date militibus, date sociis atque exteris nationi<bu>s: 8 imperet quemammodum militavit! decerno igitur, p. c., votis omnium concinentibus nomen imperatorium, nomen Caesareanum, nomen Augustum, addo proconsulare imperium, patris patriae reverentiam, pontificatum maximum, ius tertiae relationis, tribuniciam potestatem.’ post haec adclamatum est: ‘omnes, omnes.’

XIII. 1 Accepto igitur hoc s. c. secunda[m] oratione permisit patribus, ut ex magnorum iudic[i]um appellationibus ipsi cognoscerent, proconsules crearent, legatos <ex> consulibus darent, ius praetorium praesidibus darent, leges, quas Probus ederet, senatus consultis propriis consecrarent. 2 Statim deinde, si quidam ex interfectoribus Aureliani superfuerant, vario genere vindicavit, mollius tamen moderatiusque quam prius exercitus et postea Tacitus vindicaverant. 3 deinde animadvertit etiam in eos, qui Tacito insidias fecerant.

Floriani sociis pepercit, quod non tyrannum aliquem videbantur secuti, sed sui principis fratrem. 4 recepit deinde omnes Europenses exercitus, qui Florianum et imperatorem fecerant et occiderant. 5 His gestis cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petit, quae omnes occiso Postumo turbatae fuerant, interfecto Aureliano a Germanis possessae. 6 tanta autem illic proelia et tam feliciter gessit, ut a barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates, praedam deinde omnem, qua illi praeter divitias <e>t<i>am[en] efferebantur ad gloriam. 7 et cum iam in nostra ripa, immo per omnes Gallias securi vagarentur, caesis prope quadringentis milibus, qui Romanum occupaverant solum, reliquos ultra Nigrum fluvium et Albam removit. 8 tantum his praedae barbaricae tulit, quantum ipsi Romanis abstulerant. contra urbes Romanas castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites collocavit.

XIV. 1 Agros et horrea et domos et annonam Transrhenanis omnibus fecit, his videlicet quos in excubiis conlocavit. 2 nec cessatum est umquam pugnari, cum cotidie ad eum barbarorum capita deferrentur, iam ad singulos aureos singula, quamdiu reguli novem ex diversis gentibus venirent atque ad pedes Probi iacerent. 3 quibus ille primum obsides imperavit, qui statim dati sunt, deinde frumentum, postremo etiam vaccas atque oves. 4 dicitur iussisse his acrius, ut gladiis non uterentur, Romanam expectaturi defensionem, si essent ab aliquibus vindicandi. 5 sed visum est id non posse fieri, nisi si limes Romanus extenderetur et fieret Germania tota provincia. 6 maxime tamen ipsis regibus consentientibus in eos vindicatum est, qui praedam fideliter non reddiderunt. 7 accepit praeterea sedecim milia tyronum, quos omnes per diversas provincias sparsit, ita ut numeris vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos et sexagenos intersereret dicens sentiendum esse non videndum, cum auxiliaribus barbaris Romanus iuvatur.

XV. 1 Compositis igitur rebus in Gallia tales ad senatum litteras dedit: ‘ago diis immortalibus gratias, p. c., quia vestra in me iudicia conprobarunt. 2 subacta est omnis qua tenditur late Germania, novem reges gentium diversarum ad meos pedes, immo ad vestros, supplices stratique iacuerunt. omnes iam barbari vobis arant, vobis iam serviunt et contra interiores gentes militant. 3 supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. nam et quadri<n>genta milia hostium caesa sunt, et sedecim milia armatorum nobis oblata, et septu<a>ginta urbes nobilissimae captivitate hostium vindicat<a>e et omnes penitus Galliae liberatae. 4 coronas, quas mihi optulerunt omnes Galliae civitates aureas, vestrae, p. c., clementiae dedicavi. [as] eas Iovi Optimo Maximo ceterisque diis deabusque immortalibus vestris manibus consecrate. 5 praeda omnis recepta est, capta etiam alia, et quidem maior, quam fuera[n]t ante direpta. 6 arantur Gallicana rura barbaris bubus et iuga Germanica captiva praebent nostris colla cultoribus, pascuntur ad

nostrorum alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum, equinum pecus nostro iam fecundatur equitatu, frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea. quid plura? illis sola relinquimus sola, nos eorum omnia possidemus. 7 volueramus, p. c., Germaniae novum praesidem facere, sed hoc ad pleniora vota distulimus. quod quidem credimus conferre, cum divina providentia nostro<s> uberius secundarit exercitus.'

XVI. 1 Post haec Illyricum petit. priusquam veniret, R<a>etias sic pacatas reliquit, ut illic ne suspicionem quidem ullius terroris reli<n>queret. 2 in Illyrico Sarmatas ceterasque gentes ita con<tu>dit, ut prope sine bello cuncta reciperet, quae illi diripuerant. 3 tetendit deinde iter per Thracias atque omnes Geticos populos fama rerum territos et antiqui nominis potentia pressos aut in deditionem aut in amicitiam recepit. 4 his gestis orientem petit atque {in} itinere potentissimo quodam latrone Palfuerio capto et interfecto omnem Isauriam liberavit populis atque urbibus Romanis legibus restitutis. 5 barbarorum, qui apud Isauros sunt, vel per terrorem vel urbanitatem loca ingressus est. quae cum peragrasset, hoc dixit: 'facilius est ab istis locis latrones arceri quam tolli.' 6 veteranis omnia illa, quae anguste adeuntur, loca privata donavit addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo, mares dumtaxat, ad militiam mitterentur, ne latrocinare <um>quam discerent.

XVII. 1 Pacatis denique omnibus Pamphylicae partibus ceterarumque provinciarum, quae sunt Isauriae vicina<e>, ad orientem iter flexit. 2 Blemmyas etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit, qui mirabilem sui visum stupente p. R. praebuerunt. 3 Copte<n> praeterea et Ptolomaide<m> urbis ereptas barbarico servitio Romano reddidit iuri. 4 ex quo tantum profecit, ut Part<h>i legatos ad eum mitterent confitentes timorem pacemque poscentes, quos ille superbius acceptos magis timente<s> domum remisit. 5 fertur etiam epistula illius repudiatis donis, quae rex miserat, ad Narseum talis fuisse: 'miror te de omnibus, quae nostra futura sunt, tam pauca misisse. habeto interim omnia illa, quibus gaudes. quae si nos habere cupiamus, scimus, quem ad modum possidere debeamus.' 6 his acceptis litteris Narseus maxime territus, et eo praecipue quod Copten et Ptolomaidem conperit a Blemmyis, qui eas tenuerant, vindic<a>tas caesosque ad internicionem eos, qui gentibus fuerant ante terrori.

XVIII. 1 Facta igitur pace cum Persis ad Thracias redit et centum milia asternarum in solo Romano constituit, qui omnes fidem servarunt. 2 sed cum et ex aliis gentibus plerosque pariter transtulisset, id est ex Gipedis, Grauthungis et V[l]andulis, illi omnes fidem fregerunt et occupato bellis tyrannicis Probo per totum paene orbem pedibus et navigando vagati sunt nec parum molestiae Romanae gloriae intulerunt. 3 quos quidem ille diversis vicibus variisque victoriis oppressit, paucis domum cum gloria redeuntibus, quod Probi

evasissent manus. haec Probus cum barbaris gessit. 4 Sed habuit etiam non leves tyrannicos motus. nam et Saturninum, qui orientis imperium arripuerat, variis proeliorum generibus et nota virtute[m] superavit. quo victo tanta in oriente quies fuit, ut, quem ad modum vulgo loquebantur, mures rebelles nullus audiret. 5 deinde cum Proculus et Bonosus apud Agrippinam in Gallia imperium arripuissent omnesque sibi iam Britannias, Hispanias et bracatae Galliae provincias vindicarent, barbaris semet iuvantibus vicit. 6 ac ne requiras plura vel de Saturni<n>o vel de Proculo vel de Bonoso, suo eosdem inseram libro, pauca de [h]isdem, <ut> decet, immo ut poscit necessitas, locuturus. 7 unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Pro<bo> servire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo <imperare>. 8 Gallis omnibus et Hispani[i]s ac Britanni[i]s hinc permisit, ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent. ipse Alman montem in Illyrico circa Sirmium militari manu fossum lecta vite[t] conseruit[u].

XIX. 1 Dedit Romanis etiam voluptates, et quidem insignes, delatis etiam congiariis. 2 triumphavit de Germanis et Blemmyis, omnium gentium drungos usque ad quinquagenos homines ante triumphum duxit. venationem in circo amplissimam dedi<t>, ita ut populus cuncta diriperet. 3 genus autem spectaculi fuit tale: arbores valid<a>e per milites radicitus vuls<a>e conexis late longeque trabibus adfix<a>e sunt, terra deinde superiecta totusque circus ad silvae consitus speciem gratia novi[s] viroris effronduit. 4 missi deinde per omnes aditus strutiones mille, mille cervi, mille apri; iam damae, ibices, oves fer<a>e et cetera herbatica animalia, quanta vel ali potuerunt vel inveniri. inmissi deinde populares, rapuit quisque quod voluit. 5 [a]edidit alia die in amphit<h>eatro una missione centum iubatos leones, qui rugitibus suis tonitrus excitabant. 6 qui omnes <e> posticis interempti sunt non magnum praebentes spectaculum, quo occidebantur; neque enim erat bestiarum impetus ille, qui esse [ha]e caveis egredientibus solet; occisi sunt praeterea multi, qui dirigere nolebant, sagittis. 7 [s]editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syri; editae centum l<e>a<e>nae et ursi simul trecenti; quarum omnium ferarum magnum magis constat spectaculum fuisse quam gratum. 8 [a]edita praeterea gladiatorum paria trecenta [a] Blemmyis plerisque pugnantibus, qui per triumphum erant ducti, plerisque Germanis et Sarmatis, nonnullis etiam latronibus Isauris.

XX. 1 Quibus peractis bellum Persicum parans, cum per Illyricum iter faceret, a militibus suis per insidias interemptus est. 2 causae occidendi eius haec fuerunt: primum quod numquam militem otiosum esse perpessus est, si quidem multa opera militari manu perfecit, dicens annonam gratuitam militem comedere non debere. 3 his addidit dictum ei[u]s grave, si umquam eveniat, salutare rei p., brevi milites necessarios non futuros. 4 quid ille conceperat animo qui hoc

dicebat? nonne omnes barbaras gentes subie<ce>rat penitusque totum mundum fecerat iam Romanum? 5 ‘brevis, inquit, milites necesarios non habebimus.’ quid est aliud dicere: Romanus iam miles erit nullus; ubique regnabit, omnia possidebi<t> mox segura res p., orbis terrarum non arma fabricabitur, non annonam praebebit, boves habebuntur <ar>atro, equus nascetur ad pacem, nulla erunt bella, nulla captivitas, ubique pax, ubique Romanae leges, ubique iudices nostri.

XXI. 1 Longius amore imperatoris optimi progredior quam pedestris sermo desiderat. quare addam illud, quod praecipue tanto viro fatalem properavit necessitatem. 2 nam cum Sirmium venisset ac solum patrium effecundari cuperet <et> dilatari, ad siccandam quandam paludem multa simul milia militum posuit ingentem parans fossam, qua[m] deiectis in Savum naribus loca Sirmiensibus profutura siccaret. 3 hoc permoti milites confugientem eum in turrem ferratam, [tam] quam ipse speculae causa e[t]latissimam exaedificaverat, interemerunt anno imperii sui quinto. 4 postea tamen ingens ei sepulchrum elatis aggeribus omnes pariter milites fecerunt cum titulo huius modi inciso marmori: ‘hic Probus imperator et vere probus situs est, victor omnium gentium barbararum, victor etiam tyrannorum.’

XXII. 1 Conferenti mihi cum aliis imperatoribus principem Probum omnibus prope Romanis ducibus, qua[si] fortes clementes, qua prudentes, qua mirabiles extiterunt, intellego hunc virum aut parem fuisse aut, si non repugnat invidia furiosa, meliorem. 2 quinquennio enim imperii sui per totum orbem terrarum tot bella gessit, et quidem per se, ut mirabile sit, quem ad modum omnibus occurrerit proeliis. 3 multa manu sua fecit, duces praeclarissimos instituit. nam ex eius disciplina Carus, Diocletianus, Constantius, Asclepiodotus, Annibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus et ceteri, quos patres nostri mirati sunt et de quibus nonnulli boni principes extiterunt. 4 conferat nunc, cui placet, viginti Traiani Hadrianique annos, conferat prope totidem Antoninorum. nam quid de Augusto loquar, cuius imperii anni<s> vix potest advivi? malos autem principes taceo. ipsa vox Probi clarissima indicat, quid se facere potuisset speraret, qui dixit brevis necesarios milites non futuros.

XXIII. 1 Ille vero conscius sui non barbaros timuit, non tyrannos. 2 quae deinde felicitas emicuisset, si sub illo principe milites non fuissent? annonam provincialis daret nullus, stipendia de largitionibus nulla erogarentur, aeternos thesauros haberet Romana res p., nihil expenderetur a principe, nihil a possessore redderetur: aureum profecto saeculum promittebat. 3 nulla futura erant castra, nusquam lituus audiendus, arma non erant fabricanda, populus iste militantium, qui nunc bellis civilibus rem p. vexat, araret, studiis incumberet,

erudiretur artibus, navigaret. adde quod nullus occideretur in bello. 4 dii boni, quid tantum vos offendit Romana res p., cui talem principem sustulistis? 5 eant nunc, qui ad civilia bella milites parant, in germanorum necem arment dexterarum fratrum, hortentur in patrum vulnera liberos et divinitatem Probo derogent, quam imperatores nostri prudenter et consecrandam vultibus et ornandam templis {et} celebrandam ludis circensibus iudicarunt.

XXIV. 1 Posterius Probi vel odio <vel> invidiae [vel] timore Romanam re<m p.> fugerunt et in Italia circa Veronam ac B<e>nacum et Larium atque in his regionibus larem locaverunt. 2 sane quod praeterire non potui, cum imago Probi in Veronensi sita fulmine i[e]cta esset, ita ut eius praetexta colores mutaret, aruspices responderunt huius familiae posteros tantae in senatu claritudinis fore, ut omnes summis honoribus fungerentur. 3 sed adhuc neminem vidimus, posterius autem aeternitatem videntur habere, non modum. 4 Senatus mortem Probi gravissime accepit, aequae populus. et cum esset nuntiatum Carum imperare, virum bonum quidem sed longe a moribus Probi, Carini causa filii eius, qui semper pessime vixerat, tam senatus quam populus inhorruit; 5 metuebant enim unusquisque tristiores principem, sed magis improbum metueba<n>t heredem. 6 Hae<c> sunt, quae de Pro<bi> {vita} cognovimus vel quae digna memoratu[i] aestimavimus. 7 nunc in alio libro, et quidem brevi, de Firmo et Saturnino et Bonoso et Proculo dicemus. 8 non enim dignum fuit, ut quadrig<a>e tyrannorum bono principi miscerentur. post deinde si vita suppetit, Carum incipiemus propagare cum lib<e>ris.

FIRMUS SATURNINUS PROCULUS ET BONOSUS

I. 1 Minusculos tyrannos scio plerosque tacuisse aut breviter praeterisse. nam et Suetonius Tranquillus, emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor, Antoni[n]um, Vindicem tacuit, contentus eo quod eos cursim perstrinxerat, et Marius Maximus, qui Avidium Marci temporibus, Albinum et Nigrum Severi non suis propriis libris sed alienis innexuit. 2 et de Suetonio non miramur, cui familiare fuit amare brevitatem. quid Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythist[h]orici se voluminibus implicavit, num ad istam descriptionem curamque descendit? 3 atque contra, Treb<ell>i<u>s Pollio ea fuit diligentia, ea cura in edendis bonis malisque principibus, ut etiam triginta tyrannos uno breviter libro concluderet, qui Valeriani et Gallieni nec multo superiorum aut inferiorum principum fuere temporibus. 4. quare etiam <laudes, quod nobis> quoque etiamsi <festinemus>, non tamen minima fuerit cura, ut dictis Aureliano, Tacito et Floriano, Probo etiam, magno ac singulari principe, cum dicendi essent Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, de Saturnino, Bonoso et Proculo et Firmo, qui sub Aureliano fuerant, non taceremus.

II. 1 Scis enim, mi Basse, quanta nobis contentio proxime fuerit cum a[r]matore historiarum Marco F[r]onteio, cum ille diceret Firmum, qui Aureliani temporibus Aegyptum occupaverat, latrunculum fuisse, non principem, contra ego mecumque Rufius Celsus et Ceionius Iulianus et Fabius Sossianus contenderent dicentes illum et purpura usum et percussa moneta Augustum esse vocitatum, cum etiam nummos eius Severus Arc<h>ontius protulit, de Gr<a>ecis autem Aegyptiisque libris convicit illum autokratora in [a]edictis suis esse vocatum. 2 et illi quidem adversum nos contendenti haec sola ratio fuit, quod dicebat Aurelianum in edicto suo non scripsisse, quod tyrannum occidisset, sed quod latrunculum quendam a re p. removisset; proinde quasi digne tanti, princeps nominis debuerit tyrannum appellare hominem tenebrarium aut non semper latrones vocitaverint magni principes eos, quos invadentes purpuras necaverunt. 3 ipse ego in Aureliani vita, priusquam de Firmo cuncta cognoscerem, Firmum non inter purpuratos habui, sed quasi quendam latronem; quod idcirco dixi, ne qui<s>, me oblitum aestimaret mei. 4 sed ne volumini, quod brevissimum promisi, multa conectam, veniamus ad Firmum.

III. 1 Firmo patria Seleucia fuit, tametsi plerique Graecorum alteram tradunt, ignari eo tempore ipso tres fuisse Firmos, quorum unus praefectus Aegypti, alter dux limi[li]tis Africani idemque pro consule, tertius iste Zenobiae amicus ac socius, qui Alexandriam Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit et quem Aurelianus solita virtutum suarum felicitate contrivit. 2 de huius divitiis multa

dicuntur. nam et vitreis quadraturis bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis domum in<s>tr[od]uxisse perhibetur et tantum habuisse de c<h>artis, ut publice saepe diceret exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutine. 3 idem et cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. naves quoque ad Indos negotia<to>rias saepe misit. 4 ipse quoque [ipse perhibetur] dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephanti pedum denum, e quibus Aurelianus sellam constituerat facere ad<d>itis aliis duobus, in qua Iuppiter aureus, et gemmatus sederet cum specie praetext<a>e ponendus in templo Solis, Appenninis sortibus ad[d]itis, quem appellari voluerat Iovem Consulem vel Consulentem. 5 sed eosdem dentes postea Carinus mulieri cuidam dono dedit, quae lectum ex his fecisse narratur. <quam>, quia et nunc scitur et sciri apud posteros nihil proderit, taceo. 6 ita donum Indicum, Iovi Optimo Maximo consecratum, per deterrimum principem et ministerium libidinis factum videtur <et> pretium.

IV. 1 Fuit tamen Firmus statura ingenti, oculis foris eminentibus, capillo crispo, fronte vulnerata, vultu nigriore, reliqua parte corporis candidus sed pilosus atque hispidus, ita ut eum plerique Cyclopem vocarent. carne multa vescebatur, struthionem ad diem comedisse fertur. 2 vini non multum bibit, aqu<a>e plurimum, mente firmissimus, nervis robustissimus, ita ut Tritanum vinceret, cuius Varro meminit. 3 nam et incudem superpositam pectori constanter aliis [s]tu<n>dentibus pertulit, cum ipse reclinis ac resupinus et curvatus in manus penderet potius quam iaceret. fuit tamen ei contentio cum Aureliani ducibus ad bibendum, si quando e[i]um temptare voluisse<n>t. 4 nam quidam Burburus nomine de numero vexillariorum, notissimus potator, cum ad bibendum eundem provocasset, s[a]litu<l>as duas plenas mero duxit et toto postea convivio sobrius fuit; et cum ei Burburus diceret: ‘quare non faeces bibisti?’, respondit ille: ‘stulte, terra non bibitur.’ levia persequimur, cum maiora dicenda sint.

V. 1 Hic ergo contra Aurelianum sumpsit imperium ad defendendas partes, quae supererant, Zenobiae. sed Aureliano de Thraciis redeunte superatus est. multi dicunt laqueo eum vitam finisse: aliud <e>dictis suis ostendit <Aurelianus>. namque cum eum vicisset, tale edictum Romae proponi iussit: 3 ‘amantissimo sui populo Romano Aurelianus Augustus salutem dicit. pacato undique gentium toto, qua late patet, orbe terrarum Firmum etiam latronem Aegyptium, barbaricis motibus aestuantem et feminei propudii reliquias colligentem, ne plurimum loquar, fugavimus, obsedimus, cruciavimus et occidimus. 4 nihil est, Romulei Quirites, quod timere possitis. canon Aegypti, qui suspensus per latronem inprobum fuerat, integer veniet. 5 sit vobis cum senatu concordia, cum equestri ordine amicitia, cum praetorianis adfectio. ego efficiam, ne sit aliqua sollicitudo Romana. 6 vacate ludis, vacate circensibus. nos

publicae necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. quare sanctissimi Quirites,' et reliqua.

VI. 1 Haec nos de Firmo cognovisse scire debuisti, sed digna memoratu. 2 nam ea, quae de illo Aurelius Festivus, libertus Aureliani, singillatim rettulit, si vis cognoscere, eundem oportet legas, maxime cum dicat Firmum eundem inter crocodillos, unctum crocodillorum adipibus, natasse et elephantum rexisse et hippopotamo sedisse et sedentem ingentibus strutionibus vectum esse et quasi volitasse. 3 sed haec scire quid prodest? cum et Livius et Sallustius taceant res leves de his, quorum vita<s> arripuerunt. 4 non enim scimus, quales mulos Clodius habuerit aut mulas Titus Annius Milo, aut utrum Tusco equo sederit Catil[I]ina an Sardo, vel quali <in> clamide Pompeius usus fuerit purpura. 5 quare finem de Firmo faciemus venientes ad Saturninum, qui contra Probum imperium sibimet in orientis partibus vindicavit.

VII. 1 Saturninus oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii. 2 huic inter ceteros duces, quod vere summus vir esset, certe videretur, Aurelianus limitis orientalis ducatum dedit, sapienter praecipiens, ne umquam Aegyptum videret. 3 cogitabat enim, quantum videmus, vir prudentissimus Gallorum naturam et verebatur, ne, si praeturbidam civitatem vidisset, quo eum natura ducebat, e<o> societate quoque hominum duceretur. 4 sunt enim Aegyptii, ut satis nosti, <in>venti ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi atque adeo vani, liberi, novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes, versificatores, epigrammatarii, mathematici, haruspices, medici. 5 nam <in> eis C<h>ristiani, Samaritae et quibus praesentia semper tempora cum enormi libertate displiceant. 6 ac ne quis mihi Aegyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat, quod in litteras rettuli, Hadriani epistolam, <p>romam ex libris Flegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus Aegyptiorum vita detegatur.

VIII. 1 'Hadrianus Augustus Serviano consuli salutem. Aegyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam et ad omnia famae momenta volitantem. 2 illic qui Serapem colunt, C<h>ristiani sunt et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se C<h>risti episcopos dicunt, nemo illic archisynagogus Iud<a>eorum, nemo Samarites, nemo C<h>ristianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. 4 ipse ille patriarcha cum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. 5 genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, iniuriosissimum, civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. 6 alii vitrum, conflant, aliis c<h>arth[h]a conficitur, omnes certe linifiones <aut> cuiuscumque artis et <professionis> videntur; et habent podagrosi, quod agant, habent <prae>cisi, quod agant, habent caeci, quod faciant, ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. unus illis deus nummus est.

7 hunc Christiani, hunc Iud<a>ei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes. et utinam melius esset morata civitas, digna profecto, quae pro sui f<ec>unditate, quae pro sui magnitudine totius Aegypti tenea[n]t principatum. 8 huic ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova sic addidi, ut praesenti gratias agerent. denique ut primum inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa dixerint, et de Antin[in]o<o> quae dixerint, comperisse te credo. 9 nihil illis opto, nisi ut suis pullis alantur, quos quem ad modum fecundant, pudet dicere. 10 calices tibi allassontes <di>versi coloris transmisi, quos mihi sacerdos templi obtulit, tibi et sorori meae specialiter dedicatos, quos tu velim festis diebus convivii adhibeas. caveas tamen, ne his Africanus noster indulgenter utatur.’

IX. 1 Haec ergo cogitans de Aegyptiis Aurelianus iusserat, ne Saturninus Aegyptum videret, et mente quidem divina. nam ut primum Aegyptii magnam potestatem ad se venisse viderunt, statim clamarunt: ‘Saturnine Auguste, dii te servant!’ 2 et ille quidem, quod negari non potest, vir sapiens de Alexandrina civitate mox fugit atque ad Pal<a>estinam rediit. 3 ibi tamen cum cogitare coepisset tutum sibi non esse, si privatus viveret, deposita purpura ex simulacro Veneris cy[n]clade uxoria militibus circumstantibus amictus et adoratus est. 4 avum meum saepe dicentem audivi se interfuisse, cum ille adoraretur. 5 ‘flebat’, inquit, ‘et dicebat: “necessarium, si non adroganter dicam, res p. virum perdidit. ego certe instauravi Gallias, ego a Mauris possessam Africam reddidi, ego Hispanias pacavi. sed quid prodest? omnia haec adfectato semel honore perierunt.”’

X. 1 Et cum eum animarent vel ad vitam vel ad imperium, qui amicuerunt purpuram, in haec verba disseruit: ‘nescitis, amici, quid mali sit imperare. 2 gladii s<a>eta pendente[bu]s cervicibus imminet, hastae undique, undique spicula. ipsi custodes timentur, ipsi comites formidantur. non cibus pro voluptate, non i[n]ter pro auctoritate, non bella pro iudicio, non arma pro studio. 3 adde, quod omnis aetas in imperio reprehenditur: senex est quispiam: inhabilis videtur; at iuvenis: <ard>et furore. iam quid amabilem omnibus Probum dico? cui <cum> me <ae>mulum esse cupitis, cui libens c[a]edo et cuius esse dux cupio, in necessitatem mortis me trahitis. habeo solacium mortis: solus perire non potero.’ 4 Marcus Salvidienus hanc ipsius orationem vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa r<h>e[c]tori[o] operam dederat, Romae frequentavera[n]t pergula<s> magistrales.

XI. 1 Et ne longius progrediar, dicendum est, quod praecipue ad hunc pertinet, errare quosdam et putare hunc esse Saturninum, qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit, cum [h]is longe alius sit et [a] Probo paene nolent<e> sit occisus. 2 fertur autem Probus et clementes ad eum litteras saepe misisse et veniam esse pollicitum, sed milites, qui cum eo fuerant, non credidisse. 3

obsessum denique in castro quodam ab his, quos Probus miserat, invito Probo esse iugulatum.

4 Longum est frivola quaeque conectere, odiosum dicere, quali statura fuerit, quo corpore, quo decore, quid biberit, quid comederit, ab aliis ista dicantur, quae prope ad exemplum nihil prosunt. nos ad ea, quae sunt dicenda, redeamus.

XII. 1 Proculo patria Albinga[t]uni fuere, positi in Alpibus maritimis. domi nobilis sed maioribus latrocinantibus atque adeo pecore ac servis et his rebus, quas abduxerat, satis dives. 2 fertur denique eo tempore, quo sumpsit imperium, duo milia servorum suorum armasse. 3 huic uxor virago, quae illum in hanc praecipitavit dementia, nomine Samso, quod ei postea inditum est, nam antea Vituriga nominata est. 4 filius Herennianus, quem et ipsum, si quinquennium implesset, ita enim loquebatur, ditasset imperio. 5 homo, quod negari non potest e idemque fortissimus, ipse quoque latrociniis adsuetus, qui tamen armatam semper egerit vitam. nam et multis Legionibus tribunus praefuit et fortia edidit facta. 6 et quoniam minima quaeque iocunda sunt atque habent aliquid gratiae cum leguntur, tacendum non est, quod et ipse gloriatur in quadam sua [a]epistola, quam ipsam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere: 7 ‘Proculus Maeciano adfini salutem dicit. centum ex <S>armatia virgines cepi. ex his una nocte decem in<i>vi; omnes tamen, quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies quindecim reddidi.’ — 8 gloriatur, ut vides, rem ineptam et satis libidinosam atque inter fortes se haberi credit, si criminum densitate co<nc>al<l>escat.

XIII. 1 Hic tamen cum etiam post honores militares [cum] se inprobe, libidinose, tamen fortiter gereret, hortantibus Lugdunensibus, qui et ab Aureliano graviter contusi videbantur et Probum vehementissime pertimescebant, in imperium vocitatus est, ludo p<a>ene ac ioco, ut Onesimus dicit, quod quidem apud nullum alium repperisse me scio. 2 nam cum in quodam convivio ad latrunculos luderetur atque ipse decies imperator exisset, quidam non ignobilis scurra ‘ave’ inquit, ‘August[a]e’ adIataque Iana purpurea umeros eius vinxit eumque adoravit; timor inde consciorum atque inde iam exercitus temptatio et imperii. 3 non nihilum tamen Gallis profuit. nam Alamannos, qui tunc adhuc Germani dicebantur, non sine gloriae splendore contrivit, numquam aliter quam latrocinandi pugnans modo. 4 hunc tamen Probus fugatum usque ad ultimas terras et cupientem, in Francorum auxilium venire, a quibus originem se trahere ipse dicebat, ipsis prodentibus Francis, quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere, vicit et interemit. 5 posterius eius etiam nunc apud Albingaunos agunt, qui ioco solent dicere sibi non placere esse vel principes vel latrones. 6 Haec digna memoratu de Proculo didicisse me memini. veniamus ad Bonosum, de quo multo minora condidi.

XIV. 1 Bonosus domo Hispaniensi fuit, origine Brittannus, Galla tamen matre,

ut ipse dicebat, r<h>et[h]oris filius ut ab aliis comperi, p<a>edagogi litterarii. parvulus patrem amisit atque a matre fortissima educatus litterarum, nihil didicit. 2 militavit primum inter ordinarios, deinde inter [a]equites; duxit ordines, tribunatus egit, dux limitis R<a>etici fuit, bibit, quantum hominum nemo. 3 de hoc Aurelianus saepe dicebat: ‘non ut vivat, natus est, sed ut bibat.’ quem quidem diu i<n> honore habuit causa militiae. 4 nam si quando legati barbarorum undecumque gentium venissent, ipsi propinabantur, ut eos inebriaret atque ab his per vinum cuncta cognosceret. ipse quantumlibet bibisset, semper securus et sobrius et, ut <O>nes[c]imus dicit scriptor vitae Probi, adhuc in vino prudentior. 5 habuit praeterea rem mirabilem, ut quantum bibisset, tantum mingeret[ur], neque umquam eius aut pectus aut venter aut vesica, gravaretur.

XV. 1 Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Reno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore ne poenas daret, sumpsit imperium idque diutius tenuit quam merebatur. 2 nam longo gravique certamine a Probo superatus laqueo vitam finivit, cum quidem iocus exstitit amphoram pendere, non hominem. 3 Filios duos reliquit, quibus ambobus Probus pepercit, uxore[m] quoque eius in honore habita et usque ad mortem salario praestito. 4 fuisse enim dicitur, ut et avus meus dicebat, femina singularis exempli et familiae nobilis, gentis tamen Gothicae; quam illi Aurelianus uxorem idcirco dederat, ut per eum a Gothis cuncta cognosceret. erat enim illa virgo regalis. 5 exstant litterae ad legatum Thraciarum scriptae de his nuptiis et donis, quae Aurelianus Bonoso duci nuptiarum causa {dari} iussit, quas ego inserui: 6 ‘Aurelianus Augustus Gallonio Avito salutem. superioribus litteris scripseram, ut optimates Gothicas aput Perinthum conlocares, decretis salariis, non ut singula<e> acciperent, sed ut septem simul unum convi<vi>um haberent. cum enim divisae accipiunt, et illae parum sumunt, et res p. plurimum perdit. 7 nunc tamen, quoniam placuit Bonoso Hunilam dari, dabis ei iuxta brevem infra scriptum omnia, quae praecipimus; sumptu etiam publico nuptias c[a]elebrabis.’ 8 Brevis munerum fuit: ‘tunicas palliolatas ianthinas subsericas, tunicam auro clavatam subsericam librilem unam, interulas dilores duas et reliqua, quae matron<a>e conveniunt. ipsi dabis aureos Philippeos centum, argenteos Antoninianos mille, aeris sestertium decies.’ 9 Haec me legisse teneo de Bonoso. et potui quidem horum vitam praeterire, quos nemo quaerebat, attamen, ne quid fidei deesset, etiam de his, quae didiceram, intimanda curavi. 10 supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, nam Diocletianus et qui secuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt.

CARUS ET CARINUS ET NUMERIANUS

I. 1 Fato rem p. regi eamqu[a]e nunc ad summum evehi, nunc ad minima retrahi Probi mors satis prodidit. 2 nam cum ducta per tempora variis vel erecta[m] motibus vel adflicta[m], nunc tempestate aliqua nunc felicitate variata omnia prope passa esset, quae patitur in homine uno mortalitas, videbatur post diversitatem malorum iam secuta continuata felicitate mansura post Aurelianum vehementem principem Probo ex sententia <senatus ac populi> leges et gubernacula [senatus ac populo] temperante. 3 sed ruina ingens vel naufragii modo vel incendii accensis fataliter militibus sublato {e} medio tali principe in eam desperationem votum publicum redegit, ut timerent omnes Domitianos, Vitellios et Neronos. 4 plus enim timetur de incertis moribus principis quam speratur, maxime in ea re p., qu<a>e recentibus confossa, vulneribus Valeriani captivitatem, Gallieni luxuriam, triginta etiam prope tyrannorum <conluvionem> caesa civilium membra sibimet vindicantium perpessa m<a>eruerit.

II. 1 Nam si velimus ab ortu urbis repetere, quas varietates sit passa Romana, res p., inveniemus nullam magis vel bonis floruisse vel malis laborasse. 2 et, ut a Romulo incipiam, vero patre ac parente rei p., quae illius felicitas fuit, qui fundavit, constituit roboravitque rem p. atque unus omnium conditorum perfectam urbem reliquit? 3 quid deinde Numam loquar, qui frementem bellis et gravidam triumphis civitatem. rel<i>gione munivit? 4 vixit ig<it>ur usque ad Tarquinii Superbi tempora nostra res p., sed passa, tempestatem de moribus regis non sine gravi exitio semet ulla est. 5 adolevit deinde usque ad tempora Gallicani belli, sed quasi quodam mersa naufragio capta praeter arcem urbe plus prope mali sensit quam timeba<n>t boni. 6 reddidit se deinde in integrum, sed eo usque gravata est Punicis bellis ac terrore Pyrr<h>i, ut mortalitatis mala praecordiorum timore sentiret.

III. 1 Crevit deinde victa Carthagine trans maria missis imperiis, sed socialibus adfecta discordiis extenuato felic<it>atis sensu usque ad Augustum bellis civilibus, adfecta consenuit. per Augustum deinde reparata, si reparata dici potest libertate deposita. 2 tamen utcumque, etiamsi domi tristis fuit, apud exterarum gentes effloruit; passa deinceps tot Neronos, per Vespasianum extulit caput. 3 nec omni Titi felicitate laetata, Domitiani vulnerata inmanitate per Nervam atque Traianum usque ad Marcum solito melior, Commodi v[a]ecordia et crudelitate lacerata est. 4 nihil post haec praeter Severi diligentiam usque {ad} Alexandrum Mam<a>eae sensit bonum. 5 longum est, quae secuntur, universa conectere: uti enim principe Valeriano non potuit et Gallienum per annos quindecim passa est. 6 invidit Claudio longi<n>quitatem imperii amans

vari[a]etatum prope et semper inimica, fortuna iustitiae. 7 sic enim Aurelianus occisus est, sic Tacitus absumptus, sic Probus caesus, ut appareat nihil tam gratum esse fortunae, quam ut ea, quae sunt in publicis actibus, eventuum vari[a]etate mutantur. 8 sed quorsum talibus qu[a]erellis et temporum casibus detinemur? veniamus ad Carum, medium, ut ita dixerim, virum et inter bonos magis quam inter malos principes conlocandum et longe meliorem, si Carinum non reli[n]quisset heredem.

IV. 1 Cari patria sic ambigue a plerisque proditur, ut prae summa varietate dicere nequeam, [ae]quae illa vera si[n]t. 2 Onesimus enim, qui diligentissime vitam Probi scripsit, Romae illum et natum et eruditum, sed Illyricianis parentibus fuisse contendit. 3 sed Fabius Ceryllianus, qui tempora Cari, Carini et Numeriani solertissime persecutus est, neque Romae sed in Illyrico genitum, neque Pannoniis sed Poenis parentibus adserit natum. 4 in ephemeride quadam legisse <me> memini Carum Mediolanensem fuisse, sed a<l>bo curia<e> Aquil<e>iensis civitatis insertum. 5 ipse se, quod negari non potest, ut epistula eius indicat, quam pro consul[a]e ad legatum suum scripsit, cum eum ad bona hortaretur officia, Romanum vult videri. 6 [a]epistula Cari: ‘Marc[li]us Aurelius <Carus> pro consul[a]e Ciliciae Iunio legato suo. maiores nostri, Romani illi principes, in legatis creandis hac usi sunt consuetudine, ut morum suorum specimen per eos ostenderent, quibus rem publicam delegabant. 7 ego vero, si ita non esset, aliter non fecissem: <non> feci aliter, si te iuvante non fallar; fac igitur, ut maioribus nostris, id est Romanis non discrepemus viris.’ 8 Vides tota [a]epistula maiores suos Romanos illum velle intellegi.

V. 1 Indicat et oratio eius ad senatum data istam generis praerogativam. nam cum primum imperator esset creatus, sic ad senatorium ordinem scripsit. 2 inter cetera: ‘gaudendum est itaque, p. c., quod unus ex vestro ordine, vestri etiam generis imperator est factus. quare adnitemur, ne meliores peregrini quam vestri esse videantur.’ 3 hoc quoque loco satis clarum est illum voluisse intellegi se esse Romanum, id est Roma oriundum. 4 Hic igitur per civiles <et> militares gradus, ut tituli statuarum eius indicant, praef. praet. a Probo factus tantum sibi apud milites amoris locavit, ut interfecto Probo tanto principis solus dignissimus videretur imperio.

VI. 1 Non me praeteriit suspicatos esse plerosque et eos infasto<s> ret<t>ulisse Cari factione interemptum Probum, sed <ne>que[d] meritum Probi erga Carum neque Cari mores id credi patiuntur, simul quia Probi mortem et acerrime et constantissime vindicavit. 2 quid autem de eo Probus senseri[n]t, indicant litter<a>e de eius honoribus ad senatum dat<a>e: ‘Probus Augustus amantissimo senatui suo salutem dicit.’ inter cetera: ‘felix autem esset nostra res p., si, qualis Carus est aut plerique vestrum, plures haberem in actibus

conlocatos. 3 quare equestrem statua<m> viro morum veterum, si vobis placeat, decernendam censeo, addito eo ut publico suumptu [vel] eidem exaedificetur domus marmoribus a me delatis. decet enim nos talis integritatem remunerari viri' et reliqua.

VII. 1 Ac ne minima quaeque conectam et ea, quae apud alios poterunt inveniri, ubi primum accepit imperium, consensu omnium militum bellum Persic[c]um, quod Probus parabat, adgressus est liberis Caesaribus nuncupatis, et ita quidem ut Carinum ad Gallias tuendas cum viris lectissimis destinaret, secum vero Numerianum, adule<s>centem cum lectissimum tum etiam disertissimum, duceret. 2 et dicitur quidem s<a>epe dixisse se miserum, quod Carinum ad Gallias principem mitteret, neque illa aetas esset Numeriani, ut illi Gallicanum, quod maxime constantem principem quaerit, crederetur imperium. sed haec alias. 3 nam exstant <et>iam litter<a>e Cari, quibus aput praefectum suum de Carini moribus qu[a]eratur, ut appareat verum esse, quod Onesimus dicit, habuisse in animo Carum, ut Carino Caesareanum abrogaret imperium. 4 sed haec, ut diximus, alias in ipsius Carini vita dicenda sunt. nunc ad ordinem revertemur.

VIII. 1 Ingenti apparatu et toti[u]s viribus Probi profligato magna ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat, contra Persas profectus nullo sibi occurrente Mesopotamia<m> Carus cepit et <C>testifontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione imperatoris Persi<ci> nomen emeruit. 2 verum cum avidus gloriae, pra<e>fecto suo maxime [i]urgente, qui et ipsi et filii<s> eius quaerebat exitium cupiens imperare, longius progressus esset, ut alii dicunt morbo, ut plures fulmine interemptus est. 3 negari non potest eo tempore, quo perit, tantum fuisse subito tonitruum, ut multi terrore ipso exanimati esse dicantur. cum igitur <a>egrotaret atque in tentorio iaceret, ingenti exorta tempestate inmani coruscatione, inmaniore, ut diximus, tonitru exanimatus est. 4 Iulius Ca<l>purnius, qui ad memoriam dictabat, talem ad praefectum urbis super morte Cari [a]epistulam dedit. 5 inter cetera: 'cum', inquit, 'Carus, princeps noster vere carus, aegrotaret et <in tentorio iaceret>, tanti turbinis subito exorta tempestas est, ut caligarent omnia neque alterutrum nosceret; coruscationum deinde ac tonitruum in modum [fulgurum] igniti sideris continuata vibratio omnibus nobis veritatis scientiam sustulit. 6 subito enim conclamatum est imperatorem mortuum, et post illud praecipu[a]e tonitru<u>m, quo<d> cuncta terruerat. 7 his accessit quod cubiculari dolentes principis mortem incenderunt tentorium. unde suit<o> fama emersit fulmine interemptum eum, quem, quantum scire possumus, aegritudine constat absumptum.'

IX. 1 Hanc ego epistulam idcirco indidi, quod plerique dicunt vim fati quandam esse, ut Romanus princeps Ctesifontem transire non possit, ideoque

Carum fulmine absumptum, quod eos fines transgredi cuperet, qui fataliter constituti sunt. 2 sed sibi habeat artes suas timiditas, calcanda virtutibus. 3 licet plane ac licebit (per sacratissimum Caesarem Maximianum constitit) Persas vincere atque ultra eos progredi, et futurum reor, si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor. 4 Bonum principem Carum fuisse cum multa indicant tum illud etiam, quod, statim est adeptus imperium, Sarmatas adeo morte Probi feroces, ut invasuros se non solum Illyricum sed Thracias quoque Italiamque minarentur, ita s[i]ci<e>nter bella par<t>iendo contudit, ut paucissimis diebus Pannonias securitate donaverit occisis Sarmatarum sedecim mili[ti]bus, captis diversi sex[s]us viginti milibus.

X. 1 Haec de Caro satis esse credo. veniamus ad Numerianum. huius et iun<c>tior patri et admirabilior per socerum suum facta videtur historia. et quamvis Carinus maior aetate fuerit, prior etiam Caesar quam <Numerianus> sit nuncupatus, tamen necesse est, ut prius de Numeriano loquamur, qui patris secutus est mortem, post de Carino, quem vir rei p. necessarius Augustus Diocletianus habitis conflictibus interemit.

XI. 1 Numerianus, Cari filius moratus egregi[a]e et vere dignus imperio, eloquentia etiam praepollens, adeo ut puer public[a]e declamaverit feranturque illius scripta nobilia, declamationi tamen magis quam Tulliano adcommodiora stilo. 2 versu autem talis fuisse praedicatur, ut omnes poetas sui temporis vicerit. nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit, qui halieutika kunegetika et nautika scripsit qui[n]que omnibus coloribus inlustratus emicuit, et Aurelium Apollinarem <i>amborum scriptorem, qui patris, eius gesta in litteras ret<t>ulit, [h]isdem, qu<a>e recitaverat, editis veluti radio solis obtexit. 3 huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae, ut illi[s] statua non quasi C<a>esari sed quasi r<h>et[h]ori decerneretur, ponenda in bibliotheca[e] Ulpia, cui suscriptum est: 'Numeriano Caesari, oratori temporibus suis potentissimo.'

XII. 1 Hic patri comes fuit bello Persico. quo mortuo, cum oculos dolere coepisset, quod illud aegritudinis genus nimia utpote <vigilia> confecto familiarissimum fuit, ac lectica porta<re>tur, factione Apri soceri sui, qui invadere conabatur imperium, occisus est. 2 sed cum per plurimos dies de imperatoris salute quaereretur a milite, contionareturque Aper idcirco illum videri non posse, quod oculos invalidos, a[c] vento ac sole subtraheret, foetore tamen cadaveris res esset prodita omnes invaserunt Aprum, cuius factio latere non potuit, eumque ante signa et principia protraxere. tunc habita est ingens contio, factum etiam tribunal.

XIII. 1 et cum qu<a>ereretur, quis vindex Numeriani iustissimus fieret, quis daretur rei p. bonus princeps, Diocletianum omnes divino consensu, cui multa iam signa facta dicebantur imperii, Augustum appellaverunt, domesticos tunc

regentem, virum insignem, callidum, amantem rei p., amantem suorum et ad omnia, quac tempus quaesiverat, temperatum, consilii semper alti, nonnumquam tamen <ferreae> frontis, sed prudentia e<t> nimia pervicacia motus inquieti pectoris conprimentis. 2 hic cum tribunal cons<c>endisset atque Augustus esset appellatus et quaereretur, quem ad modum Numerianus esset occisus, educto gladio Aprum praefectum praetori ostentans percussit, addens verbis suis: ‘hic est auctor necis Numeriani.’ sic Aper foeda vit<a> et deformibus consiliis agens dignum moribus suis exitum dedit. 3 avus meus ret<t>ulit interfuisse conti[ci]oni, cum Diocletiani manu esset Aper occisus; dixisse autem dicebat Diocletianum, <cum Aprum> percussisse<t>: ‘gloriare, Aper,

Aeneae magni dextra cadis.’

4 quod ego miror de homine militari, quamvis plurimos plane sciam militares vel Gr<a>ec[a]e vel Latin[a]e vel comicorum usurpare dicta vel talium poetarum. 5 ipsi denique comici plerumque sic milites inducunt, ut eos faciant vetera dicta usurpare. nam et ‘lepus tute es: pulpamentum quaeris’ Livii Andronici dictum est, multa alia, quae Plautus Cae<ci>liusque posuerunt.

XIV. 1 Curiosum [non] puto neque satis vulgare fabellam de Diocletiano Augusto ponere hoc convenientem loco, quae illi data est ad omen imperii. — avus meus mihi ret<t>ulit ab ipso Diocletiano compertum — . 2 ‘cum’, inquit, ‘Diocletianus apud Tungros in Gallia in quadam caupona moraretur in minoribus adhuc locis militans et cum Dryade quadam muliere [cu]rationem convictus sui cotidiani faceret atque illa diceret: ‘Diocletiane, nimium avarus, nimium parcus es’, ioco non serio Diocletianus respondisse fertur. ‘tunc ero largus, cum fuero imperator.’ 3 post quod verbum Dryas dixisse fertur: ‘Diocletian[a]e, iocari noli, nam eris imperator, cum Aprum occideris.’

XV. 1 Semper in animo Diocletianus habuit imperii cupiditatem, idque Maximiano conscio atque avo meo, cui hoc dictum a Dryad[a]e ipse ret<t>ulerat. 2 denique, ut erat altus, risit et tacuit. apros tamen in venatibus, ubi fuit facultas, manu sua semper occidit. 3 denique cum Aurelianus imperium accepisset, cum Probus, cum Tacitus, cum ipse Carus, Diocletianus dixit: ‘ego semper apros occido, sed alter utitur pulpamento.’ 4 iam illud notum est atque vulgatum, quod, cum occidisset Aprum praefectum praet., dixisse fertur: ‘tandem occidi Aprum fatalem.’ 5 ipsum Diocletianum idem avus meus dixisse dicebat nullam aliam sibi causam occidendi manu sua fuisse, nisi ut impleret Dryadis dictum et suum firmaret imperium. 6 non enim tam crudelem se innotescere cuperet, primis maxime diebus imperii, nisi illum necessitas ad hanc atrocitatem occisionis adtraheret.

XVI. 1 Dictum est de Caro, dictum etiam de Numeriano, superest nobis Carinus, homo omnium contaminatissimus, adulter, frequens corruptor iuventutis

(pudet dicere, quod in litteras Onesimus ret<t>ulit), ipse quoque male usus genio sexus sui. 2 hic cum Caesar decretis sibi Galliis atque Italia[e], Illyrico, Hispani<i>s ac Brittanni<i>s et Africa relictus a patre Caesareanum teneret imperium, sed ea lege, ut omnia faceret, quae Augusti faciunt, in omnibus se vitiis et ingenti foeditate 3 maculavit, amicos optimos quosque releg<av>it, pessimum quemque elegit aut tenuit, praef. urbi unum ex cancellariis suis fecit, quo foedius nec cogitari potuit aliquando nec dici. 4 praef. praetorii, quem habebat, occidit; 5 in eius locum Matronianum, veterem conciliatorem, fecit, unum ex his notariis, quem stup<ro>rum et libidinum conscium semper atque adiutorem habuerat. 6 invito patre consul processit. superbas ad senatum litteras dedit. 7 vulgo urbis Romae, quasi populo Romano, bona senatus promisit. uxores ducendo ac reiciendo novem duxit pulsos pleri<s>que praegnatibus. mimis, meretricibus, pantomimis, cantoribus atque lenonibus Palatium replevit. 8 fastidium suscribendi tantum habuit, ut impurum quendam, cum quo semper meridi[a]e iocabatur, ad suscribendum poneret, quem obiurgabat plerumque, quod bene, suam imitaretur manum.

XVII. 1 Habuit gemmas in calceis; nisi gemmata fibula usus non est, balteo[m] etiam saepe gemmato[m]. regem denique illum Illyrici plerique vocitarunt. 2 praef(ectis) numquam, <numquam> consulibus obviam processit. hominibus improbis plurimum detulit eosque ad convivium semper vocavit. 3 centum libras avium, centum piscium, mill[a]e divers<a>e carnis in convivio suo frequenter exhibuit. vini plurimum effudit. inter poma et melones natavit. rosis Mediola<nen>sibus et triclinia et cubicula stravit. 4 balneis ita frigidis usus est, ut solent esse cellae suppositoriae, frigidariis semper nivalibus. 5 cum hiemis tempore ad quendam locum venisset, in quo fontana esse<t> pertepi<d>a, ut adsolet per hiemem naturaliter, eaque in piscina usus esset, dixisse balneatoribus fertur: ‘aquam mihi muliebrem praepara<s>tis.’ atque hoc eius clarissimum dictum effertur. 6 audiebat pater eius, quae ille faceret, et clamabat: ‘non est meus.’ statuerat denique Constantium, qui postea Caesar est factus, tunc autem praesidatum Dalmatiae administrabat, in locum eius subrogare, quod nemo tunc vir melior videbatur, illum vero, ut Onesimus dicit, occidere. 7 longum est, si de eius luxuria plura velim dicere. quicumque ostiatim cupit noscere, legat etiam Fulvium Asprianum usque ad t<a>edium gestorum eius universa dicentem.

XVIII. 1 Hic ubi patrem fulmine absumptum, fratrem a socero interemptum, Diocletianum Augustum appellatum comperit, maiora vitia, et <s>celera edidit, quasi iam liber a frenis domesticae pi[a]etatis suorum mor<t>ibus absolutus. 2 nec ei tamen defuit ad vindicandum sibimet imperium vigor mentis. nam contra Diocletianum multis proeliis confligit, sed ultima pugna apud Margum commissa victus occubuit. 3 Hic trium principum fuit finis, Cari, Numeriani et

Carini. post quos Diocletianum et Maximianum principes <dii> dederunt, iungentes talibus viris Galerium atque Constantium, quorum alter natus est, qui acceptam ignominiam Valeriani captivitate[m] deleteret alter, qui Gallias Romanis legibus redderet. 4 quattuor sane principes mundi fortes, sapientes, benigni et admodum liberales, unum in rem p. se<n>tientes, [s]per<r>everent<es> Romani senatus, moderati, populi amici, <per>san<c>ti, graves, religiosi et quales principes semper oravimus. 5 quorum vitam singulis libris Claudius Eusthenius qui, Diocletiano ab [a]epistulis fuit, scripsit, quod idcirco dixi, ne quis a me re<m> tan[ta]tam requireret, maxime cum vel vivorum principum vita non sine repr[a]ehensione dicatur.

XIX. 1 Memorabile[m] maxime Cari et Carini et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos populo R. novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt, quos in Palatio circa porticum stabuli pictos vidimus. 2 nam et neurobaten, qui velut in ventis cot<h>urnatus ferretur, exhibuit et toec<h>obaten, qui per parietem urso eluso cucurrit, et ursos mimum agentes et item centum salpistas uno crepitu concinentes et centum cerataulas, choraulas centum, etiam pyt<h>aulas centum, pantomimos et gymnicos mille, pegma praeterea, cuius flammis scaena conflagravit, quam Diocletianus postea magnificentio rem reddidit. 3 mimos praeterea undique advocavit. exhibuit et ludum Sarmaticum, quo duIcius nihil est. exhibuit Cyclope[m]a. do[r]natum est Gr<a>ecis artificibus et gymnics et histrionibus et musicis aurum et argentum, donata et vestis serica.

XX. 1 Sed haec omnia nescio quantum apud populum gratiae habeant, nullius sunt momenti apud principes bonos. 2 Diocletiani denique dictum fertur, cum ei quidam largitionalis suus [a]editionem Cari laudaret dicens multum placuisse principes illos causa ludorum theatralium ludorumque circensium: ‘ergo’, inquit, ‘bene risus est in imperio suo Carus.’ 3 denique cum omnibus gentibus advocatis Diocletianus daret, ludos, parcissime [a]usus {est} libertate, dicens castiores esse oportere ludos specta<n>te censore[m]. 4 Legat hunc locum Iunius Messala, quem ego libere culpae audeo. ille enim patrimonium suum scaenicis dedit, heredibus abnegavit, matris tunicam dedit mimae, lacernam patris mimo, et recte, si aviae pallio aurato atque purpureo pro syrmate tragoedus uteretur. 5 inscriptum est adhuc in chorulae pallio tyriant<h>ino, quo ille velut spolio nobilitatis exultat, Mes<s>al<a>e nomen uxoris. iam quid lineas petitas, Aegypto loquar? quid Tyro et Sidone tenuitate perlucidas, micantes purpura, plumandi difficultate pernobiles? 6 donati sunt <ab> Atrabati[ti]s birri petiti, donati birri Canusini, Afri[n]cani, opes, in scaena n<on> prius visae.

XXI. 1 Et haec quidem idcirco ego in litteras ret<t>uli, quod futuros editores pudore tangeret ne patrimonia sua proscriptis legitimis heredibus mimis et balatronibus deputarent. 2 Habe, mi amice, meum munus, quod ego, ut

s<a>ep[a]e dixi, non eloquentiae causa sed curiositatis in lumen edidi, id praecipu[a]e agens, ut, si quis eloque<n>s vellet facta principum reserare, materiam non requireret, habiturus meos libellos ministros eloquii. 3 te quaeso, sis contentus nosque sic voluisse scribere melius quam potuisse contendas.

The Dual Text

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by Alexander Thomson

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of *De Vitis Caesarum*, alternating between the original Latin and Thomson's English translation.

CONTENTS

[THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR](#)

[THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF CALIGULA](#)

[THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF NERO](#)

[THE LIFE OF GALBA](#)

[THE LIFE OF OTHO](#)

[THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN](#)

[THE LIFE OF TITUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN](#)

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR

¹ Annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit; sequentibusque consulibus flamen Dialis destinatus dimissa Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum diues praetextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem, ex qua illi mox Iulia nata est; neque ut repudiaret compelli a dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit. quare et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentilicis hereditatibus multatus diuersarum partium habebatur, ut etiam discedere e medio et quamquam morbo quartanae adgrauante prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redimeret, donec per uirgines Vestales perque Mamercum Aemilium et Aurelium Cottam propinquos et adfines suos ueniam impetrauit. satis constat Sullam, cum deprecantibus amicissimis et ornatissimis uiris aliquamdiu denegasset atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamasse siue diuinitus siue aliqua coniectura: uincerent ac sibi haberent, dum modo scirent eum, quem incolumem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque optimatum partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum; nam Caesari multos Marios inesse.

I. Julius Caesar, the Divine, lost his father when he was in the sixteenth year of his age; and the year following, being nominated to the office of high-priest of Jupiter, he repudiated Cossutia, who was very wealthy, although her family belonged only to the equestrian order, and to whom he had been contracted when he was a mere boy. He then married (2) Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who was four times consul; and had by her, shortly afterwards, a daughter named Julia. Resisting all the efforts of the dictator Sylla to induce him to divorce Cornelia, he suffered the penalty of being stripped of his sacerdotal office, his wife's dowry, and his own patrimonial estates; and, being identified with the adverse faction, was compelled to withdraw from Rome. After changing his place of concealment nearly every night, although he was suffering from a quartan ague, and having effected his release by bribing the officers who had tracked his footsteps, he at length obtained a pardon through the intercession of the vestal virgins, and of Mamercus Aemilius and Aurelius Cotta, his near relatives. We are assured that when Sylla, having withstood for a while the entreaties of his own best friends, persons of distinguished rank, at last yielded to their importunity, he exclaimed — either by a divine impulse, or from a shrewd conjecture: “Your suit is granted, and you may take him among you; but know,” he added, “that this man, for whose safety you are so extremely anxious, will, some day or other, be the ruin of the party of the nobles, in defence of

which you are leagued with me; for in this one Caesar, you will find many a Marius.”

² Stipendia prima in Asia fecit Marci Thermi praetoris contubernio; a quo ad accersendam classem in Bithyniam missus desedit apud Nicomedem, non sine rumore prostratae regi pudicitiae; quem rumorem auxit intra paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia per causam exigendae pecuniae, quae deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo. reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit et a Thermo in expugnatione Mytilenarum corona ciuica donatus est.

II. His first campaign was served in Asia, on the staff of the praetor, M. Thermus; and being dispatched into Bithynia, to bring thence a fleet, he loitered so long at the court of Nicomedes, as to give occasion to reports of a criminal intercourse between him and that prince; which received additional credit from his hasty return to Bithynia, under the pretext of recovering a debt due to a freed-man, his client. The rest of his service was more favourable to his reputation; and (3) when Mitylene was taken by storm, he was presented by Thermus with the civic crown.

³ Meruit et sub Seruilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed breui tempore. nam Sullae morte comperta, simul spe nouae dissensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum mouebatur, Romam propere redit. et Lepidi quidem societate, quamquam magnis condicionibus inuitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio eius diffisus tum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

III. He served also in Cilicia, under Servilius Isauricus, but only for a short time; as upon receiving intelligence of Sylla's death, he returned with all speed to Rome, in expectation of what might follow from a fresh agitation set on foot by Marcus Lepidus. Distrusting, however, the abilities of this leader, and finding the times less favourable for the execution of this project than he had at first imagined, he abandoned all thoughts of joining Lepidus, although he received the most tempting offers.

⁴ Ceterum composita seditione ciuili Cornelium Dolabellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postulauit; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad declinandam inuidiam et ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est mansitque apud eos non sine summa indignatione prope quadraginta dies cum uno medico et

cubicularis duobus. nam comites seruosque ceteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias, quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis expositus in litore non distulit quin e uestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntis ac redactos in potestatem supplicio, quod saepe illis minatus inter iocum fuerat, adficeret. uastante regiones proximas Mithridate, ne desidere in discrimine sociorum uideretur, ab Rhodo, quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam auxiliisque contractis et praefecto regis prouincia expulso nutantis ac dubias ciuitates retinuit in fide.

IV. Soon after this civil discord was composed, he preferred a charge of extortion against Cornelius Dolabella, a man of consular dignity, who had obtained the honour of a triumph. On the acquittal of the accused, he resolved to retire to Rhodes, with the view not only of avoiding the public odium (4) which he had incurred, but of prosecuting his studies with leisure and tranquillity, under Apollonius, the son of Molon, at that time the most celebrated master of rhetoric. While on his voyage thither, in the winter season, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacusa, and detained by them, burning with indignation, for nearly forty days; his only attendants being a physician and two chamberlains. For he had instantly dispatched his other servants and the friends who accompanied him, to raise money for his ransom. Fifty talents having been paid down, he was landed on the coast, when, having collected some ships, he lost no time in putting to sea in pursuit of the pirates, and having captured them, inflicted upon them the punishment with which he had often threatened them in jest. At that time Mithridates was ravaging the neighbouring districts, and on Caesar's arrival at Rhodes, that he might not appear to lie idle while danger threatened the allies of Rome, he passed over into Asia, and having collected some auxiliary forces, and driven the king's governor out of the province, retained in their allegiance the cities which were wavering, and ready to revolt.

⁵ Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reuerso per suffragia populi honor optigit, actores restituendae tribuniciae potestatis, cuius uim Sulla deminuerat, enixissime iuuat. L. etiam Cinnae uxoris fratri, et qui cum eo ciuili discordia Lepidum secuti post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in ciuitatem rogatione Plotia confecit habuitque et ipse super ea re contionem.

V. Having been elected military tribune, the first honour he received from the suffrages of the people after his return to Rome, he zealously assisted those who took measures for restoring the tribunitian authority, which had been greatly diminished during the usurpation of Sulla. He likewise, by an act, which Plotius

at his suggestion propounded to the people, obtained the recall of Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, and others with him, who having been the adherents of Lepidus in the civil disturbances, had after that consul's death fled to Sertorius; which law he supported by a speech.

⁶ Quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudauit e more pro rostris. et in amitae quidem laudatione de eius ac patris sui utraque origine sic refert: 'Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus coniunctum est. nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.' In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit Quinti Pompei filiam, L. Sullae neptem; cum qua deinde diuortium fecit adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio, quem inter publicas caerimonias penetrasse ad eam muliebri ueste tam constans fama erat, ut senatus quaestionem de pollutis sacris decreuerit.

VI. During his quaestorship he pronounced funeral orations from the rostra, according to custom, in praise of his aunt (5) Julia, and his wife Cornelia. In the panegyric on his aunt, he gives the following account of her own and his father's genealogy, on both sides: "My aunt Julia derived her descent, by the mother, from a race of kings, and by her father, from the Immortal Gods. For the Marcii Reges, her mother's family, deduce their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Iulii, her father's, from Venus; of which stock we are a branch. We therefore unite in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the chiefest among men, and the divine majesty of Gods, to whom kings themselves are subject." To supply the place of Cornelia, he married Pompeia, the daughter of Quintus Pompeius, and grand-daughter of Lucius Sylla; but he afterwards divorced her, upon suspicion of her having been debauched by Publius Clodius. For so current was the report, that Clodius had found access to her disguised as a woman, during the celebration of a religious solemnity, that the senate instituted an enquiry respecting the profanation of the sacred rites.

⁷ Quaestori ulterior Hispania obuenit; ubi cum mandatu pr(aetoris) iure dicundo conuentus circumiret Gadisque uenisset, animaduersa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignauiam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitauit ad captandas quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in urbe. etiam confusum eum somnio proximae

noctis + nam uisus erat per quietem stuprum matri intulisse + coiectores ad amplissimam spem incitauerunt arbitrium terrarum orbis portendi interpretantes, quando mater, quam subiectam sibi uidisset, non alia esset quam terra, quae omnium parens haberetur.

VII. Farther-Spain fell to his lot as quaestor; when there, as he was going the circuit of the province, by commission from the praetor, for the administration of justice, and had reached Gades, seeing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he sighed deeply, as if weary of his sluggish life, for having performed no memorable actions at an age at which Alexander had already conquered the world. He, therefore, immediately sued for his discharge, with the view of embracing the first opportunity, which might present itself in The City, of entering upon a more exalted career. In the stillness of the night following, he dreamt that he lay with his own mother; but his confusion was relieved, and his hopes were raised to the highest pitch, by the interpreters of his dream, who expounded it as an omen that he should possess universal empire; for (6) that the mother who in his sleep he had found submissive to his embraces, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all mankind.

⁸ Decedens ergo ante tempus colonias Latinas de petenda ciuitate agitantes adiit, et ad audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi consules conscriptas in Ciliciam legiones paulisper ob id ipsum retinuissent.

VIII. Quitting therefore the province before the expiration of the usual term, he betook himself to the Latin colonies, which were then eagerly agitating the design of obtaining the freedom of Rome; and he would have stirred them up to some bold attempt, had not the consuls, to prevent any commotion, detained for some time the legions which had been raised for service in Cilicia. But this did not deter him from making, soon afterwards, a still greater effort within the precincts of the city itself.

⁹ Nec eo setius maiora mox in urbe molitus est: siquidem ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, uenit in suspicionem conspirasse cum Marco Crasso consulari, item Publio Sulla et L. Autronio post designationem consulatus ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur, et trucidatis quos placitum esset, dictaturam Crassus inuaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur constitutaque ad arbitrium re publica Sullae et Autronio consulatus restitueretur. meminerunt huius coniurationis Tanusius Geminus in historia, Marcus Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus. de hac significare

uidetur et Cicero in quadam ad Axiu epistula referens Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitarat. Tanusius adicit Crassum paenitentia uel metu diem caedi destinatum non obisse et idcirco ne Caesarem quidem signum, quod ab eo dari conuenerat, dedisse; conuenisse autem Curio ait, ut togam de umero deiceret. idem Curio sed et M. Actorius Naso auctores sunt conspirasse eum etiam cum Gnaeo Pisone adulescente, cui ob suspicionem urbanae coniurationis prouincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit; pactumque ut simul foris ille, ipse Romae ad res nouas consurgerent, per Ambranos et Transpadanos; destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

IX. For, only a few days before he entered upon the aedileship, he incurred a suspicion of having engaged in a conspiracy with Marcus Crassus, a man of consular rank; to whom were joined Publius Sylla and Lucius Autronius, who, after they had been chosen consuls, were convicted of bribery. The plan of the conspirators was to fall upon the senate at the opening of the new year, and murder as many of them as should be thought necessary; upon which, Crassus was to assume the office of dictator, and appoint Caesar his master of the horse. When the commonwealth had been thus ordered according to their pleasure, the consulship was to have been restored to Sylla and Autronius. Mention is made of this plot by Tanusius Geminus in his history, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Curio, the father, in his orations. Cicero likewise seems to hint at this in a letter to Axius, where he says, that Caesar (7) had in his consulship secured to himself that arbitrary power to which he had aspired when he was edile. Tanusius adds, that Crassus, from remorse or fear, did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the senate; for which reason Caesar omitted to give the signal, which, according to the plan concerted between them, he was to have made. The agreement, Curio says, was that he should shake off the toga from his shoulder. We have the authority of the same Curio, and of M. Actorius Naso, for his having been likewise concerned in another conspiracy with young Cneius Piso; to whom, upon a suspicion of some mischief being meditated in the city, the province of Spain was decreed out of the regular course. It is said to have been agreed between them, that Piso should head a revolt in the provinces, whilst the other should attempt to stir up an insurrection at Rome, using as their instruments the Lambrani, and the tribes beyond the Po. But the execution of this design was frustrated in both quarters by the death of Piso.

¹⁰ Aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornauit porticibus ad tempus exstructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. uenationes autem ludosque et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo

factum est, ut communium quoque inpensarum solus gratiam caperet nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus, euenisse sibi quod Polluci: ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris uocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris dici. adiecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorium munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinauerat paribus; nam cum multiplici undique familia conparata inimicos exterruisset, cautum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne maiorem cuiquam habere Romae liceret.

X. In his aedileship, he not only embellished the Comitium, and the rest of the Forum, with the adjoining halls, but adorned the Capitol also, with temporary piazzas, constructed for the purpose of displaying some part of the superabundant collections (8) he had made for the amusement of the people. He entertained them with the hunting of wild beasts, and with games, both alone and in conjunction with his colleague. On this account, he obtained the whole credit of the expense to which they had jointly contributed; insomuch that his colleague, Marcus Bibulus, could not forbear remarking, that he was served in the manner of Pollux. For as the temple erected in the Forum to the two brothers, went by the name of Castor alone, so his and Caesar's joint munificence was imputed to the latter only. To the other public spectacles exhibited to the people, Caesar added a fight of gladiators, but with fewer pairs of combatants than he had intended. For he had collected from all parts so great a company of them, that his enemies became alarmed; and a decree was made, restricting the number of gladiators which any one was allowed to retain at Rome.

¹¹ Conciliato populi fauore temptauit per partem tribunorum, ut sibi Aegyptus prouincia plebi scito daretur, nactus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant resque uulgo inprobabatur. nec obtinuit aduersante optimatum factione: quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis in uicem deminueret, tropaea Gai Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sulla disiecta restituit atque in exercenda de sicaris quaestione eos quoque sicariorum numero habuit, qui proscriptione ob relata ciuium Romanorum capita pecunias ex aerario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Cornelis legibus.

XI. Having thus conciliated popular favour, he endeavoured, through his interest with some of the tribunes, to get Egypt assigned to him as a province, by an act of the people. The pretext alleged for the creation of this extraordinary government, was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled their king, whom the senate had complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman

people. This was generally resented; but, notwithstanding, there was so much opposition from the faction of the nobles, that he could not carry his point. In order, therefore, to diminish their influence by every means in his power, he restored the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, on account of his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutoni, which had been demolished by Sylla; and when sitting in judgment upon murderers, he treated those as assassins, who, in the late proscription, had received money from the treasury, for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, although they were expressly excepted in the Cornelian laws.

¹² Subornauit etiam qui Gaio Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret, quo praecipuo adiutore aliquot ante annos Luci Saturnini seditiosum tribunatum senatus coercuerat, ac sorte iudex in reum ductus tam cupide condemnauit, ut ad populum prouocanti nihil aequae ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit.

XII. He likewise suborned some one to prefer an impeachment (9) for treason against Caius Rabirius, by whose especial assistance the senate had, a few years before, put down Lucius Saturninus, the seditious tribune; and being drawn by lot a judge on the trial, he condemned him with so much animosity, that upon his appealing to the people, no circumstance availed him so much as the extraordinary bitterness of his judge.

¹³ Deposita prouinciae spe pontificatum maximum petit non sine profusissima largitione; in qua reputans magnitudinem aeris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, praedixisse matri osculanti fertur domum se nisi pontificem non reuersurum. atque ita potentissimos duos competidores multumque et aetate et dignitate antecedentes superauit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit.

XIII. Having renounced all hope of obtaining Egypt for his province, he stood candidate for the office of chief pontiff, to secure which, he had recourse to the most profuse bribery. Calculating, on this occasion, the enormous amount of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have said to his mother, when she kissed him at his going out in the morning to the assembly of the people, “I will never return home unless I am elected pontiff.” In effect, he left so far behind him two most powerful competitors, who were much his superiors both in age and rank, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all the tribes together.

¹⁴ Praetor creatus, detecta coniuratione Catilinae senatuque uniuerso in socios facinoris ultimam statuente poenam, solus municipatim diuidendos custodiendosque publicatis bonis censuit. quin et tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret inuidia, ut Decimum Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, uelut grauius atque ipse sensisset exceptam. obtinisset adeo transductis iam ad se pluribus et in his Cicerone consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio. ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad manus equitum Romanorum, quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat, inmoderatus perseueranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, uix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint. tunc plane deterritus non modo cessit, sed et in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit.

XIV. After he was chosen praetor, the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered; and while every other member of the senate voted for inflicting capital punishment on the accomplices in that crime, he alone proposed that the delinquents should be distributed for safe custody among the towns of Italy, their property being confiscated. He even struck such terror into those who were advocates for greater severity, by representing to them what universal odium would be attached to their memories by the Roman people, that Decius Silanus, consul elect, did not hesitate to qualify his proposal, it not being very honourable to change it, by a lenient interpretation; as if it had been understood in a harsher sense than he intended, and Caesar would certainly have carried his point, having brought over to his side a great number of the senators, among whom was Cicero, the consul's brother, had not a speech by Marcus Cato infused new vigour into the resolutions of the senate. He persisted, however, in obstructing the measure, until a body of the Roman knights, who stood under arms as a guard, threatened him with instant death, if he continued his determined opposition. They even thrust at him with their drawn swords, so that those who sat next him moved away; (10) and a few friends, with no small difficulty, protected him, by throwing their arms round him, and covering him with their togas. At last, deterred by this violence, he not only gave way, but absented himself from the senate-house during the remainder of that year

¹⁵ Primo praeturae die Quintum Catulum de refectione Capitoli ad disquisitionem populi uocauit rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferebat; uerum impar optimatum conspirationi, quos relicto statim

nouorum consulum officio frequentes obstinatosque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

XV. Upon the first day of his praetorship, he summoned Quintus Catulus to render an account to the people respecting the repairs of the Capitol; proposing a decree for transferring the office of curator to another person . But being unable to withstand the strong opposition made by the aristocratical party, whom he perceived quitting, in great numbers, their attendance upon the new consuls, and fully resolved to resist his proposal, he dropped the design

¹⁶ Ceterum Caecilio Metello tribuno plebis turbulentissimas leges aduersus collegarum intercessionem ferenti auctorem propugnatoremque se pertinacissime praestitit, donec ambo administratione rei publicae decreto patrum submouerentur. ac nihilo minus permanere in magistratu et ius dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos, qui ui ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus abiectaque praetexta domum clam refugit pro condicione temporum quieturus. multitudinem quoque biduo post sponte et ultro confluentem operamque sibi in adserenda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem conpescuit. quod cum praeter opinionem euenisset, senatus ob eundem coetum festinato coactus gratias ei per primores uiros egit accitumque in curiam et amplissimis uerbis conlaudatum in integrum restituit inducto priore decreto.

XVI. He afterwards approved himself a most resolute supporter of Caecilius Metellus, tribune of the people, who, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, had proposed some laws of a violent tendency, until they were both dismissed from office by a vote of the senate. He ventured, notwithstanding, to retain his post and continue in the administration of justice; but finding that preparations were made to obstruct him by force of arms, he dismissed the lictors, threw off his gown, and betook himself privately to his own house, with the resolution of being quiet, in a time so unfavourable to his interests. He likewise pacified the mob, which two days afterwards flocked about him, and in a riotous manner made a voluntary tender of their assistance in the vindication of his (11) honour. This happening contrary to expectation, the senate, who met in haste, on account of the tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the house, and sending for him, after high commendation of his conduct, cancelled their former vote, and restored him to his office.

¹⁷ Recidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Nouium Nigrum quaestorem a Lucio Vettio indice et in senatu a Quinto Curio,

cui, quod primus consilia coniuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice praemia. Curius e Catilina se cognouisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae datum pollicebatur. id uero Caesar nullo modo tolerandum existimans, cum inplorato Ciceronis testimonio quaedam se de coniuratione ultro ad eum detulisse docuisset, ne Curio praemia darentur effecit; Vettium pignoribus captis et direpta supellectile male mulcatum ac pro rostris in contione paene discerptum coiecit in carcerem; eodem Nouium quaestorem, quod compellari apud se maiorem potestatem passus esset.

XVII. But he soon got into fresh trouble, being named amongst the accomplices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the quaestor, by Lucius Vettius the informer, and in the senate by Quintus Curius; to whom a reward had been voted, for having first discovered the designs of the conspirators. Curius affirmed that he had received his information from Catiline. Vettius even engaged to produce in evidence against him his own hand-writing, given to Catiline. Caesar, feeling that this treatment was not to be borne, appealed to Cicero himself, whether he had not voluntarily made a discovery to him of some particulars of the conspiracy; and so balked Curius of his expected reward. He, therefore, obliged Vettius to give pledges for his behaviour, seized his goods, and after heavily fining him, and seeing him almost torn in pieces before the rostra, threw him into prison; to which he likewise sent Novius the quaestor, for having presumed to take an information against a magistrate of superior authority.

¹⁸ Ex praetura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam retinentes creditores interuentu sponsorum remouit ac neque more neque iure, ante quam prouinciae or[di]narentur, profectus est: incertum metune iudicii, quod priuato parabatur, an quo maturius sociis inplorantibus subueniret; pacataque prouincia pari festinatione, non expectato successore ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit. sed cum edictis iam comitis ratio eius haberi non posset nisi priuatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus solueretur multi contra dicerent, coactus est triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

XVIII. At the expiration of his praetorship he obtained by lot the Farther-Spain, and pacified his creditors, who were for detaining him, by finding sureties for his debts. Contrary, however, to both law and custom, he took his departure before the usual equipage and outfit were prepared. It is uncertain whether this precipitancy arose from the apprehension of an impeachment, with which he was threatened on the expiration of his former office, or from his anxiety to lose no time in relieving the allies, who implored him to come to their aid. He had no

(12) sooner established tranquillity in the province, than, without waiting for the arrival of his successor, he returned to Rome, with equal haste, to sue for a triumph, and the consulship. The day of election, however, being already fixed by proclamation, he could not legally be admitted a candidate, unless he entered the city as a private person . On this emergency he solicited a suspension of the laws in his favour; but such an indulgence being strongly opposed, he found himself under the necessity of abandoning all thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be disappointed of the consulship.

¹⁹ E duobus consulatus competitoribus, Lucio Luceio Marcoque Bibulo, Luceium sibi adiunxit, pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, nummos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret. qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordi et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantundem pollicendi, ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e re publica fieri. Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur. eandem ob causam opera ab optimatibus data est, ut prouinciae futuris consulibus minimi negotii, id est siluae callesque, decernerentur. qua maxime iniuria instinctus omnibus officiis Gnaeum Pompeium adsectatus est offensum patribus, quod Mithridate rege uicto cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua; Pompeioque Marcum Crassum reconciliauit ueterem inimicum ex consulatu, quem summa discordia simul gesserant; ac societatem cum utroque iniit, ne quid ageretur in re publica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

XIX. Of the two other competitors for the consulship, Lucius Luceius and Marcus Bibulus, he joined with the former, upon condition that Luceius, being a man of less interest but greater affluence, should promise money to the electors, in their joint names. Upon which the party of the nobles, dreading how far he might carry matters in that high office, with a colleague disposed to concur in and second his measures, advised Bibulus to promise the voters as much as the other; and most of them contributed towards the expense, Cato himself admitting that bribery; under such circumstances, was for the public good . He was accordingly elected consul jointly with Bibulus. Actuated still by the same motives, the prevailing party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new consuls, such as the care of the woods and roads. Caesar, incensed at this indignity, endeavoured by the most assiduous and flattering attentions to gain to his side Cneius Pompey, at that time dissatisfied with the senate for the backwardness they showed to confirm his acts, after his victories over Mithridates. He likewise brought about a reconciliation between Pompey and

Marcus Crassus, who had been at variance from (13) the time of their joint consulship, in which office they were continually clashing; and he entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, which was displeasing to any of the three.

²⁰ Inito honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur. antiquum etiam re[t]tulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur. lege autem agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit ac postero die in senatu conquestum nec quoquam reperto, qui super tali consternatione referre aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa saepe in leuioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem, ut, quoad potestate abiret, domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret. Vnus ex eo tempore omnia in re publica et ad arbitrium administravit, ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consulibus actum scriberent bis eundem praeponentes nomine atque cognomine, utque uulgo mox ferrentur hi uersus:

*Non Bibulo quiddam nuper sed Caesare factum est:
nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.*

campum Stellatam maioribus consecratum agrumque Campanum ad subsidia rei publicae uectigalem relictum diuisit extra sortem ad uiginti milibus ciuium, quibus terni pluresue liberi essent. publicanos remissionem petentis tertia mercedum parte releuauit ac, ne in locatione nouorum uectigalium inmoderatus licerentur, propalam monuit. cetera item, quae cuique libuissent, dilargitus est contra dicente nullo ac, si conaretur quis, absterrito. Marcum Catonem interpellantem extrahi curia per lictorem ducique in carcerem iussit. Lucio Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum iniecit, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Cicerone in iudicio quodam deplorante temporum statum Publium Clodium inimicum eius, frustra iam pridem a patribus ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die horaque nona transduxit. postremo in uniuersos diuersae factionis [indicem.....] inductum praemiis, ut se de inferenda Pompeio nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur productusque pro rostris auctores ex compacto nominaret; sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspitione fraudis nominatis desperans tam praecipitis consilii euentum interceptisse ueneno indicem creditur.

XX. Having entered upon his office, he introduced a new regulation, that the daily acts both of the senate and people should be committed to writing, and published . He also revived an old custom, that an officer should precede him,

and his lictors follow him, on the alternate months when the fasces were not carried before him. Upon preferring a bill to the people for the division of some public lands, he was opposed by his colleague, whom he violently drove out of the forum. Next day the insulted consul made a complaint in the senate of this treatment; but such was the consternation, that no one having the courage to bring the matter forward or move a censure, which had been often done under outrages of less importance, he was so much dispirited, that until the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and did nothing but issue edicts to obstruct his colleague's proceedings. From that time, therefore, Caesar had the sole management of public affairs; insomuch that some wags, when they signed any instrument as witnesses, did not add "in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus," but, "of Julius and Caesar;" putting the same person down twice, under his name and surname. The following verses likewise were currently repeated on this occasion:

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Caesare factum est;

Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

Nothing was done in Bibulus's year:

No; Caesar only then was consul here.

(14) The land of Stellas, consecrated by our ancestors to the gods, with some other lands in Campania left subject to tribute, for the support of the expenses of the government, he divided, but not by lot, among upwards of twenty thousand freemen, who had each of them three or more children. He eased the publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum which they had engaged to pay into the public treasury; and openly admonished them not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion. He made various profuse grants to meet the wishes of others, no one opposing him; or if any such attempt was made, it was soon suppressed. Marcus Cato, who interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be dragged out of the senate-house by a lictor, and carried to prison. Lucius Lucullus, likewise, for opposing him with some warmth, he so terrified with the apprehension of being criminated, that, to deprecate the consul's resentment, he fell on his knees. And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day, by nine o'clock, transferred his enemy, Publius Clodius, from a patrician to a plebeian family; a change which he had long solicited in vain. At last, effectually to intimidate all those of the opposite party, he by great rewards prevailed upon Vettius to declare, that he had been solicited by certain persons to assassinate Pompey; and when he was brought before the rostra to name those who had been concerted between them, after naming one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of

subornation, Caesar, despairing of success in this rash stratagem, is supposed to have taken off his informer by poison.

²¹ Sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pisonis filiam successuri sibi in consulatu duxit uxorem suamque, Iuliam, Gnaeo Pompeio conlocavit repudiato priore sponso Seruilio Caepione, cuius uel praecipua opera paulo ante Bibulum inpuerant. ac post nouam adfinitatem Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret essetque consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul Kal. Ianuariis instituisset, eum toto anno conseruaret.

XXI. About the same time he married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Piso, who was to succeed him in the consulship, and gave his own daughter Julia to Cneius Pompey; rejecting Servilius Caepio, to whom she had been contracted, and by whose means chiefly he had but a little before baffled Bibulus. After this new alliance, he began, upon any debates in the senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first, whereas he used before to give that distinction to Marcus Crassus; and it was (15) the usual practice for the consul to observe throughout the year the method of consulting the senate which he had adopted on the calends (the first) of January.

²² Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus ex omni prouinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, +cuius emolumento et oportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum+. et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam Illyrico adiuncto lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam quoque, ueritis patribus ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret. quo gaudio elatus non temperauit, quin paucos post dies frequenti curia iactaret, inuitis et gementibus aduersariis adeptum se quae concupisset, proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus; ac negante quodam per contumeliam facile hoc ulli feminae fore, responderit quasi adludens: in Suria quoque regnasse Sameramin magnamque Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.

XXII. Being, therefore, now supported by the interest of his father-in-law and son-in-law, of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul, as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he received only Cisalpine-Gaul, with the addition of Illyricum, by a decree proposed by Vatinius to the people; but soon afterwards obtained from the senate Gallia-Comata also, the senators being apprehensive, that if they should refuse it him, that province, also, would be granted him by the people. Elated now with his success, he could not refrain from boasting, a few days afterwards, in a full senate-house, that he

had, in spite of his enemies, and to their great mortification, obtained all he desired, and that for the future he would make them, to their shame, submissive to his pleasure. One of the senators observing, sarcastically: "That will not be very easy for a woman to do," he jocosely replied, "Semiramis formerly reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons possessed great part of Asia."

²³ Functus consulatu Gaio Memmio Lucioque Domitio praetoribus de superioris anni actis referentibus cognitionem senatui detulit; nec illo suscipiente triduoque per inritas altercationes absumpto in prouinciam abiit. et statim quaestor eius in praeiudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est. mox et ipse a Lucio Antistio tr. pl. postulatus appellato demum collegio optinuit, cum rei publicae causa abesset reus ne fieret. ad securitatem ergo posterius temporis in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus et e petitoribus non alios adiuuare aut ad honorem pati peruenire, quam qui sibi recepissent propugnaturos absentiam suam; cuius pacti non dubitauit a quibusdam ius iurandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

XXIII. When the term of his consulship had expired, upon a motion being made in the senate by Caius Memmius and Lucius Domitius, the praetors, respecting the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house; but (16) they declining the business, after three days spent in vain altercation, he set out for his province. Immediately, however, his quaestor was charged with several misdemeanors, for the purpose of implicating Caesar himself. Indeed, an accusation was soon after preferred against him by Lucius Antistius, tribune of the people; but by making an appeal to the tribune's colleagues, he succeeded in having the prosecution suspended during his absence in the service of the state. To secure himself, therefore, for the time to come, he was particularly careful to secure the good-will of the magistrates at the annual elections, assisting none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffering any persons to be advanced to any office, who would not positively undertake to defend him in his absence for which purpose he made no scruple to require of some of them an oath, and even a written obligation.

²⁴ Sed cum Lucius Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur consulem se effecturum quod praetor nequisset adempturumque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem prouinciae suae Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque [per] utrumque, ut in quinquennium sibi imperium prorogaretur. qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias priuato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis

conscriptam, uocabulo quoque Gallico + Alauda enim appellabatur +, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea uniuersam ciuitate donauit. nec deinde ulla belli occasione, [ne] iniusti quidem ac periculosi abstinuit, tam foederatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreuerit ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint. sed prospere [de]cedentibus rebus et saepius et plurimum quam quisquam umquam dierum supplicationes impetrauit.

XXIV. But when Lucius Domitius became a candidate for the consulship, and openly threatened that, upon his being elected consul, he would effect that which he could not accomplish when he was praetor, and divest him of the command of the armies, he sent for Crassus and Pompey to Lucca, a city in his province, and pressed them, for the purpose of disappointing Domitius, to sue again for the consulship, and to continue him in his command for five years longer; with both which requisitions they complied. Presumptuous now from his success, he added, at his own private charge, more legions to those which he had received from the republic; among the former of which was one levied in Transalpine Gaul, and called by a Gallic name, Alauda, which he trained and armed in the Roman fashion, and afterwards conferred on it the freedom of the city. From this period he declined no occasion of war, however unjust and dangerous; attacking, without any provocation, as well the allies of Rome as the barbarous nations which were its enemies: insomuch, that the senate passed a decree for sending commissioners to examine into the condition of Gaul; and some members even proposed that he should be delivered up to the enemy. But so great had been the success of his enterprises, that he had the honour of obtaining more days (17) of supplication, and those more frequently, than had ever before been decreed to any commander.

²⁵ Gessit autem nouem annis, quibus in imperio fuit, haec fere. Omnem Galliam, quae saltu Pyrenaeo Alpibusque et monte Cebenna, fluminibus Rheno ac Rhodano continetur patetque circuitu ad bis et tricies centum milia passuum, praeter socias ac bene meritas ciuitates in prouinciae formam redegit, eique [CCCC] in singulos annos stipendii nomine inposuit. Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato adgressus maximis adfecit cladibus; adgressus est et Britannos ignotos antea superatisque pecunias et obsides imperauit; per tot successus ter nec amplius aduersum casum expertus: in Britannia classe ui tempestatis prope absumpta et in Gallia ad Gergouiam legione fusa et in Germanorum finibus Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis

per insidias caesis.

XXV. During nine years in which he held the government of the province, his achievements were as follows: he reduced all Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenean forest, the Alps, mount Gebenna, and the two rivers, the Rhine and the Rhone, and being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only the nations in alliance with the republic, and such as had merited his favour; imposing upon this new acquisition an annual tribute of forty millions of sesterces. He was the first of the Romans who, crossing the Rhine by a bridge, attacked the Germanic tribes inhabiting the country beyond that river, whom he defeated in several engagements. He also invaded the Britons, a people formerly unknown, and having vanquished them, exacted from them contributions and hostages. Amidst such a series of successes, he experienced thrice only any signal disaster; once in Britain, when his fleet was nearly wrecked in a storm; in Gaul, at Gergovia, where one of his legions was put to the rout; and in the territory of the Germans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

²⁶ Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, nec multo post nepotem amisit. inter quae, consternata Publi Clodi caede re publica, cum senatus unum consulem nominatimque Gnaeum Pompeium fieri censuisset, egit cum tribunis plebis collegam se Pompeio destinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, petitio secundi consulatus daretur, ne ea causa maturius et imperfecto adhuc bello decederet. quod ut adeptus est, altiora iam meditans et spei plenus nullum largitionis aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice priuatimque omisit. forum de manubiis incohavit, cuius area super sestertium milies constitit. munus populo epulumque pronuntiauit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo. quorum ut quam maxima expectatio esset, ea quae ad epulum pertinerent, quamvis macellaris ablocata, etiam domesticatim apparabat. gladiatores notos, sicubi infestis spectatoribus dimicarent, ut rapiendos reseruandosque mandabat. tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas, sed in domibus per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat, precibus enitens, quod epistulis eius ostenditur, ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent ipsique dictata exercentibus darent. legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. frumentum, quotiens copia esset, etiam sine modo mensuraque praebuit ac singula interdum mancipia e praeda uiritim dedit.

XXVI. During this period he lost his mother, whose death was followed by

that of his daughter, and, not long afterwards, of his granddaughter. Meanwhile, the republic being in consternation at the murder of Publius Clodius, and the senate passing a vote that only one consul, namely, Cneius Pompeius, should be chosen for the ensuing year, he prevailed with the tribunes of the people, who intended joining him in nomination with Pompey, to propose to the people a bill, enabling him, though absent, to become a candidate for his second consulship, when the term of his command should be near expiring, that he might not be obliged on that account to quit his province too soon, and before the conclusion of the war. Having attained this object, carrying his views still higher, and animated with the hopes of success, he omitted no (18) opportunity of gaining universal favour, by acts of liberality and kindness to individuals, both in public and private. With money raised from the spoils of the war, he began to construct a new forum, the ground-plot of which cost him above a hundred millions of sesterces . He promised the people a public entertainment of gladiators, and a feast in memory of his daughter, such as no one before him had ever given. The more to raise their expectations on this occasion, although he had agreed with victuallers of all denominations for his feast, he made yet farther preparations in private houses. He issued an order, that the most celebrated gladiators, if at any time during the combat they incurred the displeasure of the public, should be immediately carried off by force, and reserved for some future occasion. Young gladiators he trained up, not in the school, and by the masters, of defence, but in the houses of Roman knights, and even senators, skilled in the use of arms, earnestly requesting them, as appears from his letters, to undertake the discipline of those novitiates, and to give them the word during their exercises. He doubled the pay of the legions in perpetuity; allowing them likewise corn, when it was in plenty, without any restriction; and sometimes distributing to every soldier in his army a slave, and a portion of land.

²⁷ Ad retinendam autem Pompei necessitudinem ac uoluntatem Octauiam sororis suae neptem, quae Gaio Marcello nupta erat, condicionem ei detulit sibiue filiam eius in matrimonium petit Fausto Sullae destinatam. omnibus uero circa eum atque etiam parte magna senatus gratuito aut leui faenore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoque ordinum genere uel inuitatos uel sponte ad se commeantis uberrimo congiario prosequabatur, liberos insuper seruulosque cuiusque, prout domino patronoue gratus qui esset. tum reorum aut obaeratorum aut prodigae iuuentutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat, nisi quos grauior criminum uel inopiae luxuriaue uis urgeret, quam ut subueniri posset a se; his plane palam bello ciuili opus esse dicebat.

XXVII. To maintain his alliance and good understanding with Pompey, he offered him in marriage his sister's grand-daughter Octavia, who had been married to Caius Marcellus; and requested for himself his daughter, lately contracted to Faustus Sylla. Every person about him, and a great part likewise of the senate, he secured by loans of money at low interest, or none at all; and to all others who came to wait upon him, either by invitation or of their own accord, he made liberal presents; not neglecting even the freed-men and slaves, who were favourites with their masters and patrons. He offered also singular and ready aid to all who were under prosecution, or in debt, and to prodigal youths; excluding from (19) his bounty those only who were so deeply plunged in guilt, poverty, or luxury, that it was impossible effectually to relieve them. These, he openly declared, could derive no benefit from any other means than a civil war.

²⁸ Nec minore studio reges atque prouincias per terrarum orbem adliciebat, aliis captiuorum milia dono offerens, aliis citra senatus populiue auctoritatem, quo uellent et quotiens uellent, auxilia submittens, superque Italiae Galliarumque et Hispaniarum, Asiae quoque et Graeciae potentissimas urbes praecipuis operibus exornans; donec, attonitis iam omnibus et quorsum illa tenderent reputantibus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus consul edicto praefatus, de summa se re publica acturum, rettulit ad senatum, ut ei succederetur ante tempus, quoniam bello confecto pax esset ac dimitti deberet uictor exercitus; et ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebi scito Pompeius postea abrogasset. acciderat autem, ut is legem de iure magistratuum ferens eo capite, quo petitione honorum absentis submouebat, ne Caesarem quidem exciperet per obliuionem, ac mox lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita corrigeret errorem. nec contentus Marcellus prouincias Caesari et priuilegium eripere, re[t]tulit etiam, ut colonis, quos rogatione Vatinia Nouum Comum deduxisset, ciuitas adimeretur, quod per ambitionem et ultra praescriptum data esset.

XXVIII. He endeavoured with equal assiduity to engage in his interest princes and provinces in every part of the world; presenting some with thousands of captives, and sending to others the assistance of troops, at whatever time and place they desired, without any authority from either the senate or people of Rome. He likewise embellished with magnificent public buildings the most powerful cities not only of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, but of Greece and Asia; until all people being now astonished, and speculating on the obvious tendency of these proceedings, Claudius Marcellus, the consul, declaring first by proclamation, that he intended to propose a measure of the utmost importance to the state, made a motion in the senate that some person should be appointed to

succeed Caesar in his province, before the term of his command was expired; because the war being brought to a conclusion, peace was restored, and the victorious army ought to be disbanded. He further moved, that Caesar being absent, his claims to be a candidate at the next election of consuls should not be admitted, as Pompey himself had afterwards abrogated that privilege by a decree of the people. The fact was, that Pompey, in his law relating to the choice of chief magistrates, had forgot to except Caesar, in the article in which he declared all such as were not present incapable of being candidates for any office; but soon afterwards, when the law was inscribed on brass, and deposited in the treasury, he corrected his mistake. Marcellus, not content with depriving Caesar of his provinces, and the privilege intended him by Pompey, likewise moved the senate, that the freedom of the city should be taken from those colonists whom, by the Vatinian law, he had settled at New Como; because it had been conferred upon them with ambitious views, and by a stretch of the laws.

²⁹ Commotus his Caesar ac iudicans, quod saepe ex eo auditum ferunt, difficilium se principem ciuitatis a primo ordine in secundum quam ex secundo in nouissimum detrudi, summa ope restitit, partim per intercessores tribunos, partim per Seruium Sulpicium alterum consulem. insequenti quoque anno Gaius Marcellus, qui fratri patrueli suo Marco in consulatu successerat, eadem temptante collegam eius Aemilium Paulum Gaiumque Curionem uiolentissimum tribunorum ingenti mercede defensores parauit. sed cum obstinatius omnia agi uideret et designatos etiam consules e parte diuersa, senatum litteris deprecatus est, ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur, aut ut ceteri quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent; confisus, ut putant, facilius se, simul atque libuisset, ueteranos conuocaturum quam Pompeium nouos milites. cum aduersariis autem pepigit, ut dimissis octo legionibus Transalpinae Galliae duae sibi legiones et Cisalpina prouincia uel etiam una legio cum Illyrico concederetur, quoad consul fieret.

(20) XXIX. Roused by these proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to say, that it would be a more difficult enterprise to reduce him, now that he was the chief man in the state, from the first rank of citizens to the second, than from the second to the lowest of all, Caesar made a vigorous opposition to the measure, partly by means of the tribunes, who interposed in his behalf, and partly through Servius Sulpicius, the other consul. The following year likewise, when Caius Marcellus, who succeeded his cousin Marcus in the consulship, pursued the same course, Caesar, by means of an immense bribe, engaged in his defence Aemilius Paulus, the other consul, and Caius Curio, the most violent of

the tribunes. But finding the opposition obstinately bent against him, and that the consuls-elect were also of that party, he wrote a letter to the senate, requesting that they would not deprive him of the privilege kindly granted him by the people; or else that the other generals should resign the command of their armies as well as himself; fully persuaded, as it is thought, that he could more easily collect his veteran soldiers, whenever he pleased, than Pompey could his new-raised troops. At the same time, he made his adversaries an offer to disband eight of his legions and give up Transalpine-Gaul, upon condition that he might retain two legions, with the Cisalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, until he should be elected consul.

³⁰ uerum neque senatu interueniente et aduersariis negantibus ullam se de re publica facturos pactionem, transiit in citeriorem Galliam, conuentibusque peractis Rauennae substitit, bello uindicaturus si quid de tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se grauius a senatu constitutum esset. Et praetextum quidem illi ciuilium armorum hoc fuit; causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Gnaeus Pompeius ita dictitabat, quod neque opera consummare, quae instituerat, neque populi expectationem, quam de aduentu suo fecerat, priuatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia ac permiscere uoluisse. alii timuisse dicunt, ne eorum, quae primo consulatu aduersus auspicia legesque et intercessionem gessisset, rationem reddere cogeretur; cum M. Cato identidem nec sine iure iurando denuntiaret delaturum se nomen eius, simul ac primum exercitum dimisisset; cumque uulgo fore praedicarent, ut si priuatus redisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam apud iudices diceret. quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio, Pharsalica acie caesos profligatosque aduersarios prospicientem haec eum ad uerbum dixisse referens: ‘hoc uoluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.’ quidam putant captum imperii consuetudine pensitatisque suis et inimicorum uiribus usum occasione rapiendae dominationis, quam aetate prima concupisset. quod existimasse uidebatur et Cicero scribens de Officiis tertio libro semper Caesarem in ore habuisse Euripidis uersus, quos sic ipse conuertit:

*Nam si uiolandum est ius, [regnandi] gratia
uiolandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

XXX. But as the senate declined to interpose in the business, and his enemies declared that they would enter into no compromise where the safety of the republic was at stake, he advanced into Hither-Gaul, and, having gone the circuit for the administration of justice, made a halt at Ravenna, resolved to have recourse to arms if the senate should proceed to extremity against the tribunes of

the people who had espoused his cause. This was indeed his pretext for the civil war; but it is supposed that there were other motives for his conduct. Cneius Pompey used frequently to say, that he sought to throw every thing into confusion, because he was unable, with all his private wealth, to complete the works he had begun, and answer, at his return, the vast expectations which he had excited in the people. Others pretend that he was apprehensive of being (21) called to account for what he had done in his first consulship, contrary to the auspices, laws, and the protests of the tribunes; Marcus Cato having sometimes declared, and that, too, with an oath, that he would prefer an impeachment against him, as soon as he disbanded his army. A report likewise prevailed, that if he returned as a private person, he would, like Milo, have to plead his cause before the judges, surrounded by armed men. This conjecture is rendered highly probable by Asinius Pollio, who informs us that Caesar, upon viewing the vanquished and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalia, expressed himself in these very words: "This was their intention: I, Caius Caesar, after all the great achievements I had performed, must have been condemned, had I not summoned the army to my aid!" Some think, that having contracted from long habit an extraordinary love of power, and having weighed his own and his enemies' strength, he embraced that occasion of usurping the supreme power; which indeed he had coveted from the time of his youth. This seems to have been the opinion entertained by Cicero, who tells us, in the third book of his Offices, that Caesar used to have frequently in his mouth two verses of Euripides, which he thus translates:

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia

Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Be just, unless a kingdom tempts to break the laws,

For sovereign power alone can justify the cause.

³¹ Cum ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem ipsosque urbe cecis-
sisse nuntiatum esset, praemissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio
moueretur, et spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit et formam, qua
ludum gladiatorium erat aedificaturus, consideravit et ex consuetudine conuiuii
se frequenti dedit. dein post solis occasum mulis e proximo pistrino ad
uehiculum iunctis occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est; et cum
luminibus extinctis decessisset uia, diu errabundus tandem ad lucem duce
reperito per angustissimos tramites pedibus euasit. consecutusque cohortis ad
Rubiconem flumen, qui prouinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit, ac reputans
quantum moliretur, conuersus ad proximos: 'etiam nunc,' inquit, 'regredi
possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.'

XXXI. When intelligence, therefore, was received, that the interposition of the tribunes in his favour had been utterly rejected, and that they themselves had fled from the city, he immediately sent forward some cohorts, but privately, to prevent any suspicion of his design; and, to keep up appearances, attended at a public spectacle, examined the model of a fencing-school which he proposed to build, and, as usual, sat down to table with a numerous party of his friends. But after sun-set, mules being put to his carriage from a neighbouring mill, he set forward on his journey with all possible privacy, and a small retinue. The lights going out, he lost his way, and (22) wandered about a long time, until at length, by the help of a guide, whom he found towards day-break, he proceeded on foot through some narrow paths, and again reached the road. Coming up with his troops on the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province 58, he halted for a while, and, revolving in his mind the importance of the step he was on the point of taking, he turned to those about him, and said: "We may still retreat; but if we pass this little bridge, nothing is left for us but to fight it out in arms."

³² Cunctanti ostentum tale factum est. quidam eximia magnitudine et forma in proximo sedens repente apparuit harundine canens; ad quem audiendum cum praeter pastores plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent interque eos et aeneatores, rapta ab uno tuba prosiliuit ad flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam. tunc Caesar: 'eatur,' inquit, 'quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas uocat.

XXXII. While he was thus hesitating, the following incident occurred. A person remarkable for his noble mien and graceful aspect, appeared close at hand, sitting and playing upon a pipe. When, not only the shepherds, but a number of soldiers also flocked from their posts to listen to him, and some trumpeters among them, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and sounding the advance with a piercing blast, crossed to the other side. Upon this, Caesar exclaimed, "Let us go whither the omens of the Gods and the iniquity of our enemies call us. The die is now cast.

³³ Iacta alea est,' inquit. atque ita traiecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis plebis, qui pulsi superuenerant, pro contione fidem militum flens ac ueste a pectore discissa inuocauit. existimatur etiam equestres census pollicitus singulis; quod accidit opinione falsa. nam cum in adloquendo adhortandoque saepius digitum laeuae manus ostentans adfirmaret se ad satis faciendum omnibus, per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset, anulum quoque aequo animo detracturum sibi, extrema

contio, cui facilius erat uidere contionantem quam audire, pro dicto accepit, quod uisu suspicabatur; promissumque ius anulorum cum milibus quadringenis fama distulit.

XXXIII. Accordingly, having marched his army over the river, he showed them the tribunes of the people, who, upon their being driven from the city, had come to meet him; and, in the presence of that assembly, called upon the troops to pledge him their fidelity, with tears in his eyes, and his garment rent from his bosom. It has been supposed, that upon this occasion he promised to every soldier a knight's estate; but that opinion is founded on a mistake. For when, in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that to recompense those who should support him in the defence of his honour, he would willingly part even with his ring; the soldiers at a distance, who could more easily see than hear him while he spoke, formed their conception of what he said, by the eye, not by the ear; and accordingly gave out, that he had promised to each of them the privilege (23) of wearing the gold ring, and an estate of four hundred thousand sesterces.

³⁴ Ordo et summa rerum, quas deinceps gessit, sic se habent. Picenum Vmbriam Etruriam occupauit et Lucio Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso secundum Superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quo consules Pompeiusque confugerant quam primum transfretaturi. hos frustra per omnis moras exitu prohibere conatus Romam iter conuertit appellatisque de re publica patribus ualidissimas Pompei copias, quae sub tribus legatis M. Petreio et L. Afranio et M. Varrone in Hispania erant, inuasit, professus ante inter suos, ire se ad exercitum sine duce et inde reuersurum ad ducem sine exercitu. et quanquam obsidione Massiliae, quae sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaque frumentariae rei penuria retardante breui tamen omnia subegit.

XXXIV. Of his subsequent proceedings I shall give a cursory detail, in the order in which they occurred . He took possession of Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria; and having obliged Lucius Domitius, who had been tumultuously nominated his successor, and held Corsinium with a garrison, to surrender, and dismissed him, he marched along the coast of the Upper Sea, to Brundisium, to which place the consuls and Pompey were fled with the intention of crossing the sea as soon as possible. After vain attempts, by all the obstacles he could oppose, to prevent their leaving the harbour, he turned his steps towards Rome, where he appealed to the senate on the present state of public affairs; and then set out for

Spain, in which province Pompey had a numerous army, under the command of three lieutenants, Marcus Petreius, Lucius Afranius, and Marcus Varro; declaring amongst his friends, before he set forward, “That he was going against an army without a general, and should return thence against a general without an army.” Though his progress was retarded both by the siege of Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn, yet in a short time he bore down all before him.

³⁵ Hinc urbe repetita in Macedoniam transgressus Pompeium, per quattuor paene menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico proelio fudit et fugientem Alexandriam persecutus, ut occisumprehendit, cum Ptolemaeo rege, a quo sibi quoque insidias tendi uidebat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit, neque loco neque tempore aequo, sed hieme anni et intra moenia copiosissimi ac sollertissimi hostis, inops ipse omnium rerum atque inparatus. regnum Aegypti uictor Cleopatrae fratrique eius minori permisit, ueritus prouinciam facere, ne quandoque uiolentior praesidem nacta nouarum rerum materia esset. ab Alexandria in Syriam et inde Pontum transiit urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis, quem Mithridatis Magni filium ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem iamque multiplici successu praeferocem, intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in conspectum uenit horis, una profligauit acie; crebro commemorans Pompei felicitatem, cui praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium contigisset. dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refouentis deuicit, Pompei liberos in Hispania.

XXXV. Thence he returned to Rome, and crossing the sea to Macedonia, blocked up Pompey during almost four months, within a line of ramparts of prodigious extent; and at last defeated him in the battle of Pharsalia. Pursuing him in his flight to Alexandria, where he was informed of his murder, he presently found himself also engaged, under all the disadvantages of time and place, in a very dangerous war, with king Ptolemy, who, he saw, had treacherous designs upon his life. It was winter, and he, within the walls of a well-provided and subtle enemy, was destitute of every thing, and wholly unprepared (24) for such a conflict. He succeeded, however, in his enterprise, and put the kingdom of Egypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother; being afraid to make it a province, lest, under an aspiring prefect, it might become the centre of revolt. From Alexandria he went into Syria, and thence to Pontus, induced by intelligence which he had received respecting Pharnaces. This prince, who was son of the great Mithridates, had seized the opportunity which the distraction of the times offered for making war upon his neighbours, and his insolence and

fierceness had grown with his success. Caesar, however, within five days after entering his country, and four hours after coming in sight of him, overthrew him in one decisive battle. Upon which, he frequently remarked to those about him the good fortune of Pompey, who had obtained his military reputation, chiefly, by victory over so feeble an enemy. He afterwards defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain.

³⁶ Omnibus ciuilibus bellis nullam cladem nisi per legatos suos passus est, quorum C. Curio in Africa periit, C. Antonius in Illyrico in aduersariorum deuenit potestatem, P. Dolabella classem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Caluinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. ipse prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem umquam fortuna praeterquam bis dimicauit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus non instante Pompeio negauit eum uincere scire, iterum in Hispania ultimo proelio, cum desperatis rebus etiam de consciscenda nece cogitauit.

XXXVI. During the whole course of the civil war, he never once suffered any defeat, except in the case of his lieutenants; of whom Caius Curio fell in Africa, Caius Antonius was made prisoner in Illyricum, Publius Dolabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum, and Cneius Domitius Culvinus, an army in Pontus. In every encounter with the enemy where he himself commanded, he came off with complete success; nor was the issue ever doubtful, except on two occasions: once at Dyrrachium, when, being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said that "Pompey knew not how to conquer;" the other instance occurred in his last battle in Spain, when, despairing of the event, he even had thoughts of killing himself.

³⁷ Confectis bellis quinquens triumphauit, post deuictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos. primum et excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, nouissimum Hispaniensem, diuerso quemque apparatu et instrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum praeteruehens paene curru excussus est axe diffracto ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina quadraginta elephantis dextra sinistraque lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium uerborum praetulit titulum *veni:vidi:vici* non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.

XXXVII. For the victories obtained in the several wars, he triumphed five

different times; after the defeat of Scipio: four times in one month, each triumph succeeding the former by an interval of a few days; and once again after the conquest of Pompey's sons. His first and most glorious triumph was for the victories he gained in Gaul; the next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the last for that in Spain; and (25) they all differed from each other in their varied pomp and pageantry. On the day of the Gallic triumph, as he was proceeding along the street called Velabrum, after narrowly escaping a fall from his chariot by the breaking of the axle-tree, he ascended the Capitol by torch-light, forty elephants carrying torches on his right and left. Amongst the pageantry of the Pontic triumph, a tablet with this inscription was carried before him: I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUERED; not signifying, as other mottos on the like occasion, what was done, so much as the dispatch with which it was done

³⁸ Veteranis legionibus praedae nomine in pedites singulos super bina sestertia, quae initio ciuilis tumultus numerauerat, uicena quaterna milia nummum dedit. adsignauit et agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur. populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras trecenos quoque nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, uiritim diuisit et hoc amplius centenos pro mora. annuam etiam habitationem Romae usque ad bina milia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sestertios remisit. adiecit epulum ac uiscerationem et post Hispaniensem uictoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit.

XXXVIII. To every foot-soldier in his veteran legions, besides the two thousand sesterces paid him in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thousand more, in the shape of prize-money. He likewise allotted them lands, but not in contiguity, that the former owners might not be entirely dispossessed. To the people of Rome, besides ten modii of corn, and as many pounds of oil, he gave three hundred sesterces a man, which he had formerly promised them, and a hundred more to each for the delay in fulfilling his engagement. He likewise remitted a year's rent due to the treasury, for such houses in Rome as did not pay above two thousand sesterces a year; and through the rest of Italy, for all such as did not exceed in yearly rent five hundred sesterces. To all this he added a public entertainment, and a distribution of meat, and, after his Spanish victory, two public dinners. For, considering the first he had given as too sparing, and unsuited to his profuse liberality, he, five days afterwards, added another, which was most plentiful

³⁹ Edidit spectacula uarii generis: munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones, item circenses athletas naumachiam. munere in foro depugnauit Furius Leptinus stirpe praetoria et Q. Calpenus senator quondam actorque causarum. pyrricham saltauerunt Asiae Bithyniaeque principum liberi. ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum suum egit donatusque quingentis sestertiis et anulo aureo sessum in quattuordecim [e] scaena per orchestram transiit. circensibus spatio circi ab utraque parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito quadrigas bigasque et equos desultores agitauerunt nobilissimi iuuenes. Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorumque puerorum. uenationes editae per dies quinque ac nouissime pugna diuisa in duas acies, quingenis peditibus, elephantis uicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc et inde commissis. nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae inque earum locum bina castra exaduersum constituta erant. athletae stadio ad tempus extructo regione Marti campi certauerunt per triduum. nauali proelio in minore Codeta defosso lacu biremes ac triremes quadriremesque Tyriae et Aegyptiae classis magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt. ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique confluit hominum, ut plerique aduenae aut inter uicos aut inter uias tabernaculis positae manerent, ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores.

XXXIX. The spectacles he exhibited to the people were of various kinds; namely, a combat of gladiators, and stage-plays in the several wards of the city, and in different languages; likewise Circensian games, wrestlers, and the representation of a sea-fight. In the conflict of gladiators presented in the Forum, Furius Leptinus, a man of praetorian family, entered the lists as a combatant, as did also Quintus Calpenus, formerly a senator, and a pleader of causes. The Pyrrhic dance was performed by some youths, who were sons to persons of the first distinction in Asia and Bithynia. In the plays, Decimus Laberius, who had been a Roman knight, acted in his own piece; and being presented on the spot with five hundred thousand sesterces, and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the orchestra, and resumed his place in the seats (27) allotted for the equestrian order. In the Circensian games; the circus being enlarged at each end, and a canal sunk round it, several of the young nobility drove chariots, drawn, some by four, and others by two horses, and likewise rode races on single horses. The Trojan game was acted by two distinct companies of boys, one differing from the other in age and rank. The hunting of wild beasts was presented for five days successively; and on the last day a battle was fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side. To afford room for this engagement, the goals were removed, and in their space two camps were

pitched, directly opposite to each other. Wrestlers likewise performed for three days successively, in a stadium provided for the purpose in the Campus Martius. A lake having been dug in the little Codeta, ships of the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, containing two, three, and four banks of oars, with a number of men on board, afforded an animated representation of a sea-fight. To these various diversions there flocked such crowds of spectators from all parts, that most of the strangers were obliged to lodge in tents erected in the streets, or along the roads near the city. Several in the throng were squeezed to death, amongst whom were two senators.

⁴⁰ Conuersus hinc ad ordinandum rei publicae statum fastos correxit iam pridem uitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriae aestate neque uindemiarum autumnino competerent; annumque ad cursum solis accommodauit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset et intercalario mense sublato unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Ianuariis nouis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Nouembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios; fuitque is annus, quo haec constituebantur, quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

XL. Turning afterwards his attention to the regulation of the commonwealth, he corrected the calendar, which had for (28) some time become extremely confused, through the unwarrantable liberty which the pontiffs had taken in the article of intercalation. To such a height had this abuse proceeded, that neither the festivals designed for the harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, ordaining that in future it should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days without any intercalary month; and that every fourth year an intercalary day should be inserted. That the year might thenceforth commence regularly with the calends, or first of January, he inserted two months between November and December; so that the year in which this regulation was made consisted of fifteen months, including the month of intercalation, which, according to the division of time then in use, happened that year.

⁴¹ Senatum suppleuit, patricos adlegit, praetorum aedilium quaestorum, minorum etiam magistratuum numerum ampliauit; nudatos opere censorio aut sententia iudicum de ambitu condemnatos restituit. comitia cum populo partitus est, ut exceptis consulatus competitoribus de cetero numero candidatorum pro parte dimidia quos populus uellet pronuntiarentur, pro parte altera quos ipse

dedisset. et edebat per libellos circum tribum missos scriptura breui: ‘Caesar dictator illi tribui. commendo uobis illum et illum, ut uestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant.’ admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos. iudicia ad duo genera iudicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii; tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit. Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed uicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex uiginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui noui coetus recensiois causa moueri quandoque possent, instituit, quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis, qui recenseri non essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.

XLI. He filled up the vacancies in the senate, by advancing several plebeians to the rank of patricians, and also increased the number of praetors, aediles, quaestors, and inferior magistrates; restoring, at the same time, such as had been degraded by the censors, or convicted of bribery at elections. The choice of magistrates he so divided with the people, that, excepting only the candidates for the consulship, they nominated one half of them, and he the other. The method which he practised in those cases was, to recommend such persons as he had pitched upon, by bills dispersed through the several tribes to this effect: “Caesar the dictator to such a tribe (naming it). I recommend to you (naming likewise the persons), that by the favour of your votes they may attain to the honours for which they sue.” He likewise admitted to offices the sons of those who had been proscribed. The trial of causes he restricted to two orders of judges, the equestrian and senatorial; excluding the tribunes of the treasury who had before made a third class. The revised census of the people he ordered to be taken neither in the usual manner or place, but street by street, by the principal inhabitants of the several quarters of the city; and he reduced the number of those who received corn at the public cost, from three hundred and twenty, to a hundred and fifty, thousand. To prevent any tumults on account of the census, he ordered that the praetor should every year fill up by lot the vacancies occasioned by death, from those who were not enrolled for the receipt of corn.

⁴² Octoginta autem ciuium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit, ne quis ciuis maior annis uiginti minorue + decem +, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset, neu qui senatoris filius nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus peregre proficisceretur; neue ii, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent. omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, ciuitate donauit. de pecuniis mutuis disiecta nouarum

tabularum expectatione, quae crebro mouebatur, decreuit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante ciuile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni, si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit. poenas facinorum auxit; et cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent, quod integris patrimoniis exulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multauit.

(29) XLII. Eighty thousand citizens having been distributed into foreign colonies, he enacted, in order to stop the drain on the population, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, years of age, who was not in the military service, should absent himself from Italy for more than three years at a time; that no senator's son should go abroad, unless in the retinue of some high officer; and as to those whose pursuit was tending flocks and herds, that no less than a third of the number of their shepherds free-born should be youths. He likewise made all those who practised physic in Rome, and all teachers of the liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and induce others to settle there. With respect to debts, he disappointed the expectation which was generally entertained, that they would be totally cancelled; and ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to the valuation of their estates, at the rate at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil war; deducting from the debt what had been paid for interest either in money or by bonds; by virtue of which provision about a fourth part of the debt was lost. He dissolved all the guilds, except such as were of ancient foundation. Crimes were punished with greater severity; and the rich being more easily induced to commit them because they were only liable to banishment, without the forfeiture of their property, he stripped murderers, as Cicero observes, of their whole estates, and other offenders of one half.

⁴³ Ius laboriosissime ac seuerissime dixit. repetundarum conuictos etiam ordine senatorio mouit. diremit nuptias praetorii uiri, qui digressam a marito post biduum statim duxerat, quamuis sine probri suspicione. peregrinarum mercium portoria instituit. lecticarum usum, item conchyliatae uestis et margaritarum nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies ademit. legem praecipue sumptuariam exercuit dispositis circa macellum custodibus, qui obsonia contra uetitum retinerent deportarentque ad se, submissis nonnumquam lictoribus atque militibus, qui, si qua custodes fefellissent, iam adposita e triclinio auferrent.

XLIII. He was extremely assiduous and strict in the administration of justice. He expelled from the senate such members as were convicted of bribery; and he dissolved the marriage of a man of pretorian rank, who had married a lady two days after her divorce from a former husband, although there was no suspicion that they had been guilty of any illicit connection. He imposed duties on the importation of foreign goods. The use of litters for travelling, purple robes, and jewels, he permitted only to persons of a certain age and station, and on particular days. He enforced a rigid execution of the sumptuary laws; placing officers about the markets, to seize upon all meats exposed to sale contrary to the rules, and bring them to him; sometimes sending his lictors and soldiers to (30) carry away such victuals as had escaped the notice of the officers, even when they were upon the table.

⁴⁴ Nam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat: in primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere repleto et conplanato lacu, in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans; ius ciuile ad certum modum redigere atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum; siccare Pomptinas paludes; emittere Fucinum lacum; uiam munire a mari Supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere; mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem nec nisi ante expertos adgredi proelio. Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praeuenit. de qua prius quam dicam, ea quae ad formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus quae ad ciuilia et bellica eius studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

XLIV. His thoughts were now fully employed from day to day on a variety of great projects for the embellishment and improvement of the city, as well as for guarding and extending the bounds of the empire. In the first place, he meditated the construction of a temple to Mars, which should exceed in grandeur every thing of that kind in the world. For this purpose, he intended to fill up the lake on which he had entertained the people with the spectacle of a sea-fight. He also projected a most spacious theatre adjacent to the Tarpeian mount; and also proposed to reduce the civil law to a reasonable compass, and out of that immense and undigested mass of statutes to extract the best and most necessary parts into a few books; to make as large a collection as possible of works in the Greek and Latin languages, for the public use; the province of providing and

putting them in proper order being assigned to Marcus Varro. He intended likewise to drain the Pomptine marshes, to cut a channel for the discharge of the waters of the lake Fucinus, to form a road from the Upper Sea through the ridge of the Appenine to the Tiber; to make a cut through the isthmus of Corinth, to reduce the Dacians, who had over-run Pontus and Thrace, within their proper limits, and then to make war upon the Parthians, through the Lesser Armenia, but not to risk a general engagement with them, until he had made some trial of their prowess in war. But in the midst of all his undertakings and projects, he was carried off by death; before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give an account of his person, dress, and manners; together with what relates to his pursuits, both civil and military.

⁴⁵ Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris uegetisque oculis, ualitudine prospera, nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. comitali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est. circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed uelleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobrauerunt, caluitii uero deformitatem iniquissime ferret saepe obtrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. ideoque et deficientem capillum reuocare a uertice adsueuerat et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut usurpauit libentius quam ius laureae coronae perpetuo gestandae. Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt: usum enim lato clauo ad manus fimbriato nec umquam aliter quam [ut] super eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cinctura; unde emanasse Sullae dictum optimates saepius admonentis, ut male praecinctum puerum cauerent.

XLV. It is said that he was tall, of a fair complexion, round limbed, rather full faced, with eyes black and piercing; and that he enjoyed excellent health, except towards the close of his life, when he was subject to sudden fainting-fits, and disturbance in his sleep. He was likewise twice seized with the falling sickness while engaged in active service. He was so nice in the care of his person, that he not only kept the hair of his head closely cut and had his face smoothly shaved, but (31) even caused the hair on other parts of the body to be plucked out by the roots, a practice for which some persons rallied him. His baldness gave him much uneasiness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the jibes of his enemies. He therefore used to bring forward the hair from the crown of his head; and of all the honours conferred upon him by the senate and people, there was none which he either accepted or used with greater pleasure, than the right of wearing constantly a laurel crown. It is said that he was particular in his

dress. For he used the Latus Clavus with fringes about the wrists, and always had it girded about him, but rather loosely. This circumstance gave origin to the expression of Sylla, who often advised the nobles to beware of “the ill-girt boy.”

⁴⁶ Habitauit primo in Subura modicis aedibus, post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra uia domo publica. munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: uillam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quanquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum; in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pauimenta circumtulisse.

XLVI. He first inhabited a small house in the Suburra, but after his advancement to the pontificate, he occupied a palace belonging to the state in the Via Sacra. Many writers say that he liked his residence to be elegant, and his entertainments sumptuous; and that he entirely took down a villa near the grove of Aricia, which he had built from the foundation and finished at a vast expense, because it did not exactly suit his taste, although he had at that time but slender means, and was in debt; and that he carried about in his expeditions tessellated and marble slabs for the floor of his tent.

⁴⁷ Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus; gemmas, toreumata, signa, tabulas operis antiqui semper animosissime comparasse; seruitia rectiora politioraque inmenso pretio, et cuius ipsum etiam puderet, sic ut rationibus uetaret inferri.

XLVII. They likewise report that he invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls, the size of which he would compare together, and ascertain the weight by poisoning them in his hand; that he would purchase, at any cost, gems, carved works, statues, and pictures, executed by the eminent masters of antiquity; and that he would give for young and handy slaves a price so extravagant, that he forbade its being entered in the diary of his expenses.

⁴⁸ Conuiuatum assidue per prouincias duobus tricliniis, uno quo sagati palliatue, altero quo togati cum inlustrioribus prouinciarum discumberent. domesticam disciplinam in paruīs ac maioribus rebus diligenter adeo seuerique rexit, ut pistorem alium quam sibi panem conuiuis subicientem compedibus uinxerit, libertum gratissimum ob adulteratam equitis Romani uxorem, quamuis nullo querente, capitali poena adfecerit.

XLVIII. We are also told, that in the provinces he constantly maintained two tables, one for the officers of the army, and the gentry of the country, and the other for Romans of the highest rank, and provincials of the first distinction. He was so very exact in the management of his domestic affairs, both little and great, that he once threw a baker into prison, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than his guests; and put to death a freed-man, who was a particular favourite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, although no complaint had been made to him of the affair.

⁴⁹ Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis contubernium laesit, graui tamen et perenni obprobrio et ad omnium conuicia exposito. omitto Calui Licini notissimos uersus:

Bithynia quicquid

et pedicator Caesaris umquam habuit.

praetereo actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris, in quibus eum Dolabella ‘paelicem reginae, spondam interiorem regiae lecticae,’ at Curio ‘stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem’ dicunt. missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit collegam suum Bithynicam reginam, eique antea regem fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum. quo tempore, ut Marcus Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam ualitudine mentis liberius dicax conuentu maximo, cum Pompeium regem appellasset, ipsum reginam salutauit. sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum +et ui+ Nicomedi stetisse obicit, cum reliquis exoletis, pleno conuiuio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert nomina. Cicero uero non contentus in quibusdam epistulis scripsisse a satellitibus eum in cubiculum regium eductum in aureo lecto ueste purpurea decubuisse floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti: ‘remoue,’ inquit, ‘istaec, oro te, quando notum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.’ Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter cetera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam illud uulgatissimum pronuntiauerunt:

Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem:

ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias,

Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.

XLIX. The only stain upon his chastity was his having cohabited with Nicomedes; and that indeed stuck to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to much bitter raillery. I will not dwell upon those well-known verses of Calvus Licinius:

*Whate'er Bithynia and her lord possess'd,
Her lord who Caesar in his lust caress'd.*

I pass over the speeches of Dolabella, and Curio, the father, in which the former calls him "the queen's rival, and the inner-side of the royal couch," and the latter, "the brothel of Nicomedes, and the Bithynian stew." I would likewise say nothing of the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaimed his colleague under the name of "the queen of Bithynia;" adding, that "he had formerly been in love with a king, but now coveted a kingdom." At which time, as Marcus Brutus relates, one Octavius, a man of a crazy brain, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a crowded assembly saluted Pompey by the title of king, addressed Caesar by that of queen. Caius Memmius likewise upbraided him with serving the king at table, among the rest of his catamites, in the presence of a large company, in which were some merchants from Rome, the names of whom he mentions. But Cicero was not content with writing in some of his letters, that he was conducted by the royal attendants into the king's bed-chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of purple, and that the youthful bloom of this scion of Venus had been tainted in Bithynia- -but upon Caesar's pleading the cause of Nysa, the daughter of (32) Nicomedes before the senate, and recounting the king's kindnesses to him, replied, "Pray tell us no more of that; for it is well known what he gave you, and you gave him." To conclude, his soldiers in the Gallic triumph, amongst other verses, such as they jocularly sung on those occasions, following the general's chariot, recited these, which since that time have become extremely common:

*The Gauls to Caesar yield, Caesar to Nicomede,
Lo! Caesar triumphs for his glorious deed,
But Caesar's conqueror gains no victor's meed.*

⁵⁰ Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est, plurimasque et illustres feminas corrupisse, in quibus Postumiam Serui Sulpici, Lolliam Auli Gabini, Tertullam Marci Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompei Muciam. nam certe Pompeio et a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis exprobratum est, quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem et quem gemens Aegisthum appellare consuesset, eius postea filiam potentiae cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset. sed ante alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Seruiliam, cui et proximo suo consulatu sexagiens sestertium margaritam mercatus est et bello ciuili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctionibus hastae minimo addixit; cum quidem plerisque uilitatem mirantibus facetissime Cicero: 'quo melius,' inquit, 'emptum sciatis, tertia deducta'; existimabatur enim Seruilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Caesari conciliare.

L. It is admitted by all that he was much addicted to women, as well as very expensive in his intrigues with them, and that he debauched many ladies of the highest quality; among whom were Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpicius; Lollia, the wife of Aulus Gabinius; Tertulla, the wife of Marcus Crassus; and Mucia, the wife of Cneius Pompey. For it is certain that the Curios, both father and son, and many others, made it a reproach to Pompey, "That to gratify his ambition, he married the daughter of a man, upon whose account he had divorced his wife, after having had three children by her; and whom he used, with a deep sigh, to call Aegisthus." But the mistress he most loved, was Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, for whom he purchased, in his first consulship after the commencement of their intrigue, a pearl which cost him six millions of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, assigned to her, for a trifling consideration, some valuable farms when they were exposed to public auction. Many persons expressing their surprise at the lowness of the price, Cicero wittily remarked, "To let you know the real value of the purchase, between ourselves, Tertia was deducted:" for Servilia was supposed to have prostituted her daughter Tertia to Caesar.

⁵¹ Ne prouincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse uel hoc disticho apparet iactato aequae militibus per Gallicum triumphum:

*Urbani, seruate uxores: moechum caluom adducimus.
aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.*

(34) LI. That he had intrigues likewise with married women in the provinces, appears from this distich, which was as much repeated in the Gallic Triumph as the former: —

*Watch well your wives, ye cits, we bring a blade,
A bald-pate master of the wenching trade.
Thy gold was spent on many a Gallic whore;
Exhausted now, thou com'st to borrow more.*

⁵² Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram Bogudis uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit; sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et conuiuia in primam lucem saepe protraxit et eadem naue thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetrauit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset, quam denique accitam in urbem non nisi maximis honoribus praemiisque auctam remisit filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. quem quidem nonnulli Graecorum similem quoque Caesari et forma et incessu tradiderunt. M. Antonius adgnitum etiam ab eo senatui adfirmauit, quae scire C.

Matium et C. Oppium reliquosque Caesaris amicos; quorum Gaius Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Caesaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Heluius Cinna tr. pl. plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot uellet ducere liceret. at ne cui dubium omnino sit et impudicitiae et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione omnium mulierum uirum et omnium uirorum mulierem appellat.

LII. In the number of his mistresses were also some queens; such as Eunoe, a Moor, the wife of Bogudes, to whom and her husband he made, as Naso reports, many large presents. But his greatest favourite was Cleopatra, with whom he often revelled all night until the dawn of day, and would have gone with her through Egypt in dalliance, as far as Aethiopia, in her luxurious yacht, had not the army refused to follow him. He afterwards invited her to Rome, whence he sent her back loaded with honours and presents, and gave her permission to call by his name a son, who, according to the testimony of some Greek historians, resembled Caesar both in person and gait. Mark Antony declared in the senate, that Caesar had acknowledged the child as his own; and that Caius Matias, Caius Oppius, and the rest of Caesar's friends knew it to be true. On which occasion, Oppius, as if it had been an imputation which he was called upon to refute, published a book to show, "that the child which Cleopatra fathered upon Caesar, was not his." Helvius Cinna, tribune of the people, admitted to several persons the fact, that he had a bill ready drawn, which Caesar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, allowing him, with the hope of leaving issue, to take any wife he chose, and as many of them as he pleased; and to leave no room for doubt of his infamous character for unnatural lewdness and adultery, Curio, the father, says, in one of his speeches, "He was every woman's man, and every man's woman."

⁵³ Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negauerunt. Marci Catonis est: unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad euertendam rem publicam sobrium accessisse. nam circa uictum Gaius Oppius adeo indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum pro uiridi adpositum aspernantibus ceteris solum etiam largius appetisse scribat, ne hospitem aut neglegentiae aut rusticitatis uideretur arguere.

LIII. It is acknowledged even by his enemies, that in regard to wine, he was abstemious. A remark is ascribed to Marcus Cato, "that Caesar was the only sober man amongst all those who were engaged in the design to subvert (35) the

government.” In the matter of diet, Caius Oppius informs us, “that he was so indifferent, that when a person in whose house he was entertained, had served him with stale, instead of fresh, oil, and the rest of the company would not touch it, he alone ate very heartily of it, that he might not seem to tax the master of the house with rusticity or want of attention.”

⁵⁴ Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus praestitit. ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania pro consule et a sociis pecunias accepit emendicatas in auxilium aeris alieni et Lusitanorum quaedam oppida, quanquam nec imperata detrectarent et aduenienti portas patefacerent, diripuit hostiliter. in Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilauit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum, ut auro abundaret ternisque milibus nummum in libras promercale per Italiam prouinciasque diuenderet. in primo consulatu tria milia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio tantundem inaurati aeris reposuit. societates ac regna pretio dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit. postea uero euidentissimis rapinis ac sacrilegis et onera bellorum ciuiliū et triumphorum ac munerum sustinuit impendia.

LIV. But his abstinence did not extend to pecuniary advantages, either in his military commands, or civil offices; for we have the testimony of some writers, that he took money from the proconsul, who was his predecessor in Spain, and from the Roman allies in that quarter, for the discharge of his debts; and plundered at the point of the sword some towns of the Lusitanians, notwithstanding they attempted no resistance, and opened their gates to him upon his arrival before them. In Gaul, he rifled the chapels and temples of the gods, which were filled with rich offerings, and demolished cities oftener for the sake of their spoil, than for any ill they had done. By this means gold became so plentiful with him, that he exchanged it through Italy and the provinces of the empire for three thousand sesterces the pound. In his first consulship he purloined from the Capitol three thousand pounds' weight of gold, and substituted for it the same quantity of gilt brass. He bartered likewise to foreign nations and princes, for gold, the titles of allies and kings; and squeezed out of Ptolemy alone near six thousand talents, in the name of himself and Pompey. He afterwards supported the expense of the civil wars, and of his triumphs and public spectacles, by the most flagrant rapine and sacrilege.

⁵⁵ Eloquentia militarique re aut aequauit praestantissimorum gloriam aut excessit. post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis

adnumeratus est. certe Cicero ad Brutum oratores enumerans negat se uidere, cui debeat Caesar cedere, aitque eum elegantem, splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo rationem dicendi tenere; et ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem ita scripsit: ‘quid? oratorem quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt? quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior? quis uerbis aut ornatior aut elegantior?’ genus eloquentiae dum taxat adulescens adhuc Strabonis Caesaris secutus uidetur, cuius etiam ex oratione, quae inscribitur ‘pro Sardis,’ ad uerbum nonnulla transtulit in diuinationem suam. pronuntiasse autem dicitur uoce acuta, ardenti motu gestuque, non sine uenustate. orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. ‘pro Quinto Metello’ non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuaris exceptam male subsequentibus uerba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam; nam in quibusdam exemplaribus inuenio ne inscriptam quidem ‘pro Metello,’ sed ‘quam scripsit Metello,’ cum ex persona Caesaris sermo sit Metellum seque aduersus communium obtrectatorum criminationes purgantis. ‘apud milites’ quoque ‘in Hispania’ idem Augustus uix ipsius putat, quae tamen duplex fertur: una quasi priore habita proelio, altera posteriore, quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem contionandi habuisse eum dicit subita hostium incursione.

LV. In eloquence and warlike achievements, he equalled at least, if he did not surpass, the greatest of men. After his prosecution of Dolabella, he was indisputably reckoned one of the most distinguished advocates. Cicero, in recounting to Brutus the famous orators, declares, “that he does not see that Caesar was inferior to any one of them;” and says, “that he (36) had an elegant, splendid, noble, and magnificent vein of eloquence.” And in a letter to Cornelius Nepos, he writes of him in the following terms: “What! Of all the orators, who, during the whole course of their lives, have done nothing else, which can you prefer to him? Which of them is more pointed or terse in his periods, or employs more polished and elegant language?” In his youth, he seems to have chosen Strabo Caesar for his model; from whose oration in behalf of the Sardinians he has transcribed some passages literally into his Divination. In his delivery he is said to have had a shrill voice, and his action was animated, but not ungraceful. He has left behind him some speeches, among which are ranked a few that are not genuine, such as that on behalf of Quintus Metellus. These Augustus supposes, with reason, to be rather the production of blundering short-hand writers, who were not able to keep pace with him in the delivery, than publications of his own. For I find in some copies that the title is not “For Metellus,” but “What he wrote to Metellus;” whereas the speech is delivered in the name of Caesar, vindicating Metellus and himself from the aspersions cast

upon them by their common defamers. The speech addressed “To his soldiers in Spain,” Augustus considers likewise as spurious. We meet with two under this title; one made, as is pretended, in the first battle, and the other in the last; at which time, Asinius Pollio says, he had not leisure to address the soldiers, on account of the suddenness of the enemy’s attack.

⁵⁶ Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici ciuilisque belli Pompeiani. nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est: alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli nouissimum imperfectumque librum suppleuerit. de commentariis Caesaris Cicero in eodem Bruto sic refert: ‘commentarios scripsit ualde quidem probandos: nudi sunt, recti et uenusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam ueste detracta; sed dum uoluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui uellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui illa uolent calamistris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit.’ de isdem commentariis Hirtius ita praedicat: ‘adeo probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus uideatur. [cuius tamen rei maior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio; ceteri enim, quam bene atque emendate,] nos etiam, quam facile atque celeriter eos perscripserit, scimus.’ Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra ueritate compositos putat, cum Caesar pleraque et quae per alios erant gesta temere crediderit et quae per se, uel consulto uel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit; existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse. reliquit et ‘de analogia’ duos libros et ‘Anticatones’ totidem ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conuentibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, sequentes sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; nouissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et uicensimo die peruenit. epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant, quas primum uidetur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli conuertisse, cum antea consules et duces non nisi transuersa charta scriptas mitterent. extant et ad Ciceronem, item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in quibus, si qua occultius perferenda erant, per notas scripsit, id est sic structo litterarum ordine, ut nullum uerbum effici posset: quae si qui inuestigare et persequi uelit, quartam elementorum litteram, id est D pro A et perinde reliquas commutet. feruntur [a puero et] ab adolescentulo quaedam scripta, ut ‘Laudes Herculis,’ tragoedia ‘Oedipus,’ item ‘Dicta collectanea’: quos omnis libellos uetuit Augustus publicari in epistula, quam breuem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegauerat, misit.

LVI. He has likewise left Commentaries of his own actions both in the war in Gaul, and in the civil war with Pompey; for the author of the Alexandrian,

African, and Spanish wars is not known with any certainty. Some think they are the production of Oppius, and some of Hirtius; the latter of whom composed the last book, which is imperfect, of the Gallic war. Of Caesar's Commentaries, Cicero, in his Brutus, speaks thus: "He wrote his Commentaries in a manner deserving of great approbation: they are plain, precise, and elegant, without any affectation of rhetorical ornament. In having thus prepared materials for others who might be inclined to write his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some silly creatures to enter upon such a work, who will needs be dressing up his actions in all the extravagance a (37) bombast; but he has discouraged wise men from ever attempting the subject." Hirtius delivers his opinion of these Commentaries in the following terms: "So great is the approbation with which they are universally perused, that, instead of rousing, he seems to have precluded, the efforts of any future historian. Yet, with respect to this work, we have more reason to admire him than others; for they only know how well and correctly he has written, but we know, likewise, how easily and quickly he did it." Pollio Asinius thinks that they were not drawn up with much care, or with a due regard to truth; for he insinuates that Caesar was too hasty of belief in regard to what was performed by others under his orders; and that, he has not given a very faithful account of his own acts, either by design, or through defect of memory; expressing at the same time an opinion that Caesar intended a new and more correct edition. He has left behind him likewise two books on Analogy, with the same number under the title of Anti- Cato, and a poem entitled The Itinerary. Of these books, he composed the first two in his passage over the Alps, as he was returning to the army after making his circuit in Hither-Gaul; the second work about the time of the battle of Munda; and the last during the four-and-twenty days he employed in his journey from Rome to Farther-Spain. There are extant some letters of his to the senate, written in a manner never practised by any before him; for they are distinguished into pages in the form of a memorandum book whereas the consuls and commanders till then, used constantly in their letters to continue the line quite across the sheet, without any folding or distinction of pages. There are extant likewise some letters from him to Cicero, and others to his friends, concerning his domestic affairs; in which, if there was occasion for secrecy, he wrote in cyphers; that is, he used the alphabet in such a manner, that not a single word could be made out. The way to decipher those epistles was to substitute the fourth for the first letter, as d for a, and so for the other letters respectively. Some things likewise pass under his name, said to have been written by him when a boy, or a very young man; as the Encomium of Hercules, a tragedy entitled Oedipus, and a collection of Apophthegms; all which Augustus forbid to be published, in a short and plain letter to Pompeius

Macer, who was employed by him in the arrangement of his libraries.

⁵⁷ *Armorū et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat. in agmine nonnumquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset; longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria raeda, centena passuum milia in singulos dies; si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens uel innixus inflatis utribus, ut persaepe nuntios de se praeuenerit.*

(38) LVII. He was perfect in the use of arms, an accomplished rider, and able to endure fatigue beyond all belief. On a march, he used to go at the head of his troops, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, with his head bare in all kinds of weather. He would travel post in a light carriage without baggage, at the rate of a hundred miles a day; and if he was stopped by floods in the rivers, he swam across, or floated on skins inflated with wind, so that he often anticipated intelligence of his movements.

⁵⁸ *In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transuexit, nisi ante per se portus et nauigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset. at idem obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata per stationes hostium Gallico habitu penetrauit ad suos. a Brundisio Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hieme transmisit cessantibusque copiis, quas subsequi iusserat, cum ad accersendas frustra saepe misisset, nouissime ipse clam noctu paruulum nauigium solus obuoluto capite conscendit, neque aut quis esset ante detexit aut gubernatorem cedere aduersae tempestati passus est quam paene obrutus fluctibus.*

LVIII. In his expeditions, it is difficult to say whether his caution or his daring was most conspicuous. He never marched his army by roads which were exposed to ambuscades, without having previously examined the nature of the ground by his scouts. Nor did he cross over to Britain, before he had carefully examined, in person, the navigation, the harbours, and the most convenient point of landing in the island. When intelligence was brought to him of the siege of his camp in Germany, he made his way to his troops, through the enemy's stations, in a Gaulish dress. He crossed the sea from Brundisium and Dyrrachium, in the winter, through the midst of the enemy's fleets; and the troops, under orders to join him, being slow in their movements, notwithstanding repeated messages to hurry them, but to no purpose, he at last went privately, and alone, aboard a small vessel in the night time, with his head muffled up; nor did he make himself

known, or suffer the master to put about, although the wind blew strong against them, until they were ready to sink.

⁵⁹ Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam uel retardatus est. cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem aduersus Scipionem et Iubam non distulit. prolapsus etiam in egressu nauis uerso ad melius omine: ‘teneo te,’ inquit, ‘Africa.’ ad eludendas autem uaticinationes, quibus felix et inuictum in ea prouincia fataliter Scipionum nomen ferebatur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium uitae Salutioni cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

LIX. He was never deterred from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by superstition . When a victim, which he was about to offer in sacrifice, made its (39) escape, he did not therefore defer his expedition against Scipio and Juba. And happening to fall, upon stepping out of the ship, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by exclaiming, “I hold thee fast, Africa.” To chide the prophecies which were spread abroad, that the name of the Scipios was, by the decrees of fate, fortunate and invincible in that province, he retained in the camp a profligate wretch, of the family of the Cornelii, who, on account of his scandalous life, was surnamed Salutio.

⁶⁰ Proelia non tantum destinato, sed ex occasione sumebat ac saepe ab itinere statim, interdum spurcissimis tempestatibus, cum minime quis moturum putaret; nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus est, quo saepius uicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans nihilque se tantum adquisiturum uictoria, quantum [.....] hostem fudit, quin castris quoque exueret: ita [ut] nullum spatium perterritis dabat. ancipiti proelio equos dimittebat et in primis suum, quo maior permanendi necessitas imponeretur auxilio fugae erepto

LX. He not only fought pitched battles, but made sudden attacks when an opportunity offered; often at the end of a march, and sometimes during the most violent storms, when nobody could imagine he would stir. Nor was he ever backward in fighting, until towards the end of his life. He then was of opinion, that the oftener he had been crowned with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards; and that nothing he could gain by a victory would compensate for what he might lose by a miscarriage. He never defeated the enemy without driving them from their camp; and giving them no time to rally their forces. When the issue of a battle was doubtful, he sent away all the horses, and his own first, that having no means of flight, they might be under the greater

necessity of standing their ground.

⁶¹ Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit; cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicauit.

LXI. He rode a very remarkable horse, with feet almost like those of a man, the hoofs being divided in such a manner as to have some resemblance to toes. This horse he had bred himself, and the soothsayers having interpreted these circumstances into an omen that its owner would be master of the world, he brought him up with particular care, and broke him in himself, as the horse would suffer no one else to mount him. A statue of this horse was afterwards erected by Caesar's order before the temple of Venus Genitrix.

⁶² Inclinatam aciem solus saepe restituit obsistens fugientibus retinensque singulos et contortis faucibus conuertens in hostem et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifer[o] moranti se cuspe sit comminatus, alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

LXII. He often rallied his troops, when they were giving way, by his personal efforts; stopping those who fled, keeping others in their ranks, and seizing them by their throat turned them towards the enemy; although numbers were so terrified, that an eagle-bearer, thus stopped, made a thrust at him with (40) the spear-head; and another, upon a similar occasion, left the standard in his hand.

⁶³ Non minor illa constantia eius, maiora etiam indicia fuerint. post aciem Pharsalicam cum praemissis in Asiam copiis per angustias Hellesponti uectoria nauicula traiceret, L. Cassium partis aduersae cum decem rostratis nauibus obuium sibi neque refugit et comminus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

LXIII. The following instances of his resolution are equally, and even more remarkable. After the battle of Pharsalia, having sent his troops before him into Asia, as he was passing the straits of the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with Lucius Cassius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war; and so far from endeavouring to escape, he went alongside his ship, and calling upon him to surrender, Cassius humbly gave him his submission.

⁶⁴ Alexandriae circa oppugnationem pontis eruptione hostium subita compulsus in scapham pluribus eodem praecipitantibus, cum desilisset in mare, nando per ducentos passus euasit ad proximam nauem, elata laeua, ne libelli quos tenebat madefierent, paludamentum mordicus trahens, ne spolio poteretur hostis.

LXIV. At Alexandria, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden sally of the enemy into a boat, and several others hurrying in with him, he leaped into the sea, and saved himself by swimming to the next ship, which lay at the distance of two hundred paces; holding up his left hand out of the water, for fear of wetting some papers which he held in it; and pulling his general's cloak after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

⁶⁵ Militem neque a moribus neque a fortuna probabat, sed tantum a uiribus, tractabatque pari seueritate atque indulgentia. non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercebat: tum maxime exactor grauissimus disciplinae, ut neque itineris neque proelii tempus denuntiaret, sed paratum et intentum momentis omnibus quo uellet subito educeret. quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, praecipue pluuiis et festis diebus. ac subinde obseruandum se admonens repente interdium uel nocte subtrahebat, augebatque iter, ut serius subsequens defetigaret.

LXV. He never valued a soldier for his moral conduct or his means, but for his courage only; and treated his troops with a mixture of severity and indulgence; for he did not always keep a strict hand over them, but only when the enemy was near. Then indeed he was so strict a disciplinarian, that he would give no notice of a march or a battle until the moment of action, in order that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden movement; and he would frequently draw them out of the camp without any necessity for it, especially in rainy weather, and upon holy-days. Sometimes, giving them orders not to lose sight of him, he would suddenly depart by day or by night, and lengthen the marches in order to tire them out, as they followed him at a distance.

⁶⁶ Fama uero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando minuendoue, sed insuper amplificando ementiendoque confirmabat. itaque cum expectatio aduentus Iubae terribilis esset, conuocatis ad contionem militibus: 'scitote,' inquit, 'paucissimis his diebus regem adfuturum cum decem legionibus, equitum triginta, leuis armaturae centum milibus, elephantis trecentis. proinde desinant quidam quaerere ultra aut opinari mihi que, qui compertum habeo, credant; aut quidem uetustissima naue impositos quocumque uento in quascumque terras

iubebo auehi.’

LXVI. When at any time his troops were dispirited by reports of the great force of the enemy, he rallied their courage; not by denying the truth of what was said, or by diminishing the facts, but, on the contrary, by exaggerating every particular. (41) Accordingly, when his troops were in great alarm at the expected arrival of king Juba, he called them together, and said, “I have to inform you that in a very few days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light-armed foot, and three hundred elephants. Let none of you, therefore, presume to make further enquiry, or indulge in conjectures, but take my word for what I tell you, which I have from undoubted intelligence; otherwise I shall put them aboard an old crazy vessel, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds, to be transported to some other country.”

⁶⁷ Delicta neque obseruabat omnia neque pro modo exequabatur, sed desertorum ac seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus coniebat in ceteris. ac nonnumquam post magnam pugnam atque uictoriam remisso officiorum munere licentiam omnem passim lasciuiendi permittebat, iactare solitus milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse. nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat habebatque tam cultos, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem et quo tenaciores eorum in proelio essent metu damni. diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit nec ante dempserit quam uindicasset.

LXVII. He neither noticed all their transgressions, nor punished them according to strict rule. But for deserters and mutineers he made the most diligent enquiry, and their punishment was most severe: other delinquencies he would connive at. Sometimes, after a great battle ending in victory, he would grant them a relaxation from all kinds of duty, and leave them to revel at pleasure; being used to boast, “that his soldiers fought nothing the worse for being well oiled.” In his speeches, he never addressed them by the title of “Soldiers,” but by the kinder phrase of “Fellow-soldiers;” and kept them in such splendid order, that their arms were ornamented with silver and gold, not merely for parade, but to render the soldiers more resolute to save them in battle, and fearful of losing them. He loved his troops to such a degree, that when he heard of the defeat of those under Titurius, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, until he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he engaged their devoted affection, and raised their valour to the highest pitch.

⁶⁸ Quibus rebus et deuotissimos sibi et fortissimos reddidit. ingresso ciuile bellum centuriones cuiusque legionis singulos equites e uiatico suo optulerunt, uniuerſi milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam, cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. neque in tam diuturno spatio quisquam omnino desciiuit, plerique capti concessam sibi sub condicione uitam, si militare aduersus eum uellent, recusarunt. famem et ceteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, tanto opere tolerabant, ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompeius uiso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, cum feris sibi rem esse dixerit amouerique ocius nec cuiquam ostendi iusserit, ne patientia et pertinacia hostis animi suorum frangerentur. Quanta fortitudine dimicarint, testimonio est quod aduerso semel apud Dyrrachium proelio poenam in se ultro depoposcerunt, ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. ceteris proeliis innumeras aduersariorum copias multis partibus ipsi pauciores facile superarunt. denique una sextae legionis cohors praeposita castello quattuor Pompei legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit paene omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta milia intra uallum reperta sunt. nec mirum, si quis singulorum facta respiciat, uel Cassi Scaeuae centurionis uel Gai Acili militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scaeuia excusso oculo, transfixus femore et umero, centum et uiginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portae commissi castelli retinuit. Acilius nauali ad Massiliam proelio iniecta in puppem hostium dextera et abscisa memorabile illud apud Graecos Cynegiri exemplum imitatus transiuit in nauem umbone obuios agens.

LXVIII. Upon his entering on the civil war, the centurions of every legion offered, each of them, to maintain a horseman at his own expense, and the whole army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay; those amongst them who were rich, charging themselves with the maintenance of the poor. No one of them, during the whole course of the war, deserted to the enemy; and many of those who were made prisoners, though they were offered their lives, upon condition of bearing arms against him, refused to accept the terms. They endured want, and other hardships, not only (42) when they were besieged themselves, but when they besieged others, to such a degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they lived upon, said, "I have to do with wild beasts," and ordered it immediately to be taken away; because, if his troops should see it, their spirit might be broken by perceiving the endurance and determined resolution of the enemy. With what bravery they fought, one instance affords sufficient proof; which is, that after an unsuccessful engagement at Dyrrachium, they called for punishment; insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than

to punish them. In other battles, in different quarters, they defeated with ease immense armies of the enemy, although they were much inferior to them in number. In short, one cohort of the sixth legion held out a fort against four legions belonging to Pompey, during several hours; being almost every one of them wounded by the vast number of arrows discharged against them, and of which there were found within the ramparts a hundred and thirty thousand. This is no way surprising, when we consider the conduct of some individuals amongst them; such as that of Cassius Scaeva, a centurion, or Caius Acilius, a common soldier, not to speak of others. Scaeva, after having an eye struck out, being run through the thigh and the shoulder, and having his shield pierced in an hundred and twenty places, maintained obstinately the guard of the gate of a fort, with the command of which he was intrusted. Acilius, in the sea-fight at Marseilles, having seized a ship of the enemy's with his right hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable instance of resolution in Cynaegirus amongst the Greeks, boarded the enemy's ship, bearing down all before him with the boss of his shield.

⁶⁹ Seditionem per decem annos Gallicis bellis nullam omnino mouerunt, ciuilibus aliquas, sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. non enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obuiam semper iit; et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quanquam in armis adhuc Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit aegreque post multas et supplicis preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus poena, restituit.

LXIX. They never once mutinied during all the ten years of the Gallic war, but were sometimes refractory in the course of the civil war. However, they always returned quickly to their duty, and that not through the indulgence, but in submission to the authority, of their general; for he never yielded to them when they were insubordinate, but constantly resisted their demands. He disbanded the whole ninth legion with ignominy at Placentia, although Pompey was still in arms, and would (43) not receive them again into his service, until they had not only made repeated and humble entreaties, but until the ringleaders in the mutiny were punished.

⁷⁰ Decimanos autem Romae cum ingentibus minis summoque etiam urbis periculo missionem et praemia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere; sed una uoce, qua 'Quirites' eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamuis recusantem ultro in Africam

sint secuti; ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque et praedae et agri destinati tertia parte multauit.

LXX. When the soldiers of the tenth legion at Rome demanded their discharge and rewards for their service, with violent threats and no small danger to the city, although the war was then raging in Africa, he did not hesitate, contrary to the advice of his friends, to meet the legion, and disband it. But addressing them by the title of “Quirites,” instead of “Soldiers,” he by this single word so thoroughly brought them round and changed their determination, that they immediately cried out, they were his “soldiers,” and followed him to Africa, although he had refused their service. He nevertheless punished the most mutinous among them, with the loss of a third of their share in the plunder, and the land destined for them.

⁷¹ Studium et fides erga clientis ne iuueni quidem de fuerunt. Masintham nobilem iuuenem, cum aduersus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset, ut Iubae regis filio in altercatione barbam inuaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronuntiatum et abstrahentibus statim eripuit occultauitque apud se diu et mox ex praetura proficiscens in Hispaniam inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum lectica sua auexit.

LXXI. In the service of his clients, while yet a young man, he evinced great zeal and fidelity. He defended the cause of a noble youth, Masintha, against king Hiempsal, so strenuously, that in a scuffle which took place upon the occasion, he seized by the beard the son of king Juba; and upon Masintha’s being declared tributary to Hiempsal, while the friends of the adverse party were violently carrying him off, he immediately rescued him by force, kept him concealed in his house a long time, and when, at the expiration of his praetorship, he went to Spain, he took him away in his litter, in the midst of his lictors bearing the fasces, and others who had come to attend and take leave of him.

⁷² Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiaque tractauit, ut Gaio Oppio comitanti se per siluestre iter correptoque subita ualitudine deuersoriolo[co], quod unum erat, cesserit et ipse humi ac sub diuo cubuerit. iam autem rerum potens quosdam etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores prouexit, cum ob id culparetur, professus palam, si grassatorum et sicariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.

LXXII. He always treated his friends with such kindness and good- nature,

that when Caius Oppius, in travelling with him through a forest, was suddenly taken ill, he resigned to him the only place there was to shelter them at night, and lay upon the ground in the open air. When he had placed himself at the head of affairs, he advanced some of his faithful adherents, though of mean extraction, to the highest offices; and when he was censured for this partiality, he openly said, "Had I been assisted by robbers and cut-throats in the defence of my honour, I should have made them the same recompense."

⁷³ Simultates contra nullas tam graues excepit umquam, ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. Gai Memmi, cuius asperrimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. Gaio Caluo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseuerauit.

(44) LXXIII. The resentment he entertained against any one was never so implacable that he did not very willingly renounce it when opportunity offered. Although Caius Memmius had published some extremely virulent speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal acrimony, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood candidate for the consulship. When C. Calvus, after publishing some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he wrote to him, of his own accord, the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself observed, fixed such a stain upon his character in his verses upon Mamurra as never could be obliterated, he begged his pardon, invited him to supper the same day; and continued to take up his lodging with his father occasionally, as he had been accustomed to do.

⁷⁴ Sed et in ulciscendo natura lenissimus piratas, a quibus captus est, cum in dicionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante iurauerat, iugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi; Cornelio Phagitae, cuius quondam nocturnas insidias aeger ac latens, ne perduceretur ad Sullam, uix praemio dato euaserat, numquam nocere sustinuit; Philemonem a manu seruum, qui necem suam per uenenum inimicis promiserat, non grauius quam simplici morte puniit; in Publium Clodium Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caerimoniarum reum testis citatus negauit se quicquam comperisse, quamuis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide re[t]tulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem: 'quoniam,' inquit, 'meos tam

suspicionem quam crimine iudicio carere oportere.’

LXXIV. His temper was also naturally averse to severity in retaliation. After he had captured the pirates, by whom he had been taken, having sworn that he would crucify them, he did so indeed; but he first ordered their throats to be cut. He could never bear the thought of doing any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, who had dogged him in the night when he was sick and a fugitive, with the design of carrying him to Sylla, and from whose hands he had escaped with some difficulty by giving him a bribe. Philemon, his amanuensis, who had promised his enemies to poison him, he put to death without torture. When he was summoned as a witness against Publicus Clodius, his wife Pompeia’s gallant, who was prosecuted for the profanation of religious ceremonies, he declared he knew nothing of the affair, although his mother Aurelia, and his sister Julia, gave the court an exact and full account of the circumstances. And being asked why then he had divorced his wife? “Because,” he said, “my family should not only be free from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it.”

⁷⁵ Moderationem uero clementiamque cum in administratione tum in uictoria belli ciuilis admirabilem exhibuit. denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit. quibus autem ex commendatione Pompei ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. motis apud Ilerdam deditionis condicionibus, cum, assiduo inter utrasque partes usu atque commercio, Afranius et Petreius deprehensos intra castra Iulianos subita paenitentia interfecissent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari. acie Pharsalica proclamavit, ut ciuibus parceretur, deincepsque nemini non suorum quem uellet unum partis aduersae seruire concessit. nec ulli perisse nisi in proelio reperientur, exceptis dum taxat Afranio et Fausto et Lucio Caesare iuuenae; ac ne hos quidem uoluntate ipsius interemptos putant, quorum tamen et priores post impetratam ueniam rebellauerant et Caesar libertis serisque eius ferro et igni crudelem in modum enectis bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidauerat. denique tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignouerat, cunctis in Italiam redire permisit magistratusque et imperia capere; sed et statuas Luci Sullae atque Pompei a plebe disiectas reposuit; ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur grauius aduersus se aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam uindicare. itaque et detectas coniurationes conuentusque nocturnos non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas, et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro contione denuntiare ne perseuerarent, Aulique Caecinae criminosisimo libro et Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam

existimationem suam ciuili animo tulit.

LXXV. Both in his administration and his conduct towards the vanquished party in the civil war, he showed a wonderful moderation and clemency. For while Pompey declared that he would consider those as enemies who did not take arms in defence of the republic, he desired it to be understood, that he (45) should regard those who remained neuter as his friends. With regard to all those to whom he had, on Pompey's recommendation, given any command in the army, he left them at perfect liberty to go over to him, if they pleased. When some proposals were made at Ileria for a surrender, which gave rise to a free communication between the two camps, and Afranius and Petreius, upon a sudden change of resolution, had put to the sword all Caesar's men who were found in the camp, he scorned to imitate the base treachery which they had practised against himself. On the field of Pharsalia, he called out to the soldiers "to spare their fellow-citizens," and afterwards gave permission to every man in his army to save an enemy. None of them, so far as appears, lost their lives but in battle, excepting only Afranius, Faustus, and young Lucius Caesar; and it is thought that even they were put to death without his consent. Afranius and Faustus had borne arms against him, after obtaining their pardon; and Lucius Caesar had not only in the most cruel manner destroyed with fire and sword his freed-men and slaves, but cut to pieces the wild beasts which he had prepared for the entertainment of the people. And finally, a little before his death, he permitted all whom he had not before pardoned, to return into Italy, and to bear offices both civil and military. He even replaced the statues of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down by the populace. And after this, whatever was devised or uttered, he chose rather to check than to punish it. Accordingly, having detected certain conspiracies and nocturnal assemblies, he went no farther than to intimate by a proclamation that he knew of them; and as to those who indulged themselves in the liberty of reflecting severely upon him, he only warned them in a public speech not to persist in their offence. He bore with great moderation a virulent libel written against him by Aulus Caecinna, and the abusive lampoons of Pitholaus, most highly reflecting on his reputation.

⁷⁶ Praegrauant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur. non enim honores modo nimios recepit: continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras,

simulacra iuxta deos, puluinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine; ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit. tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit contentus dictaturae potestate decretae cum consulatibus simul atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos nouissimos menses, ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit praeter tribunorum et aedilium plebis praefectosque pro praetoribus constituerit, qui apse se res urbanas administrarent. pridie autem Kalendas Ianuarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. eadem licentia spreto patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinauit, decem praetoriis uiris consularia ornamenta tribuit, ciuitate donatos et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. praeterea monetae publicisque uestigalibus peculiares seruos praeposuit. trium legionum, quas Alexandriae relinquebat, curam et imperium Rufioni liberti sui filio exoleto suo demandauit.

LXXVI. His other words and actions, however, so far outweigh all his good qualities, that it is thought he abused his power, and was justly cut off. For he not only obtained excessive honours, such as the consulship every year, the dictatorship for life, and the censorship, but also the title of emperor, (46) and the surname of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, besides having his statue amongst the kings, and a lofty couch in the theatre. He even suffered some honours to be decreed to him, which were unbefitting the most exalted of mankind; such as a gilded chair of state in the senate-house and on his tribunal, a consecrated chariot, and banners in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, statues among the gods, a bed of state in the temples, a priest, and a college of priests dedicated to himself, like those of Pan; and that one of the months should be called by his name. There were, indeed, no honours which he did not either assume himself, or grant to others, at his will and pleasure. In his third and fourth consulship, he used only the title of the office, being content with the power of dictator, which was conferred upon him with the consulship; and in both years he substituted other consuls in his room, during the three last months; so that in the intervals he held no assemblies of the people, for the election of magistrates, excepting only tribunes and ediles of the people; and appointed officers, under the name of praefects, instead of the praetors, to administer the affairs of the city during his absence. The office of consul having become vacant, by the sudden death of one of the consuls the day before the calends of January [the 1st Jan.], he conferred it on a person who requested it of him, for a few hours. Assuming the same licence, and regardless of the customs of his country, he appointed magistrates to hold their offices for terms of years. He granted the insignia of the consular dignity to ten persons of pretorian rank. He admitted into the senate some men

who had been made free of the city, and even natives of Gaul, who were semi-barbarians. (47) He likewise appointed to the management of the mint, and the public revenue of the state, some servants of his own household; and entrusted the command of three legions, which he left at Alexandria, to an old catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

⁷⁷ Nec minoris inpotentiae uoces propalam edebat, ut Titus Amp[r]ius scribit: nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit. debere homines consideratius iam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quae dicat. eoque arrogantiae progressus est, ut haruspice tristia et sine corde exta quondam nuntiante futura diceret laetiora, cum uellet; nec pro ostento ducendum, si pecudi cor defuisset.

LXXVII. He was guilty of the same extravagance in the language he publicly used, as Titus Ampius informs us; according to whom he said, “The republic is nothing but a name, without substance or reality. Sylla was an ignorant fellow to abdicate the dictatorship. Men ought to consider what is becoming when they talk with me, and look upon what I say as a law.” To such a pitch of arrogance did he proceed, that when a soothsayer announced to him the unfavourable omen, that the entrails of a victim offered for sacrifice were without a heart, he said, “The entrails will be more favourable when I please; and it ought not to be regarded as a prodigy that a beast should be found wanting a heart.”

⁷⁸ Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem sibi inuidiam hinc maxime mouit. adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis uniuersos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit. quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere; alii, ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admonentem Gaium Trebatium ut assurgeret minus familiari uultu respexisse. idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est uisum, quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia tribunicia praeteruehenti sibi unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit, ut proclamauerit: ‘repete ergo a me Aquila rem publicam tribunus!’ et nec destiterit per continuos dies quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptione polliceri: ‘si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.’

LXXVIII. But what brought upon him the greatest odium, and was thought an unpardonable insult, was his receiving the whole body of the conscript fathers sitting, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, when they waited upon him with a number of decrees, conferring on him the highest dignities. Some say that, on his attempting to rise, he was held down by Cornelius Balbus; others, that he did not

attempt to rise at all, but frowned on Caius Trebatius, who suggested to him that he should stand up to receive the senate. This behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him, because, when one of the tribunes of the people, Pontius Aquila, would not rise up to him, as he passed by the tribunes' seat during his triumph, he was so much offended, that he cried out, "Well then, you tribune, Aquila, oust me from the government." And for some days afterwards, he never promised a favour to any person, without this proviso, "if Pontus Aquila will give me leave."

⁷⁹ Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum reuertente eo inter inmodicas ac nouas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuæ eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flauus coronæ fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in uincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem siue, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos grauiter increpitos potestate priuauit. neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere ualuit, quanquam et plebei regem se salutanti Caesarem se, non regem esse responderit et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in Capitolium Ioui Optimo Maximo miserit. quin etiam uaria fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream uel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa, proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimuirum sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.

LXXIX. To this extraordinary mark of contempt for the senate, he added another affront still more outrageous. For when, after the sacred rites of the Latin festival, he was returning home, amidst the immoderate and unusual acclamations (48) of the people, a man in the crowd put a laurel crown, encircled with a white fillet, on one of his statues; upon which, the tribunes of the people, Epidius Marullus, and Caesetius Flauus, ordered the fillet to be removed from the crown, and the man to be taken to prison. Caesar, being much concerned either that the idea of royalty had been suggested to so little purpose, or, as was said, that he was thus deprived of the merit of refusing it, reprimanded the tribunes very severely, and dismissed them from their office. From that day forward, he was never able to wipe off the scandal of affecting the name of king, although he replied to the populace, when they saluted him by that title, "I am Caesar, and no king." And at the feast of the Lupercalia, when the consul Antony placed a crown upon his head in the rostra several times, he as often put it away,

and sent it to the Capitol for Jupiter, the Best and the Greatest. A report was very current, that he had a design of withdrawing to Alexandria or Ilium, whither he proposed to transfer the imperial power, to drain Italy by new levies, and to leave the government of the city to be administered by his friends. To this report it was added, that in the next meeting of the senate, Lucius Cotta, one of the fifteen, would make a motion, that as there was in the Sibylline books a prophecy, that the Parthians would never be subdued but by a king, Caesar should have that title conferred upon him.

⁸⁰ Quae causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Consilia igitur dispersim antea habita et quae saepe bini terniue ceperant, in unum omnes contulerunt, ne populo quidem iam praesenti statu laeto, sed clam palamque detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante. peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est: ‘Bonum factum: ne quis senatori nouo curiam monstrare uelit!’ et illa uulgo canebantur:

Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam:

Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.

Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animaduerti ex more iussisset, ab uniuersis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: ‘utinam uiueres!’ item ipsius Caesaris:

Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est:

hic, quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est.

conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassio Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspiracy. qui primum cunctati utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia uocantem partibus diuisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent, an in Sacra uia uel in aditu theatri adorirentur, postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in Pompei curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

LXXX. For this reason the conspirators precipitated the execution of their design, that they might not be obliged to give their assent to the proposal. Instead, therefore, of caballing any longer separately, in small parties, they now united their counsels; the people themselves being dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, both privately and publicly (49) condemning the tyranny under which they lived, and calling on patriots to assert their cause against the usurper. Upon the admission of foreigners into the senate, a hand-bill was posted up in these words: “A good deed! let no one show a new senator the way to the

house.” These verses were likewise currently repeated:

*Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit: iidem in curiam
Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.*

(The Gauls he dragged in triumph through the town,
Caesar has brought into the senate- house,
And changed their plaids for the patrician gown.)

When Quintus Maximus, who had been his deputy in the consulship for the last three months, entered the theatre, and the lictor, according to custom, bid the people take notice who was coming, they all cried out, “He is no consul.” After the removal of Caesetius and Marullus from their office, they were found to have a great many votes at the next election of consuls. Some one wrote under the statue of Lucius Brutus, “Would you were now alive!” and under the statue of Caesar himself these lines:

*Brutus, quia reges ejecit, consul primus factus est:
Hic, quia consules ejecit, rex postremo factus est.*

(Because he drove from Rome the royal race,
Brutus was first made consul in their place.
This man, because he put the consuls down,
Has been rewarded with a royal crown.)

About sixty persons were engaged in the conspiracy against him, of whom Caius Cassius, and Marcus and Decimus Brutus were the chief. It was at first debated amongst them, whether they should attack him in the Campus Martius when he was taking the votes of the tribes, and some of them should throw him off the bridge, whilst others should be ready to stab him upon his fall; or else in the Via Sacra, or at the entrance of the theatre. But after public notice had been given by proclamation for the senate to assemble upon the ides of March [15th March], in the senate-house built by Pompey, they approved both of the time and place, as most fitting for their purpose.

⁸¹ Sed Caesari futura caedes euidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas uillas uetustissima sepulcra dis[s]icerent idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum uasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiabant, tabula aenea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inuenta est conscripta litteris uerbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capiis detecta essent, fore ut illo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus uindicaretur. cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris. proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in traiciendo Rubiconi flumini consecrarat ac uagos et sine custode

dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere. et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit, caueret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur. pridie autem easdem Idus auem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem uolucres uarii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt. ea uero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi uisus est per quietem interdum supra nubes uolitare, alias cum Ioue dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt. Ob haec simul et ob infirmam ualitudinem diu cunctatus an se contineret et quae apud senatum proposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante, ne frequentis ac iam dudum opperientis destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est libellumque insidiarum indicem ab obuio quodam porrectum libellis ceteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat, quasi mox lecturus commiscuit. dein pluribus hostiis caesis, cum litare non posset, introiit curiam sprete religione Spurinnamque irridens et ut falsum arguens, quod sine ulla sua noxa Idus Martiae adessent: quanquam is uenisse quidem eas diceret, sed non praeterisse.

LXXXI. Caesar had warning given him of his fate by indubitable (50) omens. A few months before, when the colonists settled at Capua, by virtue of the Julian law, were demolishing some old sepulchres, in building country- houses, and were the more eager at the work, because they discovered certain vessels of antique workmanship, a tablet of brass was found in a tomb, in which Capys, the founder of Capua, was said to have been buried, with an inscription in the Greek language to this effect “Whenever the bones of Capys come to be discovered, a descendant of Iulus will be slain by the hands of his kinsmen, and his death revenged by fearful disasters throughout Italy.” Lest any person should regard this anecdote as a fabulous or silly invention, it was circulated upon the authority of Caius Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar’s. A few days likewise before his death, he was informed that the horses, which, upon his crossing the Rubicon, he had consecrated, and turned loose to graze without a keeper, abstained entirely from eating, and shed floods of tears. The soothsayer Spurinna, observing certain ominous appearances in a sacrifice which he was offering, advised him to beware of some danger, which threatened to befall him before the ides of March were past. The day before the ides, birds of various kinds from a neighbouring grove, pursuing a wren which flew into Pompey’s senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in its beak, tore it in pieces. Also, in the night on which the day of his murder dawned, he dreamt at one time that he was soaring above the clouds, and, at another, that he had joined hands with Jupiter. His wife Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the pediment of the house was falling down, and her husband

stabbed on her bosom; immediately upon which the chamber doors flew open. On account of these omens, as well as his infirm health, he was in some doubt whether he should not remain at home, and defer to some other opportunity the business which he intended to propose to the senate; but Decimus Brutus advising him not to disappoint the senators, who were numerously assembled, and waited his coming, he was prevailed upon to go, and accordingly (51) set forward about the fifth hour. In his way, some person having thrust into his hand a paper, warning him against the plot, he mixed it with some other documents which he held in his left hand, intending to read it at leisure. Victim after victim was slain, without any favourable appearances in the entrails; but still, disregarding all omens, he entered the senate-house, laughing at Spurinna as a false prophet, because the ides of March were come, without any mischief having befallen him. To which the soothsayer replied, "They are come, indeed, but not past."

⁸² Assidentem conspirati specie officii circumsteterunt, ilicoque Cimber Tillius, qui primas partes suscepit, quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit renuenteque et gestu[m] in aliud tempus differenti ab utroque umero togam adprehendit: deinde clamantem: 'ista quidem uis est!' alter e Cascis auersum uulnerat paulum infra iugulum. Caesar Cascae brachium arreptum graphio traiecit conatusque prosilire alio uulnere tardatus est; utque animaduertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obuoluit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte uelata. atque ita tribus et uiginti plagis confossus est uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine uoce edito, etsi tradiderunt quidam Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse: *kai su teknon*; exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres seruoli domum rettulerunt. nec in tot uulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat. Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci Antoni consulis et magistri equitum Lepidi destiterunt.

LXXXII. When he had taken his seat, the conspirators stood round him, under colour of paying their compliments; and immediately Tullius Cimber, who had engaged to commence the assault, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request, Caesar made signs that he should defer his petition to some other time. Tullius immediately seized him by the toga, on both shoulders; at which Caesar crying out, "Violence is meant!" one of the Cassii wounded him a little below the throat. Caesar seized him by the arm, and ran it through with

his style; and endeavouring to rush forward was stopped by another wound. Finding himself now attacked on all hands with naked poniards, he wrapped the toga about his head, and at the same moment drew the skirt round his legs with his left hand, that he might fall more decently with the lower part of his body covered. He was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, uttering a groan only, but no cry, at the first wound; although some authors relate, that when Marcus Brutus fell upon him, he exclaimed, "What! art thou, too, one of them? Thou, my son!" The whole assembly instantly (52) dispersing, he lay for some time after he expired, until three of his slaves laid the body on a litter, and carried it home, with one arm hanging down over the side. Among so many wounds, there was none that was mortal, in the opinion of the surgeon Antistius, except the second, which he received in the breast. The conspirators meant to drag his body into the Tiber as soon as they had killed him; to confiscate his estate, and rescind all his enactments; but they were deterred by fear of Mark Antony, and Lepidus, Caesar's master of the horse, and abandoned their intentions.

⁸³ Postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lauicano suo fecerat demandaueratque uirgini Vestali maximae. Quintus Tubero tradit heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium ciuilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque militibus pro contione recitatum. sed nouissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octauium ex dodrante, et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquo[s]; in ima cera Gaium Octauium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit; plerosque percussorum in tutoribus filii, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominauit, Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. populo hortos circa Tiberim publice et uiritim trecenos sestertios legauit.

LXXXIII. At the instance of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in Mark Antony's house. He had made it on the ides [13th] of the preceding September, at his Lavican villa, and committed it to the custody of the chief of the Vestal Virgins. Quintus Tubero informs us, that in all the wills he had signed, from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cneius Pompey was appointed his heir, and that this had been publicly notified to the army. But in his last will, he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters; namely, Caius Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius for the remaining fourth. Other heirs [in remainder] were named at the close of the will, in which he also adopted Caius Octavius, who was to assume his name, into his family; and nominated most of those who

were concerned in his death among the guardians of his son, if he should have any; as well as Decimus Brutus amongst his heirs of the second order. Be bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces each man.

⁸⁴ Funere indicto rogos exstructus est in Martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum ueste, in qua fuerat occisus. praeferentibus munera, quia suffecturus dies non uidebatur, praeceptum, ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque uellet itineribus urbis, portaret in Campum. inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et inuidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacui Armorum iudicio:

Men seruasse, ut essent qui me perderent?

et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam. laudationis loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiavit senatus consultum, quo omnia simul ei diuina atque humana decreuerat, item ius iurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius astrinxerant; quibus perpauca a se uerba addidit. lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. quem cum pars in Capitolini Iouis cella cremare pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt confestimque circumstantium turba uirgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congeffit. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices uestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae et ueteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas. In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.

LXXXIV. Notice of his funeral having been solemnly proclaimed, a pile was erected in the Campus Martius, near the tomb of his daughter Julia; and before the Rostra was placed a gilded tabernacle, on the model of the temple of Venus Genetrix; within which was an ivory bed, covered with purple and cloth of gold. At the head was a trophy, with the [bloodstained] robe in which he was slain. It being considered that the whole day would not suffice for carrying the funeral oblations in solemn procession before the corpse, directions were given for every one, without regard to order, to carry them from the city into the Campus Martius, by what way they pleased. To raise pity and indignation for his murder,

in the plays acted at the funeral, a passage was sung from Pacuvius's tragedy, entitled, "The Trial for Arms:"

That ever I, unhappy man, should save

Wretches, who thus have brought me to the grave!

And some lines also from Attilius's tragedy of "Electra," to the same effect. Instead of a funeral panegyric, the consul Antony ordered a herald to proclaim to the people the decree of the senate, in which they had bestowed upon him all honours, divine and human; with the oath by which they had engaged themselves for the defence of his person; and to these he added only a few words of his own. The magistrates and others who had formerly filled the highest offices, carried the bier from the Rostra into the Forum. While some proposed that the body should be burnt in the sanctuary of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and others in Pompey's senate-house; on a sudden, two men, with swords by their sides, and spears in their hands, set fire to the bier with lighted torches. The throng around immediately heaped upon it dry faggots, the tribunals and benches of the adjoining courts, and whatever else came to hand. Then the musicians and players stripped off the dresses they wore on the present occasion, taken from the wardrobe of his triumph at spectacles, rent them, and threw them into the flames. The legionaries, also, of his (54) veteran bands, cast in their armour, which they had put on in honour of his funeral. Most of the ladies did the same by their ornaments, with the bullae, and mantles of their children. In this public mourning there joined a multitude of foreigners, expressing their sorrow according to the fashion of their respective countries; but especially the Jews, who for several nights together frequented the spot where the body was burnt.

⁸⁵ Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassi[i] cum facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa obuium sibi Heluium Cinnam per errorem nominis, quasi Cornelius is esset, quem grauiter pridie contionatum de Caesare requirebat, occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit. postea solidam columnam prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit [in]scripsitque parenti patriae. apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, uota suscipere, controuersias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseuerauit.

LXXXV. The populace ran from the funeral, with torches in their hands, to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and were repelled with difficulty. Going in quest of Cornelius Cinna, who had in a speech, the day before, reflected severely upon Caesar, and mistaking for him Helvius Cinna, who happened to fall into their hands, they murdered the latter, and carried his head about the city on the point

of a spear. They afterwards erected in the Forum a column of Numidian marble, formed of one stone nearly twenty feet high, and inscribed upon it these words, TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. At this column they continued for a long time to offer sacrifices, make vows, and decide controversies, in which they swore by Caesar.

⁸⁶ Suspicionem Caesar quibusdam suorum reliquit neque uoluisse se diutius uiuere neque curasse quod ualitudine minus prospera uteretur, ideoque et quae religiones monerent et quae renuntiarent amici neglexisse. sunt qui putent, confisum eum nouissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis + adinspectantium + se remouisse. alii e diuerso opinantur insidias undique imminentis subire semel quam cauere [.....] solitum ferunt: non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse, uti saluus esset: se iam pridem potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum; rem publicam, si quid sibi eueniret, neque quietam fore et aliquanto deteriore condicione ciuilia bella subituram.

LXXXVI. Some of Caesar's friends entertained a suspicion, that he neither desired nor cared to live any longer, on account of his declining health; and for that reason slighted all the omens of religion, and the warnings of his friends. Others are of opinion, that thinking himself secure in the late decree of the senate, and their oaths, he dismissed his Spanish guards who attended him with drawn swords. Others again suppose, that he chose rather to face at once the dangers which threatened him on all sides, than to be for ever on the watch against them. Some tell us that he used to say, the commonwealth was more interested in the safety of his person than himself: for that he had for some time been satiated with power and glory; but that the commonwealth, if any thing should befall him, would have no rest, and, involved in another civil war, would be in a worse state than before.

⁸⁷ Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit, talem ei mortem paene ex sententia obtigisse. nam et quondam, cum apud Xenophontem legisset Cyrum ultima ualitudine mandasse quaedam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optauerat; et pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super cenam apud Marcum Lepidum, quisnam esset finis uitae commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque praetulerat.

(55) LXXXVII. This, however, was generally admitted, that his death was in many respects such as he would have chosen. For, upon reading the account delivered by Xenophon, how Cyrus in his last illness gave instructions

respecting his funeral, Caesar deprecated a lingering death, and wished that his own might be sudden and speedy. And the day before he died, the conversation at supper, in the house of Marcus Lepidus, turning upon what was the most eligible way of dying, he gave his opinion in favour of a death that is sudden and unexpected.

⁸⁸ Periit sexto et quinquagensimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione uolgi. siquidem ludis, quos primo[s] consecrato[s] ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in uertice additur stella. Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit Idusque Martias Parricidium nominari, ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

LXXXVIII. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked amongst the Gods, not only by a formal decree, but in the belief of the vulgar. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and it was supposed to be the soul of Caesar, now received into heaven: for which reason, likewise, he is represented on his statue with a star on his brow. The senate-house in which he was slain, was ordered to be shut up, and a decree made that the ides of March should be called parricidal, and the senate should never more assemble on that day.

⁸⁹ Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius superuixit neque sua morte defunctus est. damnati omnes alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio, pars proelio; nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Caesarem uiolauerant, interemerunt.

LXXXIX. Scarcely any of those who were accessory to his murder, survived him more than three years, or died a natural death. They were all condemned by the senate: some were taken off by one accident, some by another. Part of them perished at sea, others fell in battle; and some slew themselves with the same poniard with which they had stabbed Caesar.

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS

¹ Gentem Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata, qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit, atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum extabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur.

(71) I. That the family of the Octavii was of the first distinction in Velitrae, is rendered evident by many circumstances. For in the most frequented part of the town, there was, not long since, a street named the Octavian; and an altar was to be seen, consecrated to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbouring people, the enemy making a sudden attack, while he was sacrificing to Mars, he immediately snatched the entrails of the victim from off the fire, and offered them half raw upon the altar; after which, marching out to battle, he returned victorious. This incident gave rise to a law, by which it was enacted, that in all future times the entrails should be offered to Mars in the same manner; and the rest of the victim be carried to the Octavii

² Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepti C. Rufus. Is quaestorius CN. et C. procreavit, a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit conditione diversa. Siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Gaius eiusque posterī, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo imperatore. Avus municipalibus magisteriis contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit. Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus repperi.

II. This family, as well as several in Rome, was admitted into the senate by Tarquinius Priscus, and soon afterwards placed by Servius Tullius among the

patricians; but in process of time it transferred itself to the plebeian order, and, after the lapse of a long interval, was restored by Julius Caesar to the rank of patricians. The first person of the family raised by the suffrages of the people to the magistracy, was Caius Rufus. He obtained the quaestorship, and had two sons, Cneius and Caius; from whom are descended the two branches of the Octavian family, which have had very different fortunes. For Cneius, and his descendants in uninterrupted succession, held all the highest offices of the state; whilst Caius and his posterity, whether from their circumstances or their choice, remained in the equestrian order until the father of Augustus. The great-grandfather of Augustus served as a military tribune in the second Punic war in Sicily, under the command of Aemilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the public offices of his own municipality, and grew old in the tranquil enjoyment of an ample patrimony. Such is the account given (72) by different authors. Augustus himself, however, tells us nothing more than that he was descended of an equestrian family, both ancient and rich, of which his father was the first who obtained the rank of senator. Mark Antony upbraidingly tells him that his great-grandfather was a freedman of the territory of Thurium, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a usurer. This is all the information I have anywhere met with, respecting the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side.

³ C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a nonnullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores operasque compestris proditum; amplis enim innutritus opibus, honores et adeptus est facile et egregie administravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum tenentis, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciae praefuit non minore iustitia quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fuis, ita socios tractavit, ut epistolae M. Ciceronis exstent quibus Quintum fratrem eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium.

III. His father Caius Octavius was, from his earliest years, a person both of opulence and distinction: for which reason I am surprised at those who say that he was a money-dealer, and was employed in scattering bribes, and canvassing for the candidates at elections, in the Campus Martius. For being bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he attained with ease to honourable posts, and discharged the duties of them with much distinction. After his praetorship, he obtained by lot the province of Macedonia; in his way to which he cut off some

banditti, the relics of the armies of Spartacus and Catiline, who had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurium; having received from the senate an extraordinary commission for that purpose. In his government of the province, he conducted himself with equal justice and resolution; for he defeated the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated the allies of the republic in such a manner, that there are extant letters from M. Tullius Cicero, in which he advises and exhorts his brother Quintus, who then held the proconsulship of Asia with no great reputation, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome.

⁴ Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem obiit repentinam, superstitibus liberis Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia minore item Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore praeturae inter vigintiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulair nepotem sic taxat Augustum: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.*

IV. After quitting Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the consulship, he died suddenly, leaving behind him a daughter, the elder Octavia, by Ancharia; and another daughter, Octavia the younger, as well as Augustus, by Atia, who was the daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus, and Julia, sister to Caius Julius Caesar. Balbus was, by the father's (73) side, of a family who were natives of Aricia, and many of whom had been in the senate. By the mother's side he was nearly related to Pompey the Great; and after he had borne the office of praetor, was one of the twenty commissioners appointed by the Julian law to divide the land in Campania among the people. But Mark Antony, treating with contempt Augustus's descent even by the mother's side, says that his great grand-father was of African descent, and at one time kept a perfumer's shop, and at another, a bake-house, in Aricia. And Cassius of Parma, in a letter, taxes Augustus with being the son not only of a baker, but a usurer. These are his words: "Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer of Nerulum taking from the newest bake-house of Aricia, kneaded into some shape,

with his hands all discoloured by the fingering of money.”

⁵ Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. XIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita bubulo, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli, quod primum Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur.

V. Augustus was born in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius, upon the ninth of the calends of October [the 23rd September], a little before sunrise, in the quarter of the Palatine Hill, and the street called The Ox-Heads, where now stands a chapel dedicated to him, and built a little after his death. For, as it is recorded in the proceedings of the senate, when Caius Laetorius, a young man of a patrician family, in pleading before the senators for a lighter sentence, upon his being convicted of adultery, alleged, besides his youth and quality, that he was the possessor, and as it were the guardian, of the ground which the Divine Augustus first touched upon his coming into the world; and entreated that (74) he might find favour, for the sake of that deity, who was in a peculiar manner his; an act of the senate was passed, for the consecration of that part of his house in which Augustus was born

⁶ Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste religio est, concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirmata. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

VI. His nursery is shown to this day, in a villa belonging to the family, in the suburbs of Velitrae; being a very small place, and much like a pantry. An opinion prevails in the neighbourhood, that he was also born there. Into this place no person presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a belief, for a long time prevalent, that such as rashly enter it are seized with great horror and consternation, which a short while since was confirmed by a remarkable incident. For when a new inhabitant of the house had, either by mere

chance, or to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that apartment, in the course of the night, a few hours afterwards, he was thrown out by some sudden violence, he knew not how, and was found in a state of stupefaction, with the coverlid of his bed, before the door of the chamber.

7 Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserate. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobrio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel abu avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens:

Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est.

VII. While he was yet an infant, the surname of Thurinus was given him, in memory of the birth-place of his family, or because, soon after he was born, his father Octavius had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near Thurium. That he was surnamed Thurinus, I can affirm upon good foundation, for when a boy, I had a small bronze statue of him, with that name upon it in iron letters, nearly effaced by age, which I presented to the emperor, by whom it is now revered amongst the other tutelary deities in his chamber. He is also often called Thurinus contemptuously, by Mark Antony in his letters; to which he makes only this reply: "I am surprised that my former name should be made a subject of reproach." He afterwards assumed the name of Caius Caesar, and then of Augustus; the former in compliance with the will of his great-uncle, and the latter upon a motion of Munatius Plancus in the senate. For when some proposed to confer upon him the name of Romulus, as being, in a manner, a second founder of the city, it was resolved that he should rather be called Augustus, a surname not only new, but of more dignity, because places devoted to religion, and those in which anything (75) is consecrated by augury, are denominated august, either from the word auctus, signifying augmentation, or ab avium gestu, gustuve, from the flight and feeding of birds; as appears from this

verse of Ennius:

When glorious Rome by august augury was built.

⁸ Quadrimus patrem amisit. Duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumpta, militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quanquam expers belli propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias adversus CN. Pompei liberos, vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus naufragio etiam facto subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam. Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps in maturumque omisit, ceterum urbe repetita hereditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem publicam tenuit.

VIII. He lost his father when he was only four years of age; and, in his twelfth year, pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grand-mother Julia. Four years afterwards, having assumed the robe of manhood, he was honoured with several military rewards by Caesar in his African triumph, although he took no part in the war, on account of his youth. Upon his uncle's expedition to Spain against the sons of Pompey, he was followed by his nephew, although he was scarcely recovered from a dangerous sickness; and after being shipwrecked at sea, and travelling with very few attendants through roads that were infested with the enemy, he at last came up with him. This activity gave great satisfaction to his uncle, who soon conceived an increasing affection for him, on account of such indications of character. After the subjugation of Spain, while Caesar was meditating an expedition against the Dacians and Parthians, he was sent before him to Apollonia, where he applied himself to his studies; until receiving intelligence that his uncle was murdered, and that he was appointed his heir, he hesitated for some time whether he should call to his aid the legions stationed in the neighbourhood; but he abandoned the design as rash and premature. However, returning to Rome, he took possession of his inheritance, although his mother was apprehensive that such a measure might be attended with danger, and his step-father, Marcus Philippus, a man of consular rank, very earnestly dissuaded him from it. From this time, collecting together a strong military

force, he first held the government in conjunction with Mark Antony and Marcus Lepidus, then with Antony only, for nearly twelve years, and at last in his own hands during a period of four and for

⁹ *Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint. Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum; e quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium, secundum adversus Brutum et Cassium, tertium adversus L. Antonium triumviri fratrem, quartum adversus Sextum Pomeium CN. F.*

IX. Having thus given a very short summary of his life, I shall prosecute the several parts of it, not in order of time, but arranging his acts into distinct classes, for the sake of (76) perspicuity. He was engaged in five civil wars, namely those of Modena, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium; the first and last of which were against Antony, and the second against Brutus and Cassius; the third against Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's brother, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, the son of Cneius Pompeius.

¹⁰ *Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et (quia provisum periculum subterfugerat) legibus adgredi reosque caedia absenis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequeretur, in locum TR. PL. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit, quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel praecipuum adiutorem speraverat, ac ne publicum quidem et tralaticium ius ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimae mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit, quibus eum invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum confirmata expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensa periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac rei publicae auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; iussusque comparato exercitui pro praetore praeesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confecit duobus proeliis. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse, sequenti satis constat non modo ducis, sed etiam militis functum munere atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, aquilam umeris subisse diuque portasse*

X. The motive which gave rise to all these wars was the opinion he entertained that both his honour and interest were concerned in revenging the murder of his uncle, and maintaining the state of affairs he had established. Immediately after his return from Apollonia, he formed the design of taking forcible and unexpected measures against Brutus and Cassius; but they having foreseen the danger and made their escape, he resolved to proceed against them by an appeal to the laws in their absence, and impeach them for the murder. In the mean time, those whose province it was to prepare the sports in honour of Caesar's last victory in the civil war, not daring to do it, he undertook it himself. And that he might carry into effect his other designs with greater authority, he declared himself a candidate in the room of a tribune of the people who happened to die at that time, although he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate. But the consul, Mark Antony, from whom he had expected the greatest assistance, opposing him in his suit, and even refusing to do him so much as common justice, unless gratified with a large bribe, he went over to the party of the nobles, to whom he perceived Sylla to be odious, chiefly for endeavouring to drive Decius Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, which had been given him by Caesar, and confirmed to him by the senate. At the instigation of persons about him, he engaged some ruffians to murder his antagonist; but the plot being discovered, and dreading a similar attempt upon himself, he gained over Caesar's veteran soldiers, by distributing among them all the money he could collect. Being now commissioned by the senate to command the troops he had gathered, with the rank of praetor, and in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, who had accepted the consulship, to carry assistance to Decius Brutus, he put an end to the war by two battles in three months. Antony writes, that in the former of these he ran away, and two days afterwards made his appearance (77) without his general's cloak and his horse. In the last battle, however, it is certain that he performed the part not only of a general, but a soldier; for, in the heat of the battle; when the standard-bearer of his legion was severely wounded, he took the eagle upon his shoulders, and carried it a long time.

¹¹ Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perissent, rumor increbruit ambos opera eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re publica consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Adicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum e consulibus Hirtium in pugnae tumultu ab ipso

interemptum.

XI. In this war, Hirtius being slain in battle, and Pansa dying a short time afterwards of a wound, a report was circulated that they both were killed through his means, in order that, when Antony fled, the republic having lost its consuls, he might have the victorious armies entirely at his own command. The death of Pansa was so fully believed to have been caused by undue means, that Glyco, his surgeon, was placed in custody, on a suspicion of having poisoned his wound. And to this, Aquilius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius, the other consul, in the confusion of the battle, with his own hands.

¹² Sed ut cognovit Antonium post fugam a M. Lepido receptum ceterosque duces et exercitus consentire pro patribus, causam optimatum sine cunctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus, quasi alii se puerum, alii ornandum tolendumque iactassent, ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorres oppido egit, quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumulto publice extructo ascripserant, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

XII. But upon intelligence that Antony, after his defeat, had been received by Marcus Lepidus, and that the rest of the generals and armies had all declared for the senate, he, without any hesitation, deserted from the party of the nobles; alleging as an excuse for his conduct, the actions and sayings of several amongst them; for some said, “he was a mere boy,” and others threw out, “that he ought to be promoted to honours, and cut off,” to avoid the making any suitable acknowledgment either to him or the veteran legions. And the more to testify his regret for having before attached himself to the other faction, he fined the Nursini in a large sum of money, which they were unable to pay, and then expelled them from the town, for having inscribed upon a monument, erected at the public charge to their countrymen who were slain in the battle of Modena, “That they fell in the cause of liberty.”

¹³ Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate, Philippense quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, duplici proelio transegit, quorum priore castris exutus vix ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuae Caesaris subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit; ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, *iam istam*

volucrum fore potestatem; alios, patrem et filium, pro vita rogantis sortiri vel micare iussisse, ut alterutri concederetur, ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque voluntariam occubisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M. Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedissimo convitio coram prosciderunt. Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris conlocandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

XIII. Having entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, he brought the war at Philippi to an end in two battles, although he was at that time weak, and suffering from sickness . In the first battle he was driven from his camp, (78) and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded by Antony. And now, intoxicated with success, he sent the head of Brutus to be cast at the foot of Caesar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners not only with cruelty, but with abusive language; insomuch that he is said to have answered one of them who humbly intreated that at least he might not remain unburied, "That will be in the power of the birds." Two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or settle it between themselves by the sword; and was a spectator of both their deaths: for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly executed, the son likewise killed himself upon the spot. On this account, the rest of the prisoners, and amongst them Marcus Favonius, Cato's rival, being led up in fetters, after they had saluted Antony, the general, with much respect, reviled Octavius in the foulest language. After this victory, dividing between them the offices of the state, Mark Antony undertook to restore order in the east, while Caesar conducted the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settled them in colonies on the lands belonging to the municipalities. But he had the misfortune to please neither the soldiers nor the owners of the lands; one party complaining of the injustice done them, in being violently ejected from their possessions, and the other, that they were not rewarded according to their merit.

¹⁴ Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus, quem gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas molientem confugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditionem fame compulit, non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus dilato quasi eundem mox et discruciatum necasset, minimum afuit, quin periret

concursu et indignatione turbae militaris. Saluti fuit, quod qui desiderabatur repente comparuit incolumnis ac sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido eruperat.

XIV. At this time he obliged Lucius Antony, who, presuming upon his own authority as consul, and his brother's power, was raising new commotions, to fly to Perugia, and forced him, by famine, to surrender at last, although not without having been exposed to great hazards, both before the war and during its continuance. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the equestrian order in the theatre, at the public spectacles, Caesar ordered him to be removed by an officer; and a rumour being thence spread by his enemies, that he had (79) put the man to death by torture, the soldiers flocked together so much enraged, that he narrowly escaped with his life. The only thing that saved him, was the sudden appearance of the man, safe and sound, no violence having been offered him. And whilst he was sacrificing under the walls of Perugia, he nearly fell into the hands of a body of gladiators, who sallied out of the town.

¹⁵ Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *moriendum esse*. Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dediticiis electos, utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Extiterunt qui traderent, conpecto eum ad arma isse, ut occulti adversarii et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita, detegerentur divictisque is et confiscatis, promissa veteranis praemia perolverentur.

XV. After the taking of Perugia, he sentenced a great number of the prisoners to death, making only one reply to all who implored pardon, or endeavoured to excuse themselves, "You must die." Some authors write, that three hundred of the two orders, selected from the rest, were slaughtered, like victims, before an altar raised to Julius Caesar, upon the ides of March [15th April] . Nay, there are some who relate, that he entered upon the war with no other view, than that his secret enemies, and those whom fear more than affection kept quiet, might be detected, by declaring themselves, now they had an opportunity, with Lucius Antony at their head; and that having defeated them, and confiscated their estates, he might be enabled to fulfil his promises to the veteran soldiers.

¹⁶ Siculum bellum incohavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum saepius, modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos

commeatus famemque ingravescentem; donec navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baias, inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno divinctus, ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. Unde praebitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, *ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves*. Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit, *etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum*, ac die circensium proximo sollemni pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Traiecto in Siciliam exercitus, cum partem reliquam copiarum continenti repeteret, oppressus ex improvviso a Demochare et Appollophane praefectis Pompei, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum cum praeter Locros Regium pedibus iret et prospectis biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli comitis eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est. Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terrore et minis vindicantem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

XVI. He soon commenced the Sicilian war, but it was protracted by various delays during a long period; at one time for the purpose of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, even in the summer; at another, while patching up a peace, to which he was forced by the clamours of the people, in consequence of a famine occasioned by Pompey's cutting off the supply of corn by sea. But at last, having built a new fleet, and obtained twenty thousand manumitted slaves, who were given him for the oar, he formed the Julian harbour at Baiae, by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernian lakes; and having exercised his forces there during the whole winter, he defeated Pompey betwixt Mylae and Naulochus; although (80) just as the engagement commenced, he suddenly fell into such a profound sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal. This, I suppose, gave occasion for Antony's reproach: "You were not able to take a clear view of the fleet, when drawn up in line of battle, but lay stupidly upon your back, gazing at the sky; nor did you get up and let your men see you, until Marcus Agrippa had forced the enemies' ships to sheer off." Others

imputed to him both a saying and an action which were indefensible; for, upon the loss of his fleets by storm, he is reported to have said: "I will conquer in spite of Neptune;" and at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession as usual. Indeed he scarcely ever ran more or greater risks in any of his wars than in this. Having transported part of his army to Sicily, and being on his return for the rest, he was unexpectedly attacked by Demochares and Apollophanes, Pompey's admirals, from whom he escaped with great difficulty, and with one ship only. Likewise, as he was travelling on foot through the Locrian territory to Rhegium, seeing two of Pompey's vessels passing by that coast, and supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and was very nearly taken prisoner. On this occasion, as he was making his escape by some bye-ways, a slave belonging to Aemilius Paulus, who accompanied him, owing him a grudge for the proscription of Paulus, the father of Aemilius, and thinking he had now an opportunity of revenging it, attempted to assassinate him. After the defeat of Pompey, one of his colleagues, Marcus Lepidus, whom he had summoned to his aid from Africa, affecting great superiority, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself the principal management of affairs in a threatening manner, he divested him of his command, but, upon his humble submission, granted him his life, but banished him for life to Circeii.

¹⁷ M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abruptit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum, quod is Romae, etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis, reliquerat, aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes, atque inter alios C. Sositum et Cn. Domitium tunc adhuc consules. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium vicit, in serum dimicatione protacta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur, fuis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit obsessaque Alexandria, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem, seras conditiones pacis

temptantem, ad mortem adegit viditque mortuum. Cleopatrae, quam servatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam psylos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exurgerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis incohatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit. Reliquos Antonii reginaeque communes liberos non secus ac necessitudine iunctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro conditione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit.

XVII. The alliance between him and Antony, which had always been precarious, often interrupted, and ill cemented by repeated reconciliations, he at last entirely dissolved. And to make it known to the world how far Antony had degenerated from patriotic feelings, he caused a will of his, which had been left at Rome, and in which he had nominated Cleopatra's children, amongst others, as his heirs, to be opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent to him all his relations and friends, among whom were Caius Sosius and Titus Domitius, at that time consuls. He likewise spoke favourably in public of the people of Bologna, for joining in the association with the rest of Italy to support his cause, because they had, in former times, been under the protection of the family of the Antonii. And not long afterwards he defeated him in a naval engagement near Actium, which was prolonged to so late an hour, that, after the victory, he was obliged to sleep on board his ship. From Actium he went to the isle of Samoa to winter; but being alarmed with the accounts of a mutiny amongst the soldiers he had selected from the main body of his army sent to Brundisium after the victory, who insisted on their being rewarded for their service and discharged, he returned to Italy. In his passage thither, he encountered two violent storms, the first between the promontories of Peloponnesus and Aetolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains; in both which a part of his Liburnian squadron was sunk, the spars and rigging of his own ship carried away, and the rudder broken in pieces. He remained only twenty-seven days at Brundisium, until the demands of the soldiers were settled, and then went, by way of Asia and Syria, to Egypt, where laying siege to Alexandria, whither Antony had fled with Cleopatra, he made himself master of it in a short time. He drove Antony to kill himself, after he had used every effort to obtain conditions of peace, and he saw his corpse. Cleopatra he anxiously wished to save for his triumph; and when she was supposed to have been bit to death by an asp, he sent for the Psylli to (82) endeavour to suck out

the poison. He allowed them to be buried together in the same grave, and ordered a mausoleum, begun by themselves, to be completed. The eldest of Antony's two sons by Fulvia he commanded to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Caesar, to which he had fled, after many fruitless supplications for his life, and put him to death. The same fate attended Caesario, Cleopatra's son by Caesar, as he pretended, who had fled for his life, but was retaken. The children which Antony had by Cleopatra he saved, and brought up and cherished in a manner suitable to their rank, just as if they had been his own relations.

¹⁸ Per idem tempus conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandria, cum prolatum et penetrati subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est, consultusque, num et Ptolemaeum inspicere vellet, *regem se voluisse ait videre, non mortuos*. Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbanae redderet, fossas omnis, in quas Nilus exaestuat, oblimatas longa vetustate militari opere deterisit. Quoque Actiacae victoria memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

XVIII. At this time he had a desire to see the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great, which, for that purpose, were taken out of the cell in which they rested; and after viewing them for some time, he paid honours to the memory of that prince, by offering a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked if he wished to see the tombs of the Ptolemies also; he replied, "I wish to see a king, not dead men." He reduced Egypt into the form of a province and to render it more fertile, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the canals, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges itself; but which during a long series of years had become nearly choked up with mud. To perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, he built the city of Nicopolis on that part of the coast, and established games to be celebrated there every five years; enlarging likewise an old temple of Apollo, he ornamented with naval trophies the spot on which he had pitched his camp, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

¹⁹ Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniurationesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio detectas, compressit alias alio tempore: Lepidi iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenarum et Fanni Caepionis, mox M. Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri sui, ac praeter has L. Audasi, falsarum

tabularum rei ac neque aetate neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthian ibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris servi nomenculatoris. Nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Iuliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex insulis, quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus, Telephus quasi debita sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et senatum adgredi destinarant. Quin etiam quandam iuxta cubiculum eius lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, ianitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est cultro venatorio cinctus, imposne mentis an simulata dementia, incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

(83) XIX. He afterwards quashed several tumults and insurrections, as well as several conspiracies against his life, which were discovered, by the confession of accomplices, before they were ripe for execution; and others subsequently. Such were those of the younger Lepidus, of Varro Muraena, and Fannius Caepio; then that of Marcus Egnatius, afterwards that of Plautius Rufus, and of Lucius Paulus, his grand-daughter's husband; and besides these, another of Lucius Audasius, an old feeble man, who was under prosecution for forgery; as also of Asinius Epicadus, a Parthinian mongrel, and at last that of Telephus, a lady's prompter; for he was in danger of his life from the plots and conspiracies of some of the lowest of the people against him. Audasius and Epicadus had formed the design of carrying off to the armies his daughter Julia, and his grandson Agrippa, from the islands in which they were confined. Telephus, wildly dreaming that the government was destined to him by the fates, proposed to fall both upon Octavius and the senate. Nay, once, a soldier's servant belonging to the army in Illyricum, having passed the porters unobserved, was found in the night-time standing before his chamber-door, armed with a hunting-dagger. Whether the person was really disordered in the head, or only counterfeited madness, is uncertain; for no confession was obtained from him by torture

²⁰ Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit, Delmaticum adulescens adhuc, et Antonio devicto Cantabricum. Delmatico etiam vulnera excepit, una acie dextrum genu lapide ictus, altera et crus et utrumque brachium ruina pontis consauciatus. Reliqua per legatos administravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanium vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.

XX. He conducted in person only two foreign wars; the Dalmatian, whilst he was yet but a youth; and, after Antony's final defeat, the Cantabrian. He was wounded in the former of these wars; in one battle he received a contusion in the

right knee from a stone — and in another, he was much hurt in (84) one leg and both arms, by the fall of a fridge . His other wars he carried on by his lieutenants; but occasionally visited the army, in some of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or remained at no great distance, proceeding from Rome as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia.

²¹ Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum magna copia caesis, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pignora sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quotiens vellent, obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam ultus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret, ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama Indos etiam ac Scythas, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populique Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper optulerunt, denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

XXI. He conquered, however, partly in person, and partly by his lieutenants, Cantabria, Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatia, with all Illyricum and Rhaetia, besides the two Alpine nations, the Vindelici and the Salassii . He also checked the incursions of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals with vast armies, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elbe; removing two other tribes who submitted, the Ubii and Sicambri, into Gaul, and settling them in the country bordering on the Rhine. Other nations also, which broke into revolt, he reduced to submission. But he never made war upon any nation without just and necessary cause; and was so far from being ambitious either to extend the empire, or advance his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of some barbarous tribes to swear in the temple of Mars the Avenger, that they would faithfully observe their engagements, and not violate the peace which they had

implored. Of some he demanded a new description of hostages, their women, having found from experience that they cared little for their men when given as hostages; but he always afforded them the means of getting back their hostages whenever they wished it. Even those who engaged most frequently and with the greatest perfidy in their rebellion, he never punished more severely than by selling their captives, on the terms (85) of their not serving in any neighbouring country, nor being released from their slavery before the expiration of thirty years. By the character which he thus acquired, for virtue and moderation, he induced even the Indians and Scythians, nations before known to the Romans by report only, to solicit his friendship, and that of the Roman people, by ambassadors. The Parthians readily allowed his claim to Armenia; restoring at his demand, the standards which they had taken from Marcus Crassus and Mark Antony, and offering him hostages besides. Afterwards, when a contest arose between several pretenders to the crown of that kingdom, they refused to acknowledge any one who was not chosen by him.

²² Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviori temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.

XXII. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been shut twice only, from the era of the building of the city to his own time, he closed thrice in a much shorter period, having established universal peace both by sea and land. He twice entered the city with the honours of an Ovation, namely, after the war of Philippi, and again after that of Sicily. He had also three curule triumphs for his several victories in (86) Dalmatia, at Actium, and Alexandria; each of which lasted three days.

²³ Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in Germania accept, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paena exitiabilem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibu caesis. Hac nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut a peritis et assuetis socii containerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliorem statum vertisset: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribu illideret, vociferans: *Quintili Vare, legiones*

redde! diemque cladis quot annis maestum habuerit a lugubrem.

XXIII. In all his wars, he never received any signal or ignominious defeat, except twice in Germany, under his lieutenants Lollius and Varus. The former indeed had in it more of dishonour than disaster; but that of Varus threatened the security of the empire itself; three legions, with the commander, his lieutenants, and all the auxiliaries, being cut off. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, he gave orders for keeping a strict watch over the city, to prevent any public disturbance, and prolonged the appointments of the prefects in the provinces, that the allies might be kept in order by experience of persons to whom they were used. He made a vow to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, “if he would be pleased to restore the state to more prosperous circumstances.” This had formerly been resorted to in the Cimbrian and Marsian wars. In short, we are informed that he was in such consternation at this event, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knocked his head against the door-posts, crying out, “O, Quintilius Varus! Give me back my legions!” And (87) ever after, he observed the anniversary of this calamity, as a day of sorrow and mourning.

²⁴ In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit. Disciplinam severissime rexit: ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Equitem Romanum, quod duobus filiis adolescentibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae; quem tamen, quod imminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam dimisit, item alias immodeste missionem postulantes citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit. Cohortes, si quae cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit, pro cetero delictorum genere variis ignominis adfecit, ut stare per totum diem iuberet ante praetorium, interdum trunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam cum decempedis, vel etiam cespitem portantes.

XXIV. In military affairs he made many alterations, introducing some practices entirely new, and reviving others, which had become obsolete. He maintained the strictest discipline among the troops; and would not allow even his lieutenants the liberty to visit their wives, except reluctantly, and in the winter season only. A Roman knight having cut off the thumbs of his two young

sons, to render them incapable of serving in the wars, he exposed both him and his estate to public sale. But upon observing the farmers of the revenue very greedy for the purchase, he assigned him to a freedman of his own, that he might send him into the country, and suffer him to retain his freedom. The tenth legion becoming mutinous, he disbanded it with ignominy; and did the same by some others which petulantly demanded their discharge; withholding from them the rewards usually bestowed on those who had served their stated time in the wars. The cohorts which yielded their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley. Centurions, as well as common sentinels, who deserted their posts when on guard, he punished with death. For other misdemeanors he inflicted upon them various kinds of disgrace; such as obliging them to stand all day before the praetorium, sometimes in their tunics only, and without their belts, sometimes to carry poles ten feet long, or sods of turf.

²⁵ Neque post bella civilia aut in continione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat, sed milites, ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis aliter appellari passus est, ambitiosius id existimans, quam aut ratio militaris aut temporum quies aut sua domusque suae maiestas postularet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos. Dona militaria, aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat; has quam parcissime et sine ambitione ac saepe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales, quamquam et socios expeditionum et participes victoriarum suarum, numquam donis impertiendos putavit, quod ipsi quoque ius habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent. Nihil autem minus perfecto duci quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa iactabat: *Speude bradeos. Asphales gar est ameionon e thraasus stratelates.* Et, *Sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.* Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.

XXV. After the conclusion of the civil wars, he never, in any of his military

harangues, or proclamations, addressed them by the title of “Fellow- soldiers,” but as “Soldiers” only. Nor would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his sons or step-sons, when they were in command; judging the former epithet to convey the idea of a degree of condescension inconsistent with military discipline, the maintenance of order, and his own majesty, and that of his house. Unless at Rome, in case of incendiary fires, or under the apprehension of public disturbances during a scarcity of provisions, he never employed in his army slaves who had been made freedmen, except upon two occasions; on one, for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and on the other, to guard (88) the banks of the river Rhine. Although he obliged persons of fortune, both male and female, to give up their slaves, and they received their manumission at once, yet he kept them together under their own standard, unmixed with soldiers who were better born, and armed likewise after different fashion. Military rewards, such as trappings, collars, and other decorations of gold and silver, he distributed more readily than camp or mural crowns, which were reckoned more honourable than the former. These he bestowed sparingly, without partiality, and frequently even on common soldiers. He presented M. Agrippa, after the naval engagement in the Sicilian war, with a sea-green banner. Those who shared in the honours of a triumph, although they had attended him in his expeditions, and taken part in his victories, he judged it improper to distinguish by the usual rewards for service, because they had a right themselves to grant such rewards to whom they pleased. He thought nothing more derogatory to the character of an accomplished general than precipitancy and rashness; on which account he had frequently in his mouth those proverbs:

Speude bradeos

(Hasten slowly)

And

‘Asphalaes gar est’ ameinon, hae erasus strataelataes

(The cautious captain’s better than the bold)

And

Sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene

(That is done fast enough, which is done well enough).

He was wont to say also, that “a battle or a war ought never to be undertaken, unless the prospect of gain overbalanced the fear of loss. For,” said he, “men who pursue small advantages with no small hazard, resemble those who fish with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line should happen to break, could never be compensated by all the fish they might take.”

perpetuosque cepit. Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere: *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis*. Secundum consulatum post novem annos, tertium anno interiecto gessit sequentis usque ad undecimum continuavit, multisque mox, cum deferrentur, recusatis duodecim magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praeditus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini Iovis paululum curuli sella praesedisset, honore abiit suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quatum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit.

XXVI. He was advanced to public offices before the age at which he was legally qualified for them; and to some, also, of a new kind, and for life. He seized the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, quartering his legions in a threatening manner near the city, and sending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. When the senate demurred, (89) a centurion, named Cornelius, who was at the head of the chief deputation, throwing back his cloak, and showing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the senate-house, "This will make him consul, if ye will not." His second consulship he filled nine years afterwards; his third, after the interval of only one year, and held the same office every year successively until the eleventh. From this period, although the consulship was frequently offered him, he always declined it, until, after a long interval, not less than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after that, for a thirteenth; that he might successively introduce into the forum, on their entering public life, his two sons, Caius and Lucius, while he was invested with the highest office in the state. In his five consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year; but in the rest, during only nine, six, four, or three months, and in his second no more than a few hours. For having sat for a short time in the morning, upon the calends of January [1st January], in his curule chair, before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he abdicated the office, and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all at Rome, but upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the Isle of Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarragona.

²⁷ Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos administravit; in quo

restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscripio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate. Iunius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum peracta proscriptione M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset praeterita et spem clementiae in posterum fecisset, quoniam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc a diverso professum, *ita modum se proscribendi statuisset, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera*. In cuius tamen pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vincium Philopoemenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravat invidia. Nam et Pinarium equitem R. cum, contionante se admissa turba paganorum, apud milites subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit; et Tedium Afrum consulem designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis conterruit minis, ut is se praecipitaverit; et Quintum Gallium praetorem, in officio salutationis tabellas duplices veste tectas tenentem, suspicatus gladium occulere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere, paulo post per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali, servilem in modum torsit ac fatentem nihil iussit occidi, prius oculis eius sua manu effossis; quem tamen scribit conloquio petito insidiatum sibi coniectumque a se in custodiam, diende urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis perisse. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepit, in qua semel atque iterum per singular lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regimen aequae perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit; primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.

XXVII. During ten years he acted as one of the triumvirate for settling the commonwealth, in which office he for some time opposed his colleagues in their design of a proscription; but after it was begun, he prosecuted it with more determined rigour than either of them. For whilst they were often prevailed upon, by the interest and intercession of friends, to show mercy, he alone strongly insisted that no one should be spared, and even proscribed Caius Toranius, his guardian; who had (90) been formerly the colleague of his father Octavius in the aedileship. Junius Saturninus adds this farther account of him: that when, after the proscription was over, Marcus Lepidus made an apology in the senate for their past proceedings, and gave them hopes of a more mild administration for the future, because they had now sufficiently crushed their enemies; he, on the other hand, declared that the only limit he had fixed to the proscription was, that he should be free to act as he pleased. Afterwards,

however, repenting of his severity, he advanced T. Vinius Philopoemen to the equestrian rank, for having concealed his patron at the time he was proscribed. In this same office he incurred great odium upon many accounts. For as he was one day making an harangue, observing among the soldiers Pinarius, a Roman knight, admit some private citizens, and engaged in taking notes, he ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes, as a busy-body and a spy upon him. He so terrified with his menaces Tedi- us Afer, the consul elect, for having reflected upon some action of his, that he threw himself from a great height, and died on the spot. And when Quintus Gallius, the praetor, came to compliment him with a double tablet under his cloak, suspecting that it was a sword he had concealed, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he caused him to be dragged from his tribunal by centurions and soldiers, and tortured like a slave: and although he made no confession, ordered him to be put to death, after he had, with his own hands, plucked out his eyes. His own account of the matter, however, is, that Quintus Gallius sought a private conference with him, for the purpose of assassinating him; that he therefore put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city; when he perished either in a storm at sea, or by falling into the hands of robbers. He accepted of the tribunitian power for life, but more than once chose a colleague in that office for two lustra successively. He also had the supervision of morality and observance of the laws, for life, but without the title of censor; yet he thrice (91) took a census of the people, the first and third time with a colleague, but the second by himself.

²⁸ De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: “Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei p. quae iecero.” Fecitque ipse se compotem voti nisus omni modo, ne quem novi status paeniteret. Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset. Tutam uero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

XXVIII. He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the republic; first, immediately after he had crushed Antony, remembering that he had often charged him with being the obstacle to its restoration. The second time was in consequence of a long illness, when he sent for the magistrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire. But reflecting at the same time that it would be both hazardous to himself to return to the condition of a private person, and might be dangerous to the public to have the government placed again under the control of the people, he resolved to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention, is hard to say. His good intentions he often affirmed in private discourse, and also published an edict, in which it was declared in the following terms: “May it be permitted me to have the happiness of establishing the commonwealth on a safe and sound basis, and thus enjoy the reward of which I am ambitious, that of being celebrated for moulding it into the form best adapted to present circumstances; so that, on my leaving the world, I may carry with me the hope that the foundations which I have laid for its future government, will stand firm and stable.”

²⁹ Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est cautumque, ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petitori hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti Iovi aedem consecravit liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam eius fulgur praestrinxisset servumque praelucentem exanimasset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel reffectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc exstructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro

amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

XXIX. The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to inundations of the Tiber, as well as to fires, was so much improved under his administration, that he boasted, not without reason, that he “found it of brick, but left it of marble.” He also rendered (92) it secure for the time to come against such disasters, as far as could be effected by human foresight. A great number of public buildings were erected by him, the most considerable of which were a forum, containing the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, and the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol. The reason of his building a new forum was the vast increase in the population, and the number of causes to be tried in the courts, for which, the two already existing not affording sufficient space, it was thought necessary to have a third. It was therefore opened for public use before the temple of Mars was completely finished; and a law was passed, that causes should be tried, and judges chosen by lot, in that place. The temple of Mars was built in fulfilment of a vow made during the war of Philippi, undertaken by him to avenge his father’s murder. He ordained that the senate should always assemble there when they met to deliberate respecting wars and triumphs; that thence should be despatched all those who were sent into the provinces in the command of armies; and that in it those who returned victorious from the wars, should lodge the trophies of their triumphs. He erected the temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the Palatine hill which had been struck with lightning, and which, on that account, the soothsayers declared the God to have chosen. He added porticos to it, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when advanced in years, (93) used frequently there to hold the senate, and examine the rolls of the judges. He dedicated the temple to Apollo Tonans, in acknowledgment of his escape from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition; when, as he was travelling in the night, his litter was struck by lightning, which killed the slave who carried a torch before him. He likewise constructed some public buildings in the name of others; for instance, his grandsons, his wife, and sister. Thus he built the portico and basilica of Lucius and Caius, and the porticos of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus . He also often exhorted other persons of rank to embellish the city by new buildings, or repairing and improving the old, according to their means. In consequence of this recommendation, many were raised; such as the temple of Hercules and the Muses, by Marcius Philippus; a temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius; the Court of Freedom by Asinius Pollio; a temple of Saturn by Munatius Plancus; a theatre by Cornelius Balbus; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus; and several other noble edifices by Marcus Agrippa.

³⁰ Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sestertium una donatione contulerit.

(94) XXX. He divided the city into regions and districts, ordaining that the annual magistrates should take by lot the charge of the former; and that the latter should be superintended by wardens chosen out of the people of each neighbourhood. He appointed a nightly watch to be on their guard against accidents from fire; and, to prevent the frequent inundations, he widened and cleansed the bed of the Tiber, which had in the course of years been almost dammed up with rubbish, and the channel narrowed by the ruins of houses. To render the approaches to the city more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of repairing the Flaminian way as far as Ariminum, and distributed the repairs of the other roads amongst several persons who had obtained the honour of a triumph; to be defrayed out of the money arising from the spoils of war. Temples decayed by time, or destroyed by fire, he either repaired or rebuilt; and enriched them, as well as many others, with splendid offerings. On a single occasion, he deposited in the cell of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with jewels and pearls to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces.

³¹ Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem numquam vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia contracta undique cremavit ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, bos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea negligentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit; in cuius ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit magis quam Septembrem quo erat natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et in signes victoriae optigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret ambirentque multi ne filias in

sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos Saeculares et Compitalicios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere inberbes, item Saecularibus ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis. Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus. Pompei quoque statuem contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superposuit translatam e curia, in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

XXXI. The office of Pontifex Maximus, of which he could (95) not decently deprive Lepidus as long as he lived, he assumed as soon as he was dead. He then caused all prophetic books, both in Latin and Greek, the authors of which were either unknown, or of no great authority, to be brought in; and the whole collection, amounting to upwards of two thousand volumes, he committed to the flames, preserving only the Sibylline oracles; but not even those without a strict examination, to ascertain which were genuine. This being done, he deposited them in two gilt coffers, under the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo. He restored the calendar, which had been corrected by Julius Caesar, but through negligence was again fallen into confusion, to its former regularity; and upon that occasion, called the month Sextilis, by his own name, August, rather than September, in which he was born; because in it he had obtained his first consulship, and all his most considerable victories. He increased the number, dignity, and revenues of the priests, and especially those of the Vestal Virgins. And when, upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be taken, and many persons made interest that their daughters' names might be omitted in the lists for election, he replied with an oath, "If either of my own grand-daughters were old enough, I would have proposed her." He likewise revived some old religious customs, which had become obsolete; as the augury of public health, the office of (96) high priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, with the Secular, and Compitalian games. He prohibited young boys from running in the Lupercalia; and in respect of the Secular games, issued an order, that no young persons of either sex should appear at any public diversions in the night-time, unless in the company of some elderly relation. He ordered the household gods

to be decked twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalian festival. Next to the immortal gods, he paid the highest honours to the memory of those generals who had raised the Roman state from its low origin to the highest pitch of grandeur. He accordingly repaired or rebuilt the public edifices erected by them; preserving the former inscriptions, and placing statues of them all, with triumphal emblems, in both the porticos of his forum, issuing an edict on the occasion, in which he made the following declaration: "My design in so doing is, that the Roman people may require from me, and all succeeding princes, a conformity to those illustrious examples." He likewise removed the statue of Pompey from the senate-house, in which Caius Caesar had been killed, and placed it under a marble arch, fronting the palace attached to Pompey's theatre.

³² Pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant aut per pacem etiam exstiterant. Nam et grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur, et plurimae factiones titulo collegi novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui possessoribus adiudicavit; diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quaereretur nomina abolevit condicione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficio negotiumve in punitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis. Iudices a tricensimo aetatis anno adlegit, id est quinquennio maturius quam solebant. Ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantibus vix concessit, ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset et ut solitae agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur.

XXXII. He corrected many ill practices, which, to the detriment of the public, had either survived the licentious habits of the late civil wars, or else originated in the long peace. Bands of robbers showed themselves openly, completely armed, under colour of self-defence; and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were forcibly carried off, and kept to work in the houses of correction . Several associations were formed

under the specious (97) name of a new college, which banded together for the perpetration of all kinds of villany. The banditti he quelled by establishing posts of soldiers in suitable stations for the purpose; the houses of correction were subjected to a strict superintendence; all associations, those only excepted which were of ancient standing, and recognised by the laws, were dissolved. He burnt all the notes of those who had been a long time in arrear with the treasury, as being the principal source of vexatious suits and prosecutions. Places in the city claimed by the public, where the right was doubtful, he adjudged to the actual possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals the names of those over whom prosecutions had been long impending, where nothing further was intended by the informers than to gratify their own malice, by seeing their enemies humiliated; laying it down as a rule, that if any one chose to renew a prosecution, he should incur the risk of the punishment which he sought to inflict. And that crimes might not escape punishment, nor business be neglected by delay, he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days which were spent in celebrating honorary games. To the three classes of judges then existing, he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferior order, who were called *Ducenarii*, and decided all litigations about trifling sums. He chose judges from the age of thirty years and upwards; that is five years younger than had been usual before. And a great many declining the office, he was with much difficulty prevailed upon to allow each class of judges a twelve-month's vacation in turn; and the courts to be shut during the months of November and December.

³³ Ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam, si parum corpore valeret lectica pro tribunali collocata, vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod non nisi confessi adficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: "Certe patrem tuum non occidisti?" Et cum de falso testamento ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset. Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano, at provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cuiusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisset.

XXXIII. He was himself assiduous in his functions as a judge, and would sometimes prolong his sittings even into the night : if he were indisposed, his litter was placed before (98) the tribunal, or he administered justice reclining on his couch at home; displaying always not only the greatest attention, but extreme

lenity. To save a culprit, who evidently appeared guilty of parricide, from the extreme penalty of being sewn up in a sack, because none were punished in that manner but such as confessed the fact, he is said to have interrogated him thus: "Surely you did not kill your father, did you?" And when, in a trial of a cause about a forged will, all those who had signed it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law, he ordered that his colleagues on the tribunal should not only be furnished with the two tablets by which they decided, "guilty or not guilty," but with a third likewise, ignoring the offence of those who should appear to have given their signatures through any deception or mistake. All appeals in causes between inhabitants of Rome, he assigned every year to the praetor of the city; and where provincials were concerned, to men of consular rank, to one of whom the business of each province was referred.

³⁴ Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto severius quam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit nisi adempta demum lenitave parte poenarum et vacatione trienni data auctisque praemiis. Sic quoque abolitionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptosque partim ad se partim in patris gremium ostentavit, manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis exemplum. Cumque etiam immaturitate sponsarum et matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponsas habendi coartavit, divortiis modum imposuit.

XXXIV. Some laws he abrogated, and he made some new ones; such as the sumptuary law, that relating to adultery and the violation of chastity, the law against bribery in elections, and likewise that for the encouragement of marriage. Having been more severe in his reform of this law than the rest, he found the people utterly averse to submit to it, unless the penalties were abolished or mitigated, besides allowing an interval of three years after a wife's death, and increasing the premiums on marriage. The equestrian order clamoured loudly, at a spectacle in the theatre, for its total repeal; whereupon he sent for the children of Germanicus, and showed them partly sitting upon his own lap, and partly on their father's; intimating by his looks and gestures, that they ought not to think it a grievance to follow the example of that young man. But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by marrying girls under the age of puberty, and by frequent change of wives, he limited the time for consummation after espousals, and imposed restrictions on divorce.

³⁵ Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turbañerant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti, quos orcinos vulgus vocabatñad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus: prima ipsorum arbitrato, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae; quo tempore existimatur lorica sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedis decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit ne admissum quidem tunc quem quam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quosdam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitque etiam excusantibus insigne vestis et spectandi in orchestra epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique et religiosius et minore molestia senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit, ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus ageretur, Kalendis et Idibus, neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique instituit consilia sortiri semenstria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. Sententias de maiore negotio non more atque ordine sed prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde quisque animum intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsendendum esset.

XXXV. By two separate scrutinies he reduced to their former number and splendour the senate, which had been swamped by a disorderly crowd; for they were now more than a (99) thousand, and some of them very mean persons, who, after Caesar's death, had been chosen by dint of interest and bribery, so that they had the nickname of Orcini among the people . The first of these scrutinies was left to themselves, each senator naming another; but the last was conducted by himself and Agrippa. On this occasion he is believed to have taken his seat as he presided, with a coat of mail under his tunic, and a sword by his side, and with ten of the stoutest men of senatorial rank, who were his friends, standing round his chair. Cordus Cremutius relates that no senator was suffered to approach him, except singly, and after having his bosom searched [for secreted daggers]. Some he obliged to have the grace of declining the office; these he allowed to retain the privileges of wearing the distinguishing dress, occupying the seats at the solemn spectacles, and of feasting publicly, reserved to the senatorial order . That those who were chosen and approved of, might perform their functions under more solemn obligations, and with less inconvenience, he ordered that every senator, before he took his seat in the house, should pay his devotions, with an offering of frankincense and wine, at the altar of that God in whose temple the senate then assembled, and that their stated meetings should be

only twice in the month, namely, on the calends and ides; and that in the months of September and October, a certain number only, chosen by lot, such as the law required to give validity to a decree, should be required to attend. For himself, he resolved to choose every six (100) months a new council, with whom he might consult previously upon such affairs as he judged proper at any time to lay before the full senate. He also took the votes of the senators upon any subject of importance, not according to custom, nor in regular order, but as he pleased; that every one might hold himself ready to give his opinion, rather than a mere vote of assent.

³⁶ Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, ut proconsulibus ad mulos et tabernacula, quae publice locari solebant, certa pecunia constitueretur, ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogerent.

XXXVI. He also made several other alterations in the management of public affairs, among which were these following: that the acts of the senate should not be published; that the magistrates should not be sent into the provinces immediately after the expiration of their office; that the proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mules and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons; that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the city-quaestors to the praetors, or those who had already served in the latter office; and that the decemviri should call together the court of One hundred, which had been formerly summoned by those who had filled the office of quaestor.

³⁷ Quoque plures partem administrandae rei p. caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet, nec optinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

XXXVII. To augment the number of persons employed in the administration of the state, he devised several new offices; such as surveyors of the public

buildings, of the roads, the aqueducts, and the bed of the Tiber; for the distribution of corn to the people; the praefecture of the city; a triumvirate for the election of the senators; and another for inspecting the several troops of the equestrian order, as often as it was necessary. He revived the office of censor, which had been long disused, and increased the number of praetors. He likewise required that whenever the consulship was conferred on him, he should have two colleagues instead of one; but his proposal (101) was rejected, all the senators declaring by acclamation that he abated his high majesty quite enough in not filling the office alone, and consenting to share it with another.

³⁸ Nec parci^{or} in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit. Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei p. assuescerent, protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit militiamque auspicantibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios prae^{po}suit singulis alis. Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.

XXXVIII. He was unsparing in the reward of military merit, having granted to above thirty generals the honour of the greater triumph; besides which, he took care to have triamphal decorations voted by the senate for more than that number. That the sons of senators might become early acquainted with the administration of affairs, he permitted them, at the age when they took the garb of manhood, to assume also the distinction of the senatorian robe, with its broad border, and to be present at the debates in the senate-house. When they entered the military service, he not only gave them the rank of military tribunes in the legions, but likewise the command of the auxiliary horse. And that all might have an opportunity of acquiring military experience, he commonly joined two sons of senators in command of each troop of horse. He frequently reviewed the troops of the equestrian order, reviving the ancient custom of a cavalcade, which had been long laid aside. But he did not suffer any one to be obliged by an accuser to dismount while he passed in review, as had formerly been the practice. As for such as were infirm with age, or (102) any way deformed, he allowed them to send their horses before them, coming on foot to answer to their

names, when the muster roll was called over soon afterwards. He permitted those who had attained the age of thirty-five years, and desired not to keep their horse any longer, to have the privilege of giving it up.

³⁹ Impetratisque a senatu decem adiutoribus unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim legerent; notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati graviore faenore collocassent.

XXXIX. With the assistance of ten senators, he obliged each of the Roman knights to give an account of his life: in regard to those who fell under his displeasure, some were punished; others had a mark of infamy set against their names. The most part he only reprimanded, but not in the same terms. The mildest mode of reproof was by delivering them tablets, the contents of which, confined to themselves, they were to read on the spot. Some he disgraced for borrowing money at low interest, and letting it out again upon usurious profit.

⁴⁰ Ac comitiis tribuniciis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus R. creavit, ita ut potestate transacta in utro vellent ordine manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio spectare ludos e quattuordecim non auderent metu poenae theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri ea, quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset. Populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplici poena coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula milia nummum a se dividebat. Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitates Romanas parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum termini navit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescripsit, non aliter se daturum, quam si praesens sibi persuasisset, quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit affirmans facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta removisse, cum et de numero et de condicione ac differentia eorum, qui manumitterentur, curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vinctus umquam tortusve quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem

adipisceretur, Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba indignabundus et clamitans: “en Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!” negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circave nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

XL. In the election of tribunes of the people, if there was not a sufficient number of senatorian candidates, he nominated others from the equestrian order; granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in whichever of the two orders they pleased. As most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the civil wars, and therefore durst not sit to see the public games in the theatre in the seats allotted to their order, for fear of the penalty provided by the law in that case, he enacted, that none were liable to it, who had themselves, or whose parents had ever, possessed a knight's estate. He took the census of the Roman people street by street: and that the people might not be too often taken from their business to receive the distribution of corn, it was his intention to deliver tickets three times a year for four months respectively; but at their request, he continued the former regulation, that they should receive their (103) share monthly. He revived the former law of elections, endeavouring, by various penalties, to suppress the practice of bribery. Upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sesterces each, that they might look for nothing from any of the candidates. Considering it of extreme importance to preserve the Roman people pure, and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he not only bestowed the freedom of the city with a sparing hand, but laid some restriction upon the practice of manumitting slaves. When Tiberius interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in behalf of a Greek client of his, he wrote to him for answer, “I shall not grant it, unless he comes himself, and satisfies me that he has just grounds for the application.” And when Livia begged the freedom of the city for a tributary Gaul, he refused it, but offered to release him from payment of taxes, saying, “I shall sooner suffer some loss in my exchequer, than that the citizenship of Rome be rendered too common.” Not content with interposing many obstacles to either the partial or complete emancipation of slaves, by quibbles respecting the number, condition and difference of those who were to be manumitted; he likewise enacted that none who had been put in chains or tortured, should ever obtain the freedom of the city in any degree. He endeavoured also to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans; and upon seeing once, in an assembly of the people, a crowd in grey cloaks, he exclaimed with indignation, “See there, *Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatem.*”

(Rome's conquering sons, lords of the wide- spread globe,
Stalk proudly in the toga's graceful robe.)

And he gave orders to the ediles not to permit, in future, any Roman to be present in the forum or circus unless they took off their short coats, and wore the toga.

⁴¹ Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter exhibuit. Nam et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit, ut faenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit, et postea, quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum eius gratuitum iis, qui cavere in duplum possent, ad certum tempus indulgit. Senatorum censum ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertium taxavit supplevitque non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducenos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis non nisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est tesserasque nummarias duplicavit.

(104) XLI. He displayed his munificence to all ranks of the people on various occasions. Moreover, upon his bringing the treasure belonging to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money so plentiful, that interest fell, and the price of land rose considerably. And afterwards, as often as large sums of money came into his possession by means of confiscations, he would lend it free of interest, for a fixed term, to such as could give security for the double of what was borrowed. The estate necessary to qualify a senator, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces, the former standard, he ordered, for the future, to be twelve hundred thousand; and to those who had not so much, he made good the deficiency. He often made donations to the people, but generally of different sums; sometimes four hundred, sometimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty sesterces upon which occasions, he extended his bounty even to young boys, who before were not used to receive anything, until they arrived at eleven years of age. In a scarcity of corn, he would frequently let them have it at a very low price, or none at all; and doubled the number of the money tickets.

⁴² Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum severissima coercuit voce: satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent. Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti bonae se fidei esse respondit; non

promissum autem flagitanti turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque non daturum se quamvis dare destinaret. Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magno vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus partimque servitiorum urbe expulisset, ut tandem annona convaluit, impetum se cepisse scribit frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret; neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet posse per ambitionem quandoque restitui. Atque ita posthac rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

XLII. But to show that he was a prince who regarded more the good of his people than their applause, he reprimanded them very severely, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearness of wine. "My son-in-law, Agrippa," he said, "has sufficiently provided for quenching your thirst, by the great plenty of water with which he has supplied the town." Upon their demanding a gift which he had promised them, he said, "I am a man of my word." But upon their importuning him for one which he had not promised, he issued a proclamation upbraiding them for their scandalous impudence; at the same time telling them, "I shall now give you nothing, whatever I may have intended to do." With the same strict firmness, when, upon a promise he had made of a donative, he found many slaves had been emancipated and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared that no one should receive anything who was not included in the promise, and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, in order that the amount he had set apart might hold out. On one occasion, in a season of great scarcity, which it was difficult to remedy, he ordered out of the city the troops of slaves brought for sale, the gladiators (105) belonging to the masters of defence, and all foreigners, excepting physicians and the teachers of the liberal sciences. Part of the domestic slaves were likewise ordered to be dismissed. When, at last, plenty was restored, he writes thus "I was much inclined to abolish for ever the practice of allowing the people corn at the public expense, because they trust so much to it, that they are too lazy to till their lands; but I did not persevere in my design, as I felt sure that the practice would some time or other be revived by some one ambitious of popular favour." However, he so managed the affair ever afterwards, that as much account was taken of husbandmen and traders, as of the idle populace.

⁴³ Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies. Fecitque nonnumquam etiam vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones, munera non in Foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in Circo et in Saeptis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque exstructis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In Circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere. In hoc ludicro Nonium Asprenatem lapsu debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum posterosque Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit talia edendi Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseque in curia questo Aesernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse crus fregerat. Ad scaenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum Lycium honeste natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet, quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae. Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides tunc primum missos per mediam harenam ad spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare, ut rhinocerotem apud Saepta, tigrim in scaena, anguem quin quaginta cubitorum pro Comitio. Accidit votivis circensibus, ut correptus valitudine lectica cubans tensas deduceret; rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus caderet supinus. Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit, quae suspecta maxime erat.

XLIII. In the number, variety, and magnificence of his public spectacles, he surpassed all former example. Four-and-twenty times, he says, he treated the people with games upon his own account, and three-and-twenty times for such magistrates as were either absent, or not able to afford the expense. The performances took place sometimes in the different streets of the city, and upon several stages, by players in all languages. The same he did not only in the forum and amphitheatre, but in the circus likewise, and in the septa : and sometimes he exhibited only the hunting of wild beasts. He entertained the

people with wrestlers in the Campus Martius, where wooden seats were erected for the purpose; and also with a naval fight, for which he excavated the ground near the Tiber, where there is now the grove of the Caesars. During these two entertainments he stationed guards in the city, lest, by robbers taking advantage of the small number of people left at home, it might be exposed to depredations. In the circus he exhibited chariot and foot races, and combats with wild beasts, in which the performers were often youths of the highest rank. His favourite spectacle was the Trojan game, acted by a select number of boys, in parties differing in age and station; thinking (106) that it was a practice both excellent in itself, and sanctioned by ancient usage, that the spirit of the young nobles should be displayed in such exercises. Caius Nonius Asprenas, who was lamed by a fall in this diversion, he presented with a gold collar, and allowed him and his posterity to bear the surname of Torquati. But soon afterwards he gave up the exhibition of this game, in consequence of a severe and bitter speech made in the senate by Asinius Pollio, the orator, in which he complained bitterly of the misfortune of Aeserninus, his grandson, who likewise broke his leg in the same diversion. Sometimes he engaged Roman knights to act upon the stage, or to fight as gladiators; but only before the practice was prohibited by a decree of the senate. Thenceforth, the only exhibition he made of that kind, was that of a young man named Lucius, of a good family, who was not quite two feet in height, and weighed only seventeen pounds, but had a stentorian voice. In one of his public spectacles, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first ever sent to Rome from that nation, through the middle of the amphitheatre, and placed them in the second tier of seats above him. He used likewise, at times when there were no public entertainments, if any thing was brought to Rome which was uncommon, and might gratify curiosity, to expose it to public view, in any place whatever; as he did a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger upon a stage, and a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed in consequence of a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the Thensae, reclining on a litter. Another time, in the games celebrated for the opening of the theatre of Marcellus, the joints of his curule chair happening to give way, he fell on his back. And in the games exhibited by his (107) grandsons, when the people were in such consternation, by an alarm raised that the theatre was falling, that all his efforts to re-assure them and keep them quiet, failed, he moved from his place, and seated himself in that part of the theatre which was thought to be exposed to most danger.

⁴⁴ Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque, motus iniuria senatoris, quem Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti

nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset. Militem secrevit a polpulo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis, sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebre secus omne adeo summovit, ut pontificalibus ludis pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus edixeritque mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum non placere.

XLIV. He corrected the confusion and disorder with which the spectators took their seats at the public games, after an affront which was offered to a senator at Puteoli, for whom, in a crowded theatre, no one would make room. He therefore procured a decree of the senate, that in all public spectacles of any sort, and in any place whatever, the first tier of benches should be left empty for the accommodation of senators. He would not even permit the ambassadors of free nations, nor of those which were allies of Rome, to sit in the orchestra; having found that some manumitted slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married plebeians their particular rows of seats. To the boys he assigned their own benches, and to their tutors the seats which were nearest it; ordering that none clothed in black should sit in the centre of the circle. Nor would he allow any women to witness the combats of gladiators, except from the upper part of the theatre, although they formerly used to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the spectators. To the vestal virgins he granted seats in the theatre, reserved for them only, opposite the praetor's bench. He excluded, however, the whole female sex from seeing the wrestlers: so that in the games which he exhibited upon his accession to the office of high-priest, he deferred producing a pair of combatants which the people called for, until the next morning; and intimated by proclamation, "his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o'clock."

⁴⁵ Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adesset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu

vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistulis libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria et praemia in alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat nullique Graeco mini interfilit. a quo non pro merito quemaue certantium honorarit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est; athleticis et conservavit privilegia et ampliavit, gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit, coercionem in histriones magistratibus omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam ademit praeterquam ludis et scaena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes aut gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circum tonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum querente praetore in atrio domus suae nemine excluso flagellis verberarit et Pyladen urbe atque Italia summovertit, quod spectatorem, a quo exhibebatur, demonstrasset digito conspicuumque fecisset.

XLV. He generally viewed the Circensian games himself, from the upper rooms of the houses of his friends or freedmen; sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the gods, and sitting in company with his wife and children. He (108) occasionally absented himself from the spectacles for several hours, and sometimes for whole days; but not without first making an apology, and appointing substitutes to preside in his stead. When present, he never attended to anything else either to avoid the reflections which he used to say were commonly made upon his father, Caesar, for perusing letters and memorials, and making rescripts during the spectacles; or from the real pleasure he took in attending those exhibitions; of which he made no secret, he often candidly owning it. This he manifested frequently by presenting honorary crowns and handsome rewards to the best performers, in the games exhibited by others; and he never was present at any performance of the Greeks, without rewarding the most deserving, according to their merit. He took particular pleasure in witnessing pugilistic contests, especially those of the Latins, not only between combatants who had been trained scientifically, whom he used often to match with the Greek champions; but even between mobs of the lower classes fighting in streets, and tilting at random, without any knowledge of the art. In

short, he honoured with his patronage all sorts of people who contributed in any way to the success of the public entertainments. He not only maintained, but enlarged, the privileges of the wrestlers. He prohibited combats of gladiators where no quarter was given. He deprived the magistrates of the power of correcting the stage-players, which by an ancient law was allowed them at all times, and in all places; restricting their jurisdiction entirely to the time of performance and misdemeanours in the theatres. He would, however, admit, of no abatement, and exacted with the utmost rigour the greatest exertions of the wrestlers and gladiators in their several encounters. He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio, a performer of the highest class, had a married woman with her hair cropped, and dressed in boy's clothes, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipped through all the three theatres, and then banished him. Hylas, an actor of pantomimes, upon a complaint against him by the praetor, he commanded to be scourged in the court of his own house, which, however, was open to the public. And Pylades he not only banished from the city, but from Italy also, for pointing with his finger at a spectator by whom he was hissed, and turning the eyes of the audience upon him.

⁴⁶ Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero deductarum a se frequentavit operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit, etiam iure ac dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit excogitato genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque colonia terrent et sub die comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum de ficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat, at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.

(109) XLVI. Having thus regulated the city and its concerns, he augmented the population of Italy by planting in it no less than twenty-eight colonies, and greatly improved it by public works, and a beneficial application of the revenues. In rights and privileges, he rendered it in a measure equal to the city itself, by inventing a new kind of suffrage, which the principal officers and magistrates of the colonies might take at home, and forward under seal to the city, against the time of the elections. To increase the number of persons of condition, and of children among the lower ranks, he granted the petitions of all those who requested the honour of doing military service on horseback as knights, provided their demands were seconded by the recommendation of the town in which they

lived; and when he visited the several districts of Italy, he distributed a thousand sesterces a head to such of the lower class as presented him with sons or daughters.

⁴⁷ Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit aut merita erga populum R. adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dum taxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traicere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

XLVII. The more important provinces, which could not with ease or safety be entrusted to the government of annual magistrates, he reserved for his own administration: the rest he distributed by lot amongst the proconsuls: but sometimes he made exchanges, and frequently visited most of both kinds in person. Some cities in alliance with Rome, but which by their great licentiousness were hastening to ruin, he deprived of their independence. Others, which were much in debt, he relieved, and rebuilt such as had been destroyed by earthquakes. To those that could produce any instance of their having deserved well of the Roman people, he presented the freedom of Latium, or even that of the City. There is not, I believe, a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. After forcing Sextus Pompeius to take refuge in those provinces, he was indeed preparing to cross over from Sicily to them, but was prevented by continual and violent storms, and afterwards there was no occasion or call for such a voyage.

⁴⁸ Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut iisdem quibus ademerat reddidit aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis, donec adoluerent aut resipiscerent; ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

XLVIII. Kingdoms, of which he had made himself master by the right of conquest, a few only excepted, he either restored to their former possessors, or

conferred upon aliens. Between (110) kings of alliance with Rome, he encouraged most intimate union; being always ready to promote or favour any proposal of marriage or friendship amongst them; and, indeed, treated them all with the same consideration, as if they were members and parts of the empire. To such of them as were minors or lunatics he appointed guardians, until they arrived at age, or recovered their senses; and the sons of many of them he brought up and educated with his own.

⁴⁹ Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatis distribuit, classem Miseni et alteram Ravennae ad tutelam Superi et Inferi maris conlocavit, ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium, item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit. Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco idem perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint.

XLIX. With respect to the army, he distributed the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces, he stationed a fleet at Misenum, and another at Ravenna, for the protection of the Upper and Lower Seas . A certain number of the forces were selected, to occupy the posts in the city, and partly for his own body-guard; but he dismissed the Spanish guard, which he retained about him till the fall of Antony; and also the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards, until the defeat of Varus. Yet he never permitted a greater force than three cohorts in the city, and had no (pretorian) camps . The rest he quartered in the neighbourhood of the nearest towns, in winter and summer camps. All the troops throughout the empire he reduced to one fixed model with regard to their pay and their pensions; determining these according to their rank in the army, the time they had served, and their private means; so that after their discharge, they might not be tempted by age or necessities to join the agitators for a revolution. For the purpose of providing a fund always ready to meet their pay and pensions,

he instituted a military exchequer, and appropriated new taxes to that object. In order to obtain the earliest intelligence of what was passing in the provinces, he established posts, consisting at first of young men stationed at moderate distances along the military roads, and afterwards of regular couriers with fast vehicles; which appeared to him the most commodious, because the persons who were the bearers of dispatches, written on the spot, might then be questioned about the business, as occasion occurred.

⁵⁰ In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu scalpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt. Ad epistulas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, addebat.

L. In sealing letters-patent, rescripts, or epistles, he at first used the figure of a sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander (111) the Great, and at last his own, engraved by the hand of Dioscorides; which practice was retained by the succeeding emperors. He was extremely precise in dating his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day or night at which they were dispatched.

⁵¹ Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerem, quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia, alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae iuvenis nomine asperrimam de se epistulam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset neque votum sibi neque animum deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione, cum Aemilio Aeliano Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorem commotoque similis: “Velim,” inquit, “hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere, plura enim de eo loquar”; nec quicquam ultra aut statim aut postea inquisiit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius apud se per epistulam conquerenti ita rescripsit: “Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit.”

LI. Of his clemency and moderation there are abundant and signal instances. For, not to enumerate how many and what persons of the adverse party he pardoned, received into favour, and suffered to rise to the highest eminence in the state; he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus and Cassius

Patavinus, who were both plebeians, one of them with a fine, and the other with an easy banishment; although the former had published, in the name of young Agrippa, a very scurrilous letter against him, and the other declared openly, at an entertainment where there was a great deal of company, “that he neither wanted inclination nor courage to stab him.” In the trial of Aemilius Aelianus, of Cordova, when, among other charges exhibited against him, it was particularly insisted upon, that he used to calumniate Caesar, he turned round to the accuser, and said, with an air and tone of passion, “I wish you could make that appear; I shall let Aelianus know that I have a tongue too, and shall speak sharper of him than he ever did of me.” Nor did he, either then or afterwards, make any farther inquiry into the affair. And when Tiberius, in a letter, complained of the affront with great earnestness, he returned him an answer in the following terms: “Do not, my dear Tiberius, give way to the ardour of youth in this affair; nor be so indignant that any person should speak ill of me. It is enough, for us, if we can prevent any one from really doing us mischief.”

⁵² *Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore; atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit. Dictaturam magna vi offerente populo genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.*

LII. Although he knew that it had been customary to decree temples in honour of the proconsuls, yet he would not permit them to be erected in any of the provinces, unless in the joint names of himself and Rome. Within the limits of the city, he positively refused any honour of that kind. He melted down all the silver statues which had been erected to him, and converted the whole into tripods, which he consecrated to the Palatine Apollo. And when the people importuned him to accept the dictatorship, he bent down on one knee, with his toga thrown over his shoulders, and his breast exposed to view, begging to be excused.

⁵³ *Domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo: “O dominum aequum et bonum!” et universi quasi de ipso dictum exsultantes comprobassent, et statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque se posthac appellari ne a Liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel ioco passus est atque eius modi blanditias etiam inter*

ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adoperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam ioco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, “quasi elephanto stipem.” Die senatus numquam patres nisi in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis ac nominatim singulos nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare desiit, quam grandior iam natu et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Cerrinium senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinantem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

(112) LIII. He always abhorred the title of Lord, as ill-omened and offensive. And when, in a play, performed at the theatre, at which he was present, these words were introduced, “O just and gracious lord,” and the whole company, with joyful acclamations, testified their approbation of them, as applied to him, he instantly put a stop to their indecent flattery, by waving his hand, and frowning sternly, and next day publicly declared his displeasure, in a proclamation. He never afterwards would suffer himself to be addressed in that manner, even by his own children or grand-children, either in jest or earnest and forbade them the use of all such complimentary expressions to one another. He rarely entered any city or town, or departed from it, except in the evening or the night, to avoid giving any person the trouble of complimenting him. During his consulships, he commonly walked the streets on foot; but at other times, rode in a close carriage. He admitted to court even plebeians, in common with people of the higher ranks; receiving the petitions of those who approached him with so much affability, that he once jocosely rebuked a man, by telling him, “You present your memorial with as much hesitation as if you were offering money to an elephant.” On senate days, he used to pay his respects to the Conscript Fathers only in the house, addressing them each by name as they sat, without any prompter; and on his departure, he bade each of them farewell, while they retained their seats. In the same manner, he maintained with many of them a constant intercourse of mutual civilities, giving them his company upon occasions of any particular festivity in their families; until he became advanced in years, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding. Being informed that Gallus Terrinius, a senator, with whom he had only a slight acquaintance, had suddenly lost his sight, and under that privation had resolved to starve himself to death, he paid him a visit, and by his consolatory admonitions diverted him from his purpose.

⁵⁴ In senatu verba facienti dictum est: “Non intellexi,” et ab alio: “Contra dicerem tibi, si locum haberem.” Interdum ob immodicas disceptantium altercationes e curia per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt licere oportere senatoribus de re p. loqui. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem olim eius et tunc exsulantem legit interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, suum quemque iudicium habere respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

LIV. On his speaking in the senate, he has been told by (113) one of the members, “I did not understand you,” and by another, “I would contradict you, could I do it with safety.” And sometimes, upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were conducted in the senate, as to quit the house in anger, some of the members have repeatedly exclaimed: “Surely, the senators ought to have liberty of speech on matters of government.” Antistius Labeo, in the election of a new senate, when each, as he was named, chose another, nominated Marcus Lepidus, who had formerly been Augustus’s enemy, and was then in banishment; and being asked by the latter, “Is there no other person more deserving?” he replied, “Every man has his own opinion.” Nor was any one ever molested for his freedom of speech, although it was carried to the extent of insolence.

⁵⁵ Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis, qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.

LV. Even when some infamous libels against him were dispersed in the senate-house, he was neither disturbed, nor did he give himself much trouble to refute them. He would not so much as order an enquiry to be made after the authors; but only proposed, that, for the future, those who published libels or lampoons, in a borrowed name, against any person, should be called to account.

⁵⁶ Iocis quoque quorundam invidiosis aut petulantibus lacesitus contra dixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur intercessit. Quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Numquam filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: “Si

merebuntur.” Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit, ut tamen pari iure essent quo ceteri legibusque iudiciariis aequae tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii accusante Cassio Severo diceret, consuluit senatum, quid officii sui putaret; cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur; et consentientibus universis sedit in subselliis per aliquot horas, verum tacitus et ne laudatione quidem iudiciali data. Affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuniarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de coniuratione Murenae cognoverat.

LVI. Being provoked by some petulant jests, which were designed to render him odious, he answered them by a proclamation; and yet he prevented the senate from passing an act, to restrain the liberties which were taken with others in people’s wills. Whenever he attended at the election of magistrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and begged the votes of the people in the usual manner. He likewise gave his own vote in his tribe, as one of the people. He suffered himself to be summoned as a witness upon trials, and not only to be questioned, but to be cross-examined, with the utmost patience. In building his Forum, he restricted himself in the site, not presuming to compel the owners of the neighbouring houses to give up their property. He never recommended his sons to the people, without adding these words, “If they deserve it.” And upon the audience rising on their entering the theatre, while they were yet minors, and giving them applause in a standing position, he made it a matter of serious complaint.

⁵⁷ Pro quibus meritis quanto opere dilectus sit, facile est aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia. Equites R. natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quotannis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus vivatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque. In restitutionem Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summarum acervos neque ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus

prosequabantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quotiens introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam sumeretur.

LVII. How much he was beloved for his worthy conduct in all these respects, it is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the senate in his honour, which may seem to have resulted from compulsion or deference. The Roman knights voluntarily, and with one accord, always celebrated his birth for two days together; and all ranks of the people, yearly, in performance of a vow they had made, threw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, as an offering for his welfare. They likewise, on the calends [first] of January, presented for his acceptance new-year's gifts in the Capitol, though he was not present with which donations he purchased some costly images of the Gods, which he erected in several streets of the city; as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, Jupiter Tragoedus, and others. When his house on the Palatine hill was accidentally destroyed by fire, the veteran soldiers, the judges, the tribes, and even the people, individually, contributed, according to the ability of each, for rebuilding it; but he would (115) accept only of some small portion out of the several sums collected, and refused to take from any one person more than a single denarius . Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they attended him not only with joyful acclamations, but with songs. It is also remarked, that as often as he entered the city, the infliction of punishment was suspended for the time.

⁵⁸ Patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis: “Quod bonum,” inquit, “faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! Sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei p. et laeta huic precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consalutat patriae patrem.” Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus his verbis — ipsa enim, sicut Messalae, posui — : “Compos factus votorum meorum, p. c., quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?”

LVIII. The whole body of the people, upon a sudden impulse, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. It was announced to him first at Antium, by a deputation from the people, and upon his declining the honour, they repeated their offer on his return to Rome, in a full theatre, when they were crowned with laurel. The senate soon afterwards adopted the proposal, not in the way of acclamation or decree, but by

commissioning M. Messala, in an unanimous vote, to compliment him with it in the following terms: "With hearty wishes for the happiness and prosperity of yourself and your family, Caesar Augustus, (for we think we thus most effectually pray for the lasting welfare of the state), the senate, in agreement with the Roman people, salute you by the title of FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY." To this compliment Augustus replied, with tears in his eyes, in these words (for I give them exactly as I have done those of Messala): "Having now arrived at the summit of my wishes, O Conscript Fathers, what else have I to beg of the Immortal (116) Gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me to the last moments of my life?"

⁵⁹ Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapii statuerunt. Nonnulli patrum familiarum testamento caverunt, ut ab heredibus suis praelato titulo victumae in Capitolium ducerentur votumque pro se solveretur, quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent. Quaedam Italiae civitates diem, quo primum ad se venisset, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt

LIX. To the physician Antonius Musa, who had cured him of a dangerous illness, they erected a statue near that of Aesculapius, by a general subscription. Some heads of families ordered in their wills, that their heirs should lead victims to the Capitol, with a tablet carried before them, and pay their vows, "Because Augustus still survived." Some Italian cities appointed the day upon which he first visited them, to be thenceforth the beginning of their year. And most of the provinces, besides erecting temples and altars, instituted games, to be celebrated to his honour, in most towns, every five years.

⁶⁰ Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicare; ac saepe regnis relictis non Romae modo sed et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni more clientium praestiterunt.

LX. The kings, his friends and allies, built cities in their respective kingdoms, to which they gave the name of Caesarea; and all with one consent resolved to finish, at their common expense, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, at Athens, which had been begun long before, and consecrate it to his Genius. They frequently also left their kingdoms, laid aside the badges of royalty, and

assuming the toga, attended and paid their respects to him daily, in the manner of clients to their patrons; not only at Rome, but when he was travelling through the provinces.

⁶¹ Quoniam qualis in imperiis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p. fuerit, exposui, referam nunc interiorum ac familiarem eius vitam quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagensimum et quartum agens aetatis annum. Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

LXI. Having thus given an account of the manner in which he filled his public offices both civil and military, and his conduct in the government of the empire, both in peace and war; I shall now describe his private and domestic life, his habits at home and among his friends and dependents, and the fortune attending him in those scenes of retirement, from his youth to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first consulship, and his sister Octavia, when he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age . He behaved towards them both with the utmost kindness whilst living, and after their decease paid the highest honours to their memory.

⁶² Sponsam habuerat adolescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expostulantibus utriusque militibus ut et necessitudine aliqua iungerentur, privignam eius Claudiam, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nubilem ac simultate cum Fulvia socru orta dimisit intactam adhuc et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac quoque divortium fecit, “pertaesus,” ut scribit, “morum perversitatem eius,” ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

(117) LXII. He was contracted when very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but upon his reconciliation with Antony after their first rupture, the armies on both sides insisting on a family alliance between them, he married Antony’s step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, although at that time she was scarcely marriageable; and upon a difference arising with his mother-in-law Fulvia, he divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon afterwards he took to wife Scribonia, who had before been twice married to men of consular rank, and was a mother by one of them. With

her likewise he parted, being quite tired out, as he himself writes, with the perverseness of her temper; and immediately took Livia Drusilla, though then pregnant, from her husband Tiberius Nero; and she had never any rival in his love and esteem.

⁶³ Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Iuliam primum Marcello Octaviae sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut is obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit coegitque praegnantem uxorem et ex qua iam pater erat dimittere. M. Antonius scribit primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Getarum regi, quo tempore sibi quoque in vicem filiam regis in matrimonium petisset.

LXIII. By Scribonia he had a daughter named Julia, but no children by Livia, although extremely desirous of issue. She, indeed, conceived once, but miscarried. He gave his daughter Julia in the first instance to Marcellus, his sister's son, who had just completed his minority; and, after his death, to Marcus Agrippa, having prevailed with his sister to yield her son-in-law to his wishes; for at that time Agrippa was married to one of the Marcellas, and had children by her. Agrippa dying also, he for a long time thought of several matches for Julia in even the equestrian order, and at last resolved upon selecting Tiberius for his step-son; and he obliged him to part with his wife at that time pregnant, and who had already brought him a child. Mark Antony writes, "That he first contracted Julia to his son, and afterwards to Cotiso, king of the Getae, demanding at the same time the king's daughter in marriage for himself."

⁶⁴ Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit C. et L. et Agrippam, neptes duas Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. adoptavit domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa tenerosque adhuc ad curam rei p. admovit et consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur; extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripserit quondam parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset. Nepotes et litteras et natare aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit, ac nihil aequè

elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque cenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent, neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequitarent.

(118) LXIV. He had three grandsons by Agrippa and Julia, namely, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa; and two grand-daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to Lucius Paulus, the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus, his sister's grandson. Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase from their father, advanced them, while yet very young, to offices in the state, and when they were consuls-elect, sent them to visit the provinces and armies. In bringing up his daughter and grand-daughters, he accustomed them to domestic employments, and even spinning, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the diary. He so strictly prohibited them from all converse with strangers, that he once wrote a letter to Lucius Vinicius, a handsome young man of a good family, in which he told him, "You have not behaved very modestly, in making a visit to my daughter at Baiae." He usually instructed his grandsons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of knowledge; and he laboured nothing more than to perfect them in the imitation of his hand-writing. He never supped but he had them sitting at the foot of his couch; nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.

⁶⁵ Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit; G. et L. in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege curiata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum. Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fractus, de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum senatui fecit abstinuitque congressu hominum diu prae pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebe suspendio vitam finisset, maluisse se ait Phoebes patrem fuisse. Relegatae usum vini omnemque delictiorem cultum ademit neque adiri a quoquam libero servove nisi se consulto permisit, et ita ut certior fieret, qua is aetate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Post quinquennium demum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus transtulit eam. Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe p. R. et pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post

damnationem editum infantem adgnosci aliquē vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentio rem, in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cav it etiam s. c. ut eodem loci in perpetuūm contineretur. Atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliarum mentionem ingemiscens proclamare etiam solebat: *Aith ophelon agamos t'emeni agonos t'apolesthai*. nec aliter eos appellare quam tris vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.

LXV. But in the midst of all his joy and hopes in his numerous and well-regulated family, his fortune failed him. The two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, abandoned themselves to such courses of lewdness and debauchery, that he banished them both. Caius and Lucius he lost within the space of eighteen months; the former dying in Lycia, and the latter at Marseilles. His third grandson Agrippa, with his step-son Tiberius, he adopted in the forum, by a law passed for the purpose by the Sections; but he soon afterwards discarded Agrippa for his coarse and unruly temper, and confined him at Surrentum. He bore the death of his relations with more patience than he did their disgrace; for he was not overwhelmed by the loss of Caius and Lucius; but in the case of his daughter, he stated the facts to the senate in a message read to them by (119) the quaestor, not having the heart to be present himself; indeed, he was so much ashamed of her infamous conduct, that for some time he avoided all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. It is certain that when one Phoebe, a freed-woman and confidant of hers, hanged herself about the same time, he said, "I had rather be the father of Phoebe than of Julia." In her banishment he would not allow her the use of wine, nor any luxury in dress; nor would he suffer her to be waited upon by any male servant, either freeman or slave, without his permission, and having received an exact account of his age, stature, complexion, and what marks or scars he had about him. At the end of five years he removed her from the island [where she was confined] to the continent, and treated her with less severity, but could never be prevailed upon to recall her. When the Roman people interposed on her behalf several times with much importunity, all the reply he gave was: "I wish you had all such daughters and wives as she is." He likewise forbad a child, of which his grand-daughter Julia was delivered after sentence had passed against her, to be either owned as a relation, or brought up. Agrippa, who was equally intractable, and whose folly increased every day, he transported to an island, and placed a guard of soldiers about him; procuring at the same time an act of the senate for his confinement there during life. Upon any mention of him and the two Julias, he would say, with a heavy sigh,

Aith ophelon agamos t'emenai, agonos t'apolesthai.

(Would I were wifeless, or had childless died!)

nor did he usually call them by any other name than that of his “three imposthumes or cancers.”

⁶⁶ Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat modica, perpessus. Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflictī reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatu. tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso laudavit quidem pietatem tanto opere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes floruerunt, quanquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferebatur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenarum coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset. Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset. Legata vel partes hereditatum a quibuscumque parentibus relictā sibi aut statim liberis eorum concedere aut, si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consueverat.

LXVI. He was cautious in forming friendships, but clung to them with great constancy; not only rewarding the virtues and merits of his friends according to their deserts, but bearing likewise with their faults and vices, provided that they were (120) of a venial kind. For amongst all his friends, we scarcely find any who fell into disgrace with him, except Salvidienus Rufus, whom he raised to the consulship, and Cornelius Gallus, whom he made prefect of Egypt; both of them men of the lowest extraction. One of these, being engaged in plotting a rebellion, he delivered over to the senate, for condemnation; and the other, on account of his ungrateful and malicious temper, he forbade his house, and his living in any of the provinces. When, however, Gallus, being denounced by his

accusers, and sentenced by the senate, was driven to the desperate extremity of laying violent hands upon himself, he commended, indeed, the attachment to his person of those who manifested so much indignation, but he shed tears, and lamented his unhappy condition, "That I alone," said he, "cannot be allowed to resent the misconduct of my friends in such a way only as I would wish." The rest of his friends of all orders flourished during their whole lives, both in power and wealth, in the highest ranks of their several orders, notwithstanding some occasional lapses. For, to say nothing of others, he sometimes complained that Agrippa was hasty, and Mecaenas a tattler; the former having thrown up all his employments and retired to Mitylene, on suspicion of some slight coolness, and from jealousy that Marcellus received greater marks of favour; and the latter having confidentially imparted to his wife Terentia the discovery of Muraena's conspiracy. He likewise expected from his friends, at their deaths as well as during their lives, some proofs of their reciprocal attachment. For though he was far from coveting their property, and indeed would never accept of any legacy left him by a stranger, yet he pondered in a melancholy mood over their last words; not being able to conceal his chagrin, if in their wills they made but a slight, or no very honourable mention of him, nor his joy, on the other hand, if they expressed a grateful sense of his favours, and a hearty affection for him. And whatever legacies or shares of their property were left him by such as were parents, he used to restore to their children, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their assuming the manly dress, or of their marriage; with interest.

⁶⁷ Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomedem dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistula prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque C. fili, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen.

LXVII. As a patron and master, his behaviour in general was mild and conciliating; but when occasion required it, he (121) could be severe. He advanced many of his freedmen to posts of honour and great importance, as

Licinus, Enceladus, and others; and when his slave, Cosmus, had reflected bitterly upon him, he resented the injury no further than by putting him in fetters. When his steward, Diomedes, left him to the mercy of a wild boar, which suddenly attacked them while they were walking together, he considered it rather a cowardice than a breach of duty; and turned an occurrence of no small hazard into a jest, because there was no knavery in his steward's conduct. He put to death Proculus, one of his most favourite freedmen, for maintaining a criminal commerce with other men's wives. He broke the legs of his secretary, Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denarii to discover the contents of one of his letters. And the tutor and other attendants of his son Caius, having taken advantage of his sickness and death, to give loose to their insolence and rapacity in the province he governed, he caused heavy weights to be tied about their necks, and had them thrown into a river.

⁶⁸ Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum in famiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est; M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; item L. Marci frater, quasi pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardenti, quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobavit verum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris Deum tympanizante:

“Videsne, ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?”

LXVIII. In his early youth various aspersions of an infamous character were heaped upon him. Sextus Pompey reproached him with being an effeminate fellow; and M. Antony, with earning his adoption from his uncle by prostitution. Lucius Antony, likewise Mark's brother, charges him with pollution by Caesar; and that, for a gratification of three hundred thousand sesterces, he had submitted to Aulus Hirtius in the same way, in Spain; adding, that he used to singe his legs with burnt nut-shells, to make the hair become softer. Nay, the whole concourse of the people, at some public diversions in the theatre, when the following sentence was recited, alluding to the Gallic priest of the mother of the gods, beating a drum,

Videsne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperet?

(See with his orb the wanton's finger play!)

applied the passage to him, with great applause.

⁶⁹ Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque

mulieres exquireret. M. Antonius super festinatas Liviae nuptias obiecit et feminam consularem e triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam paelicis; condiciones quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent, tamquam Toranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipsum haec familiariter adhuc necdum plane inimicus aut hostis: “Quid te mutavit? Quod reginam in eo? Uxor mea est. Nunc coepi an abhinc annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? Ita valeas, uti tu, hanc epistulam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?”

(122) LXIX. That he was guilty of various acts of adultery, is not denied even by his friends; but they allege in excuse for it, that he engaged in those intrigues not from lewdness, but from policy, in order to discover more easily the designs of his enemies, through their wives. Mark Antony, besides the precipitate marriage of Livia, charges him with taking the wife of a man of consular rank from table, in the presence of her husband, into a bed-chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great disorder: that he had divorced Scribonia, for resenting too freely the excessive influence which one of his mistresses had gained over him: that his friends were employed to pimp for him, and accordingly obliged both matrons and ripe virgins to strip, for a complete examination of their persons, in the same manner as if Thoranius, the dealer in slaves, had them under sale. And before they came to an open rupture, he writes to him in a familiar manner, thus: “Why are you changed towards me? Because I lie with a queen? She is my wife. Is this a new thing with me, or have I not done so for these nine years? And do you take freedoms with Drusilla only? May health and happiness so attend you, as when you read this letter, you are not in dalliance with Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. What matters it to you where, or upon whom, you spend your manly vigour?”

⁷⁰ Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo *dodekatheos* vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum non Antoni modo epistulae singulorum nomina amarissime enumerantis ex probrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus;

*“Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas,
Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,*

*Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.”*

Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: Omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est et ut pretiosae suppellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus et aleae indulgens: Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

“Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,”

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est:

*“Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.”*

LXX. A private entertainment which he gave, commonly called the Supper of the Twelve Gods, and at which the guests (123) were dressed in the habit of gods and goddesses, while he personated Apollo himself, afforded subject of much conversation, and was imputed to him not only by Antony in his letters, who likewise names all the parties concerned, but in the following well-known anonymous verses:

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas
Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum coenat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt:
Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.*

(When Mallia late beheld, in mingled train,
Twelve mortals ape twelve deities in vain;
Caesar assumed what was Apollo's due,
And wine and lust inflamed the motley crew.
At the foul sight the gods avert their eyes,
And from his throne great Jove indignant flies.)

What rendered this supper more obnoxious to public censure, was that it happened at a time when there was a great scarcity, and almost a famine, in the city. The day after, there was a cry current among the people, “that the gods had eaten up all the corn; and that Caesar was indeed Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor;” under which title that god was worshipped in some quarter of the city. He was likewise charged with being excessively fond of fine furniture, and Corinthian vessels, as well as with being addicted to gaming. For, during the

time of the proscription, the following line was written upon his statue: —

(My father was a silversmith, my dealings are in brass;)

because it was believed, that he had put some persons upon the list of the proscribed, only to obtain the Corinthian vessels in (124) their possession. And afterwards, in the Sicilian war, the following epigram was published: —

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,

Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

(Twice having lost a fleet in luckless fight,
To win at last, he games both day and night.)

⁷¹ Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posteræ vitæ castitate; item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta nihil sibi præter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines haesit, postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quæ sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquererentur. Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex ac præterquam Decembri mense aliis quoque festis et profestis diebus. Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula: “Cenavi,” ait, “mi Tiberi, cum iisdem; accesserunt convivæ Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie; talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem iecerat.” Et rursus aliis litteris: “Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex magnis detrimentis præter spem paulatim retractum est. Ego perdidici viginti milia nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuisset, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet.” Scribit ad filiam: “Misi tibi denarios ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellent inter se inter cenam vel talis vel par impar ludere.”

LXXI. With respect to the charge or imputation of loathsome impurity before-mentioned, he very easily refuted it by the chastity of his life, at the very time when it was made, as well as ever afterwards. His conduct likewise gave the lie to that of luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when, upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved for himself nothing of the royal treasures but a porcelain cup, and soon afterwards melted down all the vessels of gold, even such as were

intended for common use. But his amorous propensities never left him, and, as he grew older, as is reported, he was in the habit of debauching young girls, who were procured for him, from all quarters, even by his own wife. To the observations on his gaming, he paid not the smallest regard; but played in public, but purely for his diversion, even when he was advanced in years; and not only in the month of December, but at other times, and upon all days, whether festivals or not. This evidently appears from a letter under his own hand, in which he says, "I supped, my dear Tiberius, with the same company. We had, besides, Vinicius, and Silvius the father. We gamed at supper like old fellows, both yesterday and today. And as any one threw upon the tali aces or sixes, he put down for every talus a denarius; all which was gained by him who threw a Venus." In another letter, he says: "We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it during the festival of Minerva: for we played every day, and kept the gaming-board warm. Your brother uttered many exclamations at a desperate run of ill-fortune; but recovering by degrees, and unexpectedly, he in the end lost not much. I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely (125) generous in my play, as I commonly am; for had I insisted upon the stakes which I declined, or kept what I gave away, I should have won about fifty thousand. But this I like better for it will raise my character for generosity to the skies." In a letter to his daughter, he writes thus: "I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarii, which I gave to every one of my guests; in case they were inclined at supper to divert themselves with the Tali, or at the game of Even-or-Odd."

⁷² In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum constat ac sine suspitione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo iuxta Romanum Forum supra Scalas anularias, in domo quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et *technophyon* vocabat; huc transibat aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum; aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iuliae, profuse ab ea exstructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis modica non tam

statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus, qualia sunt Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur gigantum ossa, et arma heroum.

LXXII. In other matters, it appears that he was moderate in his habits, and free from suspicion of any kind of vice. He lived at first near the Roman Forum, above the Ring-maker's Stairs, in a house which had once been occupied by Calvus the orator. He afterwards moved to the Palatine Hill, where he resided in a small house belonging to Hortensius, no way remarkable either for size or ornament; the piazzas being but small, the pillars of Alban stone, and the rooms without any thing of marble, or fine paving. He continued to use the same bed-chamber, both winter and summer, during forty years : for though he was sensible that the city did not agree with his health in the winter, he nevertheless resided constantly in it during that season. If at any time he wished to be perfectly retired, and secure from interruption, he shut himself up in an apartment at the top of his house, which he called his Syracuse or Technophyon, or he went to some villa belonging to his freedmen near the city. But when he was indisposed, he commonly took up his residence in the house of Mecaenas . Of all the places of retirement from the city, he (126) chiefly frequented those upon the sea- coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns nearest the city, such as Lanuvium, Praeneste, and Tibur, where he often used to sit for the administration of justice, in the porticos of the temple of Hercules. He had a particular aversion to large and sumptuous palaces; and some which had been raised at a vast expense by his grand-daughter, Julia, he levelled to the ground. Those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorned, not so much with statues and pictures, as with walks and groves, and things which were curious either for their antiquity or rarity; such as, at Capri, the huge limbs of sea- monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants; and also the arms of ancient heroes.

⁷³ Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam nunc residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fuis, clavo nec lato nec angusto, calciamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat videretur. Et forensia autem et calceos numquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

LXXIII. His frugality in the furniture of his house appears even at this day, from some beds and tables still remaining, most of which are scarcely elegant enough for a private family. It is reported that he never lay upon a bed, but such as was low, and meanly furnished. He seldom wore any garment but what was made by the hands of his wife, sister, daughter, and grand-daughters. His togas were neither scanty nor full; (127) and the clavus was neither remarkably broad or narrow. His shoes were a little higher than common, to make him appear taller than he was. He had always clothes and shoes, fit to appear in public, ready in his bed-chamber for any sudden occasion.

⁷⁴ Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sine magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messala tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sexti Pompei classem. Ipse scribit, invitasse se quendam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare inciperent, prius quam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabulantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

LXXIV. At his table, which was always plentiful and elegant, he constantly entertained company; but was very scrupulous in the choice of them, both as to rank and character. Valerius Messala informs us, that he never admitted any freedman to his table, except Menas, when rewarded with the privilege of citizenship, for betraying Pompey's fleet. He writes, himself, that he invited to his table a person in whose villa he lodged, and who had formerly been employed by him as a spy. He often came late to table, and withdrew early; so that the company began supper before his arrival, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three entries, or at most of only six. But if his fare was moderate, his courtesy was extreme. For those who were silent, or talked in whispers, he encouraged to join in the general conversation; and introduced buffoons and stage players, or even low performers from the circus, and very often itinerant humourists, to enliven the company.

⁷⁵ Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tantum ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios

ac peregrinos, interdum nihil praeter cilicia et spongas et rutabula et forpices atque alia id genus titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

LXXV. Festivals and holidays he usually celebrated very expensively, but sometimes only with merriment. In the Saturnalia, or at any other time when the fancy took him, he distributed to his company clothes, gold, and silver; sometimes coins of all sorts, even of the ancient kings of Rome and of foreign nations; sometimes nothing but towels, sponges, rakes, and tweezers, and other things of that kind, with tickets on them, which were enigmatical, and had a double meaning . He used likewise to sell by lot among his guests articles of very unequal value, and pictures with their fronts reversed; and so, by the unknown quality of the lot, disappoint or gratify the expectation of the purchasers. This sort of traffic (128) went round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to run the chance of loss or gain with the rest.

⁷⁶ Cibi — nam ne haec quidem omiserim — minimi erat atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bubulum manu pressum et ficos virides biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturque et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco, quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistulis sunt: “Nos in essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus.” Et iterum: “Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi.” Et rursus: “Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi, qui in balneo demum post horam primam noctis duas buccas manducavi prius quam ungui inciperem.” Ex hac inobservantia nonnumquam vel ante initum vel post dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

LXXVI. He ate sparingly (for I must not omit even this), and commonly used a plain diet. He was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fishes, new cheese made of cow’s milk, and green figs of the sort which bear fruit twice a year . He did not wait for supper, but took food at any time, and in any place, when he had an appetite. The following passages relative to this subject, I have transcribed from his letters. “I ate a little bread and some small dates, in my carriage.” Again. “In returning home from the palace in my litter, I ate an ounce of bread, and a few raisins.” Again. “No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps such strict fast

upon the Sabbath, as I have to- day; for while in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, I only ate two biscuits, before I began to be rubbed with oil.” From this great indifference about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company began, or after they had finished, and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

⁷⁷ Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam, Cornelius Nepos tradit. Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdium bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem aut cucumeris frustum vel lactuculae thyrsus aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris.

LXXVII. He was by nature extremely sparing in the use of wine. Cornelius Nepos says, that he used to drink only three times at supper in the camp at Modena; and when he indulged himself the most, he never exceeded a pint; or if he did, his stomach rejected it. Of all wines, he gave the (129) preference to the Rhaetian, but scarcely ever drank any in the day-time. Instead of drinking, he used to take a piece of bread dipped in cold water, or a slice of cucumber, or some leaves of lettuce, or a green, sharp, juicy apple.

⁷⁸ Post cibum meridianum, ita ut vestitus calciatusque erat, relictis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lecticulam se lucubrationem recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus non amplius cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum recipere, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis resumebat producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit umquam nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendeatur; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius vigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

LXXVIII. After a slight repast at noon, he used to seek repose, dressed as he was, and with his shoes on, his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he commonly withdrew to his study, a small closet, where he sat late, until he had put down in his diary all or most of the remaining transactions

of the day, which he had not before registered. He would then go to bed, but never slept above seven hours at most, and that not without interruption; for he would wake three or four times during that time. If he could not again fall asleep, as sometimes happened, he called for some one to read or tell stories to him, until he became drowsy, and then his sleep was usually protracted till after day-break. He never liked to lie awake in the dark, without somebody to sit by him. Very early rising was apt to disagree with him. On which account, if he was obliged to rise betimes, for any civil or religious functions, in order to guard as much as possible against the inconvenience resulting from it, he used to lodge in some apartment near the spot, belonging to any of his attendants. If at any time a fit of drowsiness seized him in passing along the streets, his litter was set down while he snatched a few moments' sleep.

⁷⁹ Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima, quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens; in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret ac modo tonderet modo raderet barbam eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus in praecipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem — quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus et a memoria eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit, — sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, ut non nisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset.

LXXIX. In person he was handsome and graceful, through every period of his life. But he was negligent in his dress; and so careless about dressing his hair, that he usually had it done in great haste, by several barbers at a time. His beard he sometimes clipped, and sometimes shaved; and either read or wrote during the operation. His countenance, either when discoursing or silent, was so calm and serene, that a (130) Gaul of the first rank declared amongst his friends, that he was so softened by it, as to be restrained from throwing him down a precipice, in his passage over the Alps, when he had been admitted to approach

him, under pretence of conferring with him. His eyes were bright and piercing; and he was willing it should be thought that there was something of a divine vigour in them. He was likewise not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking steadfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw very imperfectly with his left eye. His teeth were thin-set, small and scaly, his hair a little curled, and inclining to a yellow colour. His eye-brows met; his ears were small, and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair; his stature but low; though Julius Marathus, his freedman, says he was five feet and nine inches in height. This, however, was so much concealed by the just proportion of his limbs, that it was only perceivable upon comparison with some taller person standing by him.

⁸⁰ Corpore traditur maculoso dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam ex prurigne corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam in claudicaret; sed remedio harenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum salutarem tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admoveret. Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eiectis levabatur.

LXXX. He is said to have been born with many spots upon his breast and belly, answering to the figure, order, and number of the stars in the constellation of the Bear. He had besides several callosities resembling scars, occasioned by an itching in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil in being rubbed. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side; but he received much benefit from the use of sand and reeds. He likewise sometimes found the fore-finger of his right hand so weak, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, to use it in writing, he was obliged to have recourse to a circular piece of horn. He had occasionally a complaint in the bladder; but upon voiding some stones in his urine, he was relieved from that pain.

⁸¹ Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam destillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit; quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa. Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam

sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine. Quare quassato corpore neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat.

LXXXI. During the whole course of his life, he suffered, at times, dangerous fits of sickness, especially after the conquest of Cantabria; when his liver being injured by a defluxion (131) upon it, he was reduced to such a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a desperate and doubtful method of cure: for warm applications having no effect, Antonius Musa directed the use of those which were cold. He was likewise subject to fits of sickness at stated times every year; for about his birth-day he was commonly a little indisposed. In the beginning of spring, he was attacked with an inflation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, with a cold in his head. By all these complaints, his constitution was so shattered, that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.

⁸² Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur, aestate apertis cubiculi foribus, ac saepe in peristylo saliente aqua atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque non nisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica et noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel Tibur biduo procederet; ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate (unguebatur enim saepius). Aut sudabat ad flammam, deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta; aut quotiens nervorum causa marinis albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat ut insidens ligneo solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo durentam vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis iactaret.

LXXXII. In winter, he was protected against the inclemency of the weather by a thick toga, four tunics, a shirt, a flannel stomacher, and swathings upon his legs and thighs. In summer, he lay with the doors of his bedchamber open, and frequently in a piazza, refreshed by a bubbling fountain, and a person standing by to fan him. He could not bear even the winter's sun; and at home, never walked in the open air without a broad-brimmed hat on his head. He usually travelled in a litter, and by night: and so slow, that he was two days in going to Praeneste or Tibur. And if he could go to any place by sea, he preferred that mode of travelling. He carefully nourished his health against his many infirmities, avoiding chiefly the free use of the bath; but he was often rubbed with oil, and sweated in a stove; after which he was washed with tepid water, warmed either by a fire, or by being exposed to the heat of the sun. When, upon

account of his nerves, he was obliged to have recourse to sea-water, or the waters of Albula, he was contented with sitting over a wooden tub, which he called by a Spanish name (132) Dureta, and plunging his hands and feet in the water by turns.

⁸³ Exercitationes campestris equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis, subsultim decurreret segestia vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

LXXXIII. As soon as the civil wars were ended, he gave up riding and other military exercises in the Campus Martius, and took to playing at ball, or football; but soon afterwards used no other exercise than that of going abroad in his litter, or walking. Towards the end of his walk, he would run leaping, wrapped up in a short cloak or cape. For amusement he would sometimes angle, or play with dice, pebbles, or nuts, with little boys, collected from various countries, and particularly Moors and Syrians, for their beauty or amusing talk. But dwarfs, and such as were in any way deformed, he held in abhorrence, as *lusus naturae* (nature's abortions), and of evil omen.

⁸⁴ Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores non nisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono, dabatque assidue phonascope operam; sed non numquam, infirmatis faucibus, praeconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

LXXXIV. From early youth he devoted himself with great diligence and application to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal arts. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty affairs in which he was engaged, he is said

to have read, written, and declaimed every day. He never addressed the senate, the people, or the army, but in a premeditated speech, though he did not want the talent of speaking extempore on the spur of the occasion. And lest his memory should fail him, as well as to prevent the loss of time in getting up his speeches, it was his general practice to recite them. In his intercourse with individuals, and even with his wife Livia, upon subjects of importance he wrote on his tablets all he wished to express, lest, if he spoke extempore, he should say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, in which he was diligently instructed by a master of elocution. But when he had a cold, he sometimes employed a herald to deliver his speeches to the people.

⁸⁵ Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut "Rescripta Bruto de Catone," quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item "Hortationes ad philosophiam," et aliqua "De vita sua," quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit. Poetica summam attigit. Unus liber exstat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est "Sicilia"; exstat alter aequae modicus "Epigrammatum," quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis, quidnam Ajax ageret, respondit, Aiace suum in spongeam incubuisse.

LXXXV. He composed many tracts in prose on various subjects, some of which he read occasionally in the circle of his friends, as to an auditory. Among these was his "Rescript to Brutus respecting Cato." Most of the pages he read himself, although he was advanced in years, but becoming fatigued, he gave the rest to Tiberius to finish. He likewise read over to (133) his friends his "Exhortations to Philosophy," and the "History of his own Life," which he continued in thirteen books, as far as the Cantabrian war, but no farther. He likewise made some attempts at poetry. There is extant one book written by him in hexameter verse, of which both the subject and title is "Sicily." There is also a book of Epigrams, no larger than the last, which he composed almost entirely while he was in the bath. These are all his poetical compositions for though he begun a tragedy with great zest, becoming dissatisfied with the style, he obliterated the whole; and his friends saying to him, "What is your Ajax doing?" he answered, "My Ajax has met with a sponge."

⁸⁶ Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum

ineptiis atque concinnitate et “reconditorum verborum,” ut ipse dicit, “fetoribus”; praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augment. Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprexit, exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius “myrobrechis,” ut ait, “cincinnos” usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcat et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi iudicium eius, addit haec: “Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annii an Veranii Flacci imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis, quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris? an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda?” Et quadam epistula Agrippinae neptis ingenium conlaudans, “sed opus est,” inquit, “dare te operam, ne moleste scribas et loquaris.”

LXXXVI. He cultivated a style which was neat and chaste, avoiding frivolous or harsh language, as well as obsolete words, which he calls disgusting. His chief object was to deliver his thoughts with all possible perspicuity. To attain this end, and that he might nowhere perplex, or retard the reader or hearer, he made no scruple to add prepositions to his verbs, or to repeat the same conjunction several times; which, when omitted, occasion some little obscurity, but give a grace to the style. Those who used affected language, or adopted obsolete words, he despised, as equally faulty, though in different ways. He sometimes indulged himself in jesting, particularly with his friend Mecaenas, whom he rallied upon all occasions for his fine phrases, and bantered by imitating his way of talking. Nor did he spare Tiberius, who was fond of obsolete and far-fetched expressions. He charges Mark Antony with insanity, writing rather to make men stare, than to be understood; and by way of sarcasm upon his depraved and fickle taste in the choice of words, he writes to him thus: “And are you yet in doubt, whether Cimber Annii or Veranii Flacci be more proper for your imitation? Whether you will adopt words which Sallustius Crispus has borrowed from the ‘Origines’ of Cato? Or do you think that the verbose empty bombast of Asiatic orators is fit to be transfused into (134) our language?” And in a letter where he commends the talent of his grand-daughter, Agrippina, he says, “But you must be particularly careful, both in writing and speaking, to avoid affectation.”

⁸⁷ Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, “ad Kal. Graecas soluturos” ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint: “contenti simus hoc Catone”; et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem: “celerius quam asparagi cocuntur”; ponit assidue et pro stulto “baceolum” et pro pullo “pulleiaceum” et pro cerrito “vacerosum” et “vapide” se habere pro male et “betizare” pro languere, quod vulgo “lachanizare” dicitur; item “simus” pro sumus et “domos” genetivo casu singulari pro domus. Nec umquam aliter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet. Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumducitque.

LXXXVII. In ordinary conversation, he made use of several peculiar expressions, as appears from letters in his own hand-writing; in which, now and then, when he means to intimate that some persons would never pay their debts, he says, “They will pay at the Greek Calends.” And when he advised patience in the present posture of affairs, he would say, “Let us be content with our Cato.” To describe anything in haste, he said, “It was sooner done than asparagus is cooked.” He constantly puts baceolus for stultus, pullejaceus for pullus, vacerosus for cerritus, vapide se habere for male, and betizare for languere, which is commonly called lachanizare. Likewise simus for sumus, domos for domus in the genitive singular. With respect to the last two peculiarities, lest any person should imagine that they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies. I have likewise remarked this singularity in his hand-writing; he never divides his words, so as to carry the letters which cannot be inserted at the end of a line to the next, but puts them below the other, enclosed by a bracket.

⁸⁸ Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto, cuius manu “ixi” pro “ipsi” scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

LXXXVIII. He did not adhere strictly to orthography as laid down by the

grammarians, but seems to have been of the opinion of those who think, that we ought to write as we speak; for as to his changing and omitting not only letters but whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, that any person should have told us, that he sent a successor to a consular lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant, illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had written “ixi” for “ipsi.” When he had occasion to write in cypher, he put B for A, C for B, and so forth; and instead of Z, AA.

⁸⁹ Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum levioe studio tenebatur. In quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit spectaculis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aequae sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli “de prole augenda” et Rutili “de modo aedificiorum,” quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse. Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit; recitantis et benigne et patienter audit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendeatur, admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri.

LXXXIX. He was no less fond of the Greek literature, in which he made considerable proficiency; having had Apollodorus (135) of Pergamus, for his master in rhetoric; whom, though much advanced in years, he took with him from The City, when he was himself very young, to Apollonia. Afterwards, being instructed in philology by Sephaerus, he received into his family Areus the philosopher, and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor; but he never could speak the Greek tongue readily, nor ever ventured to compose in it. For if there was occasion for him to deliver his sentiments in that language, he always expressed what he had to say in Latin, and gave it another to translate. He was evidently not unacquainted with the poetry of the Greeks, and had a great taste for the

ancient comedy, which he often brought upon the stage, in his public spectacles. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he paid particular attention to precepts and examples which might be useful in public or private life. Those he used to extract verbatim, and gave to his domestics, or send to the commanders of the armies, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, when any of them seemed to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the senate, and frequently made them known to the people by his edicts; such as the orations of Quintus Metellus “for the Encouragement of Marriage,” and those of Rutilius “On the Style of Building;” to show the people that he was not the first who had promoted those objects, but that the ancients likewise had thought them worthy their attention. He patronised the men of genius of that age in every possible way. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature; and not only poetry and history, but orations and dialogues. He was displeased, however, that anything should be written upon himself, except in a grave manner, and by men of the most eminent abilities: and he enjoined the praetors not to suffer his name to be made too common in the contests amongst orators and poets in the theatres.

⁹⁰ Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicionem in abditum et concamaratum locum se reciperet, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcurso fulguris, ut praediximus.

XC. We have the following account of him respecting his (136) belief in omens and such like. He had so great a dread of thunder and lightning that he always carried about him a seal’s skin, by way of preservation. And upon any apprehension of a violent storm, he would retire to some place of concealment in a vault under ground; having formerly been terrified by a flash of lightning, while travelling in the night, as we have already mentioned.

⁹¹ Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegebat. Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio monitus; cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris lectica eius, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atque lacerata est. Ipse per omne ver plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore rariora et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Iovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit, queri Capitolinum Iovem cultores sibi abduci, seque respondisse, Tonantem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis

fastigium aedis redimiit, quod ea fere ianuis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quotannis die certo emendicabat a populo cavam manum asses porrigentibus praebens.

XCI. He neither slighted his own dreams nor those of other people relating to himself. At the battle of Philippi, although he had resolved not to stir out of his tent, on account of his being indisposed, yet, being warned by a dream of one of his friends, he changed his mind; and well it was that he did so, for in the enemy's attack, his couch was pierced and cut to pieces, on the supposition of his being in it. He had many frivolous and frightful dreams during the spring; but in the other parts of the year, they were less frequent and more significative. Upon his frequently visiting a temple near the Capitol, which he had dedicated to Jupiter Tonans, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were taken from him, and that upon this he replied, he had only given him The Thunderer for his porter . He therefore immediately suspended little bells round the summit of the temple; because such commonly hung at the gates of great houses. In consequence of a dream, too, he always, on a certain day of the year, begged alms of the people, reaching out his hand to receive the dole which they offered him.

⁹² Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturique et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluvium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos iam ad terram languentisque ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum re publica Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur aut Nonis quicquam rei seriae incoharet; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam *dysphemian* nominis.

XCII. Some signs and omens he regarded as infallible. If in the morning his shoe was put on wrong, the left instead of the right, that boded some disaster. If when he commenced a long journey, by sea or land, there happened to fall a mizzling rain, he held it to be a good sign of a speedy and happy return. He was much affected likewise with any thing out of the common course of nature. A palm-tree which (137) chanced to grow up between some stone's in the court of his house, he transplanted into a court where the images of the Household Gods

were placed, and took all possible care to make it thrive in the island of Capri, some decayed branches of an old ilex, which hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves upon his arrival; at which he was so delighted, that he made an exchange with the Republic of Naples, of the island of Oenaria [Ischia], for that of Capri. He likewise observed certain days; as never to go from home the day after the Nundiae, nor to begin any serious business upon the nones; avoiding nothing else in it, as he writes to Tiberius, than its unlucky name.

⁹³ Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circum stantium solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragrandia Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.

XCIII. With regard to the religious ceremonies of foreign nations, he was a strict observer of those which had been established by ancient custom; but others he held in no esteem. For, having been initiated at Athens, and coming afterwards to hear a cause at Rome, relative to the privileges of the priests of the Attic Ceres, when some of the mysteries of their sacred rites were to be introduced in the pleadings, he dismissed those who sat upon the bench as judges with him, as well as the by-standers, and heard the argument upon those points himself. But, on the other hand, he not only declined, in his progress through Egypt, to go out of his way to pay a visit to Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Caius (138) for not paying his devotions at Jerusalem in his passage through Judaea.

⁹⁴ Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere, quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animad vertique posset. Velitris antiquitus tacta de caelo parte muri, responsum est eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis apparuit ostentum illud Augusti potentiam portendisse. Auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur, regem populo Romano naturam parturire; senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum

ad aerarium deferretur. In Asclepiadis Mendetis *Theologumenon* libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam velut picti draconis nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstineret; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius utero Atiae iubar solis exortum. Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium, comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre risus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum exstat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula loco plano, postera luce non comparuit, diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est iacens contra solis exortum. Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano obstrepentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negantur ibi ranae coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex improviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit et, cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex improviso leniter delapsa reddidit. Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus continuis noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse atque in eius sinum signum rei publicae quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tanquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero, de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset, ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum rettulisset. M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie

liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse, cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit. Sumentem virilem togam tunica lati clavi, resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur. Apud Mundam Divus Iulius, castris locum capiens cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus duram et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet. In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

XCIV. Since we are upon this subject, it may not be improper to give an account of the omens, before and at his birth, as well as afterwards, which gave hopes of his future greatness, and the good fortune that constantly attended him. A part of the wall of Velletri having in former times been struck with thunder, the response of the soothsayers was, that a native of that town would some time or other arrive at supreme power; relying on which prediction, the Velletrians both then, and several times afterwards, made war upon the Roman people, to their own ruin. At last it appeared by the event, that the omen had portended the elevation of Augustus. Julius Marathus informs us, that a few months before his birth, there happened at Rome a prodigy, by which was signified that Nature was in travail with a king for the Roman people; and that the senate, in alarm, came to the resolution that no child born that year should be brought up; but that those amongst them, whose wives were pregnant, to secure to themselves a chance of that dignity, took care that the decree of the senate should not be registered in the treasury. I find in the theological books of Asclepiades the Mendesian, that Atia, upon attending at midnight a religious solemnity in honour of Apollo, when the rest of the matrons retired home, fell asleep on her couch in the temple, and that a serpent immediately crept to her, and soon after withdrew. She awaking upon it, purified herself, as usual after the embraces of her husband; and instantly

there appeared upon her body a mark in the form of a serpent, which she never after could efface, and which obliged her, during the subsequent part of her life, to decline the use of the public baths. Augustus, it was added, was born in the tenth month after, and for that reason was thought to be the son of Apollo. The (139) same Atia, before her delivery, dreamed that her bowels stretched to the stars, and expanded through the whole circuit of heaven and earth. His father Octavius, likewise, dreamt that a sun-beam issued from his wife's womb. Upon the day he was born, the senate being engaged in a debate on Catiline's conspiracy, and Octavius, in consequence of his wife's being in childbirth, coming late into the house, it is a well-known fact, that Publius Nigidius, upon hearing the occasion of his coming so late, and the hour of his wife's delivery, declared that the world had got a master. Afterwards, when Octavius, upon marching with his army through the deserts of Thrace, consulted the oracle in the grove of father Bacchus, with barbarous rites, concerning his son, he received from the priests an answer to the same purpose; because, when they poured wine upon the altar, there burst out so prodigious a flame, that it ascended above the roof of the temple, and reached up to the heavens; a circumstance which had never happened to any one but Alexander the Great, upon his sacrificing at the same altars. And next night he dreamt that he saw his son under a more than human appearance, with thunder and a sceptre, and the other insignia of Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, having on his head a radiant crown, mounted upon a chariot decked with laurel, and drawn by six pair of milk- white horses. Whilst he was yet an infant, as Caius Drusus relates, being laid in his cradle by his nurse, and in a low place, the next day he was not to be found, and after he had been sought for a long time, he was at last discovered upon a lofty tower, lying with his face towards the rising sun . When he first began to speak, he ordered the frogs that happened to make a troublesome noise, upon an estate belonging to the family near the town, to be silent; and there goes a report that frogs never croaked there since that time. As he was dining in a grove at the fourth mile-stone on the Campanian road, an eagle suddenly snatched a piece of bread out of his hand, and, soaring to a prodigious height, after hovering, came down most unexpectedly, and returned it to him. Quintus Catulus had a dream, for two nights successively after his dedication of the Capitol. The first night he dreamt (140) that Jupiter, out of several boys of the order of the nobility who were playing about his altar, selected one, into whose bosom he put the public seal of the commonwealth, which he held in his hand; but in his vision the next night, he saw in the bosom of Jupiter Capitolinus, the same boy; whom he ordered to be removed, but it was forbidden by the God, who declared that it must be brought up to become the guardian of the state. The next day, meeting Augustus,

with whom till that hour he had not the least acquaintance, and looking at him with admiration, he said he was extremely like the boy he had seen in his dream. Some give a different account of Catulus's first dream, namely, that Jupiter, upon several noble lads requesting of him that they might have a guardian, had pointed to one amongst them, to whom they were to prefer their requests; and putting his fingers to the boy's mouth to kiss, he afterwards applied them to his own. Marcus Cicero, as he was attending Caius Caesar to the Capitol, happened to be telling some of his friends a dream which he had the preceding night, in which he saw a comely youth, let down from heaven by a golden chain, who stood at the door of the Capitol, and had a whip put into his hands by Jupiter. And immediately upon sight of Augustus, who had been sent for by his uncle Caesar to the sacrifice, and was as yet perfectly unknown to most of the company, he affirmed that it was the very boy he had seen in his dream. When he assumed the manly toga, his senatorian tunic becoming loose in the seam on each side, fell at his feet. Some would have this to forbode, that the order, of which that was the badge of distinction, would some time or other be subject to him. Julius Caesar, in cutting down a wood to make room for his camp near Munda, happened to light upon a palm-tree, and ordered it to be preserved as an omen of victory. From the root of this tree there put out immediately a sucker, which, in a few days, grew to such a height as not only to equal, but overshadow it, and afford room for many nests of wild pigeons which built in it, though that species of bird particularly avoids a hard and rough leaf. It is likewise reported, that Caesar was chiefly influenced by this prodigy, to prefer his sister's grandson before all others for his successor. (141) In his retirement at Apollonia, he went with his friend Agrippa to visit Theogenes, the astrologer, in his gallery on the roof. Agrippa, who first consulted the fates, having great and almost incredible fortunes predicted of him, Augustus did not choose to make known his nativity, and persisted for some time in the refusal, from a mixture of shame and fear, lest his fortunes should be predicted as inferior to those of Agrippa. Being persuaded, however, after much importunity, to declare it, Theogenes started up from his seat, and paid him adoration. Not long afterwards, Augustus was so confident of the greatness of his destiny, that he published his horoscope, and struck a silver coin, bearing upon it the sign of Capricorn, under the influence of which he was born.

⁹⁵ Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monimentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo ostenderunt, et

immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coniectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi.

XCV. After the death of Caesar, upon his return from Apollonia, as he was entering the city, on a sudden, in a clear and bright sky, a circle resembling the rainbow surrounded the body of the sun; and, immediately afterwards, the tomb of Julia, Caesar's daughter, was struck by lightning. In his first consulship, whilst he was observing the auguries, twelve vultures presented themselves, as they had done to Romulus. And when he offered sacrifice, the livers of all the victims were folded inward in the lower part; a circumstance which was regarded by those present, who had skill in things of that nature, as an indubitable prognostic of great and wonderful fortune.

⁹⁶ Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. Contractis ad Bononiam triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio eius supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit; notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem qualis secuta est, et exitum praesagiente. Philippis Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit auctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itinere avio occurrisset. Circa Perusiam, sacrificio non litanti cum augeri hostias imperasset, ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatus abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices, quae periculosa et adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent, cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exta haberent; neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exsilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit, homini Eutyclus, bestiae Nikon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

XCVI. He certainly had a presentiment of the issue of all his wars. When the troops of the Triumviri were collected about Bologna, an eagle, which sat upon his tent, and was attacked by two crows, beat them both, and struck them to the ground, in the view of the whole army; who thence inferred that discord would arise between the three colleagues, which would be attended with the like event: and it accordingly happened. At Philippi, he was assured of success by a Thessalian, upon the authority, as he pretended, of the Divine Caesar himself, who had appeared to him while he was travelling in a bye-road. At Perugia, the sacrifice not presenting any favourable intimations, but the contrary, he ordered fresh victims; the enemy, however, carrying off the sacred things in a sudden

sally, it was agreed amongst the augurs, that all the (142) dangers and misfortunes which had threatened the sacrificer, would fall upon the heads of those who had got possession of the entrails. And, accordingly, so it happened. The day before the sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leaped out of the sea, and laid itself at his feet. At Actium, while he was going down to his fleet to engage the enemy, he was met by an ass with a fellow driving it. The name of the man was Eutychus, and that of the animal, Nichon . After the victory, he erected a brazen statue to each, in a temple built upon the spot where he had encamped

⁹⁷ Mors quoque eius, de qua dehinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit; nam se, quamquam conscriptis paratisque iam tabulis, negavit suscepturum quae non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod aesar, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur. Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atque aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est, *non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum*; atque itinere incohato Asturam perrexit, et inde praeter consuetudinem de nocte ad occasionem aurae evectus, causam valitudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi.

XCVII. His death, of which I shall now speak, and his subsequent deification, were intimated by divers manifest prodigies. As he was finishing the census amidst a great crowd of people in the Campus Martius, an eagle hovered round him several times, and then directed its course to a neighbouring temple, where it settled upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing this, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is usual to make on such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should never accomplish, though the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first letter of his name, in an inscription upon one of his statues, was struck out by lightning; which was interpreted as a presage that he would live only a hundred days longer, the letter C denoting that number; and that he would be placed amongst the Gods, as

Aesar, which is the remaining part of the word Caesar, signifies, in the Tuscan language, a God . Being, therefore, about dispatching Tiberius to Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several persons who applied to him respecting causes they had depending, he cried out, (and it was afterwards regarded as an omen of his death), “Not all the business in the world, shall detain me at home one moment longer;” and setting out upon his journey, he went (143) as far as Astura; whence, contrary to his custom, he put to sea in the night-time, as there was a favourable wind.

⁹⁸ Tunc Campaniae ora proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo. Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omnia et eximias laudes congesserant, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui*. Qua re admodum exhilaratus quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed et ceteros continuos dies inter varia munuscula togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo praebebat, permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit. Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat, a desidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum, Masgaban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae *ktisten* vocare consuevit. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti tumulum cum e triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Ktiston de tymbon eisoro pyroumenon
conversusque ad Thrasyllum Tiberi comitem, contra accubantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit, cuiusnam poetae putaret esse; quo haesitante subiecit alium:

Horas phaessi Masgaban timomenon;
ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil aliud responderet quam, cuiuscumque essent optimos esse, cachinnum sustulit atque in iocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim traiecit, quanquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo adgravata valitudine tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli maiori negotio animum accommodavit.

XCVIII. His malady proceeded from diarrhoea; notwithstanding which, he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Capri; where he gave himself up entirely to repose and relaxation. Happening to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria, just then arrived, clad all in white, with chaplets upon their heads, and offering incense, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamations, crying out, "By you we live, by you we sail securely, by you enjoy our liberty and our fortunes." At which being greatly pleased, he distributed to each of those who attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them an assurance on oath, not to employ the sum given them in any other way, than the purchase of Alexandrian merchandize. And during several days afterwards, he distributed Togae and Pallia, among other gifts, on condition that the Romans should use the Greek, and the Greeks the Roman dress and language. He likewise constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom still continued at Capri. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, and not only permitted, but required from them the utmost freedom in jesting, and scrambling for fruit, victuals, and other things which he threw amongst them. In a word, he indulged himself in all the ways of amusement he could contrive. He called an island near Capri, Apragopolis, "The City of the Doltles," from the indolent life which several of his party led there. A favourite of his, one Masgabas, he used (144) to call Ktistaes. as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his room a great company of people with torches, assembled at the tomb of this Masgabas, who died the year before, he uttered very distinctly this verse, which he made extempore.

Ktistou de tumbo, eisoro pyroumenon

(Blazing with lights I see the founder's tomb.)

Then turning to Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius, who reclined on the other side of the table, he asked him, who knew nothing about the matter, what poet he thought was the author of that verse; and on his hesitating to reply, he added another:

Oras phaessi Masgaban timomenon

(Honor'd with torches Masgabas you see);

and put the same question to him concerning that likewise. The latter replying, that, whoever might be the author, they were excellent verses, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it. Soon afterwards, passing over to Naples, although at that time greatly disordered in his bowels by the frequent returns of his disease, he sat out the exhibition of the gymnastic games which were performed in his honour every five years, and proceeded with

Tiberius to the place intended. But on his return, his disorder increasing, he stopped at Nola, sent for Tiberius back again, and had a long discourse with him in private; after which, he gave no further attention to business of any importance.

⁹⁹ Supremo die identidem exquirens, an iam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit, et admissos amicos percontatus, *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*, adiecit et clausulam:

Ei de pan echei kalos, to paignio

Dote kroton, kai pantes umeis meta charas propempsate.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: *Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale!* sortitus exitum facilem et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quotiens audisset cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi et suis *euthanasian* similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavefactus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminutio fuit, siquidem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

XCIX. Upon the day of his death, he now and then enquired, if there was any disturbance in the town on his account; and calling for a mirror, he ordered his hair to be combed, and his shrunk cheeks to be adjusted. Then asking his friends who were admitted into the room, “Do ye think that I have acted my part on the stage of life well?” he immediately subjoined,

Ei de pan echei kalos, to paignio

Dote kroton, kai pantes umeis meta charas propempsate

(If all be right, with joy your voices raise,

In loud applauses to the actor’s praise).

(145) After which, having dismissed them all, whilst he was inquiring of some persons who were just arrived from Rome, concerning Drusus’s daughter, who was in a bad state of health, he expired suddenly, amidst the kisses of Livia, and with these words: “Livia! live mindful of our union; and now, farewell!” dying a very easy death, and such as he himself had always wished for. For as often as he heard that any person had died quickly and without pain, he wished for himself and his friends the like *euthanasian* (an easy death), for that was the word he made use of. He betrayed but one symptom, before he breathed his last, of being delirious, which was this: he was all on a sudden much frightened, and

complained that he was carried away by forty men. But this was rather a presage, than any delirium: for precisely that number of soldiers belonging to the pretorian cohort, carried out his corpse.

¹⁰⁰ Obiit in cubiculo eodem, quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIII. Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V et XXX minus. Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt, noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit, urbiue intulit atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exsequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui suaderet, appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campum crematusque. Nec defuit vir praetorius, qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

C. He expired in the same room in which his father Octavius had died, when the two Sextus's, Pompey and Apuleius, were consuls, upon the fourteenth of the calends of September [the 19th August], at the ninth hour of the day, being seventy-six years of age, wanting only thirty-five days . His remains were carried by the magistrates of the municipal towns and colonies, from Nola to Bovillae, and in the nighttime, because of the season of the year. During the intervals, the body lay in some basilica, or great temple, of each town. At Bovillae it was met by the Equestrian Order, who carried it to the city, and deposited it in the vestibule of his own house. The senate proceeded with so much zeal in the arrangement of his funeral, and paying honour to his memory, that, amongst several other proposals, some were for having the funeral procession made through the triumphal gate, preceded by the image of Victory

which is in the senate-house, and the children of highest rank and of both sexes singing the funeral (146) dirge. Others proposed, that on the day of the funeral, they should lay aside their gold rings, and wear rings of iron; and others, that his bones should be collected by the priests of the principal colleges. One likewise proposed to transfer the name of August to September, because he was born in the latter, but died in the former. Another moved, that the whole period of time, from his birth to his death, should be called the Augustan age, and be inserted in the calendar under that title. But at last it was judged proper to be moderate in the honours paid to his memory. Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise, one before the temple of Julius, by Tiberius; and the other before the rostra, under the old shops, by Drusus, Tiberius's son. The body was then carried upon the shoulders of senators into the Campus Martius, and there burnt. A man of pretorian rank affirmed upon oath, that he saw his spirit ascend from the funeral pile to heaven. The most distinguished persons of the equestrian order, bare-footed, and with their tunics loose, gathered up his relics, and deposited them in the mausoleum, which had been built in his sixth consulship between the Flaminian Way and the bank of the Tiber; at which time likewise he gave the groves and walks about it for the use of the people.

¹⁰¹ Testamentum L. Planco C. Silio cons. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu, scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aequae voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit primos: Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit, secundos: Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis, tertio gradu: propinquos amicosque compluris. Legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecenos nummos: quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit perduxitque quaedam ad vicies sestertium, quibus solvendis annum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate, nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos quam milies et quingenties professus, quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis ceterisque hereditatibus in rem publicam absumpsisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid iis accidisset, vetuit sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum

statuerentur, tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.

CI. He had made a will a year and four months before his death, upon the third of the nones of April [the 11th of April], in the consulship of Lucius Plancus, and Caius Silius. It consisted of two skins of parchment, written partly in his own hand, and partly by his freedmen Polybius and Hilarian; and had been committed to the custody of the Vestal Virgins, by whom it was now produced, with three codicils under seal, as well as the will: all these were opened and read in the senate. He appointed as his direct heirs, Tiberius for two (147) thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, both of whom he desired to assume his name. The heirs in remainder were Drusus, Tiberius's son, for one third, and Germanicus with his three sons for the residue. In the third place, failing them, were his relations, and several of his friends. He left in legacies to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces; to the tribes three millions five hundred thousand; to the pretorian troops a thousand each man; to the city cohorts five hundred; and to the legions and soldiers three hundred each; which several sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death, having taken due care that the money should be ready in his exchequer. For the rest he ordered different times of payment. In some of his bequests he went as far as twenty thousand sesterces, for the payment of which he allowed a twelvemonth; alleging for this procrastination the scantiness of his estate; and declaring that not more than a hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would come to his heirs: notwithstanding that during the twenty preceding years, he had received, in legacies from his friends, the sum of fourteen hundred millions; almost the whole of which, with his two paternal estates, and others which had been left him, he had spent in the service of the state. He left orders that the two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, if anything happened to them, should not be buried in his tomb. With regard to the three codicils before-mentioned, in one of them he gave orders about his funeral; another contained a summary of his acts, which he intended should be inscribed on brazen plates, and placed in front of his mausoleum; in the third he had drawn up a concise account of the state of the empire; the number of troops enrolled, what money there was in the treasury, the revenue, and arrears of taxes; to which were added the names of the freedmen and slaves from whom the several accounts might be taken.

THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS

¹ Patricia gens Claudia — fuit enim et alia plebeia, nec potentia minor nec dignitate — orta est ex Regillis oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientium manu conmigrauit auctore Tito Tatío consorte Romuli, uel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe, post reges exactos sexto fere anno; atque in patricias cooptata agrum insuper trans Anienem clientibus locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publice accepit. Deinceps procedente tempore duodetriginta consulatus, dictaturas quinque, censuras septem, triumphos sex, duas ouationes adepta est. Cum praenominibus cognominibusque uariis distingueretur, Luci praenomen consensu repudiauit, postquam e duobus gentilibus praeditis eo alter latrocinii, caedis alter conuictus est. Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo[d] significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus.

I. The patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a plebeian family of the same name, no way inferior to the other either in power or dignity) came originally from Regilli, a town of the Sabines. They removed thence to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependants, under Titus Tatius, who reigned jointly with Romulus in the kingdom; or, perhaps, what is related upon better authority, under Atta Claudius, the head of the family, who was admitted by the senate into the patrician order six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins. They likewise received from the state, lands beyond the Anio for their followers, and a burying-place for themselves near the capitol. After this period, in process of time, the family had the honour of twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations. Their descendants were distinguished by various praenomina and cognomina, but rejected by common consent the praenomen of (193) Lucius, when, of the two races who bore it, one individual had been convicted of robbery, and another of murder. Amongst other cognomina, they assumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine language signifies strong and valiant.

² Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam sequius admissa in rem p. Extant. Sed ut praecipua commemorem, Appius Caecus societatem cum rege Pyrro ut parum salubrem iniri dissuasit. Claudius Caudex primus freto classe traiecto Poenos Sicilia expulit. Tiberius Nero aduenientem ex Hispania cum ingentibus copiis Hasdrubalem, prius quam Hannibali fratri coniungeretur, oppressit. Contra Claudius Regillianus, decemuir legibus scribendis, uirginem

ingenuam per uim libidinis gratia in seruitutem asserere conatus causa plebi fuit secedendi rursus a patribus. Claudius [Russus] statua sibi diademata ad Appi Forum posita Italiam per clientelas occupare temptauit. Claudius Pulcher apud Siciliam non pascentibus in auspicando pullis ac per contemptum religionis mari demersis, quasi ut biberent quando esse nollent, proelium nauale iniit; superatusque, cum dictatorem dicere a senatu iuberetur, uelut iterum inludens discrimini publico Glycian uiatorem suum dixit. Extant et feminarum exempla diuersa aequae, siquidem gentis eiusdem utraque Claudia fuit, et quae nauem cum sacris Matris deum Idaeae obhaerentem Tiberino uado extraxit, precata propalam, ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret; et quae nouo more iudicium maiestatis apud populum mulier subiit, quod in conferta multitudine aegre procedente carpento palam optauerat, ut frater suus Pulcher reuiuisceret atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romae foret. Praeterea notatissimum est, Claudios omnis, excepto dum taxat P. Clodio, qui ob expellendum urbe Ciceronem plebeio homini atque etiam natu minori in adoptionem se dedit, optimates adsertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse atque aduersus plebem adeo uiolentos et contumaces, ut ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare uestem aut deprecari sustinuerit; nonnulli in altercatione et iurgio tribunos plebi pulsauerint. Etiam uirgo Vestalis fratrem iniussu populi triumphantem ascenso simul curru usque in Capitolium prosecuta est, ne uetare aut intercedere fas cuiquam tribunorum esset.

II. It appears from record, that many of the Claudii have performed signal services to the state, as well as committed acts of delinquency. To mention the most remarkable only, Appius Caecus dissuaded the senate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the republic. Claudius Candex first passed the straits of Sicily with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians out of the island. Claudius Nero cut off Hasdrubal with a vast army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain, before he could form a junction with his brother Hannibal. On the other hand, Claudius Appius Regillanus, one of the Decemvirs, made a violent attempt to have a free virgin, of whom he was enamoured, adjudged a slave; which caused the people to secede a second time from the senate. Claudius Drusus erected a statue of himself wearing a crown at Appii Forum, and endeavoured, by means of his dependants, to make himself master of Italy. Claudius Pulcher, when, off the coast of Sicily, the pullets used for taking augury would not eat, in contempt of the omen threw them overboard, as if they should drink at least, if they would not eat; and then engaging the enemy, was routed. After his defeat, when he (194) was ordered by the senate to name a dictator,

making a sort of jest of the public disaster, he named Glycias, his apparitor. The women of this family, likewise, exhibited characters equally opposed to each other. For both the Claudias belonged to it; she, who, when the ship freighted with things sacred to the Idaean Mother of the Gods, stuck fast in the shallows of the Tiber, got it off, by praying to the Goddess with a loud voice, "Follow me, if I am chaste;" and she also, who, contrary to the usual practice in the case of women, was brought to trial by the people for treason; because, when her litter was stopped by a great crowd in the streets, she openly exclaimed, "I wish my brother Pulcher was alive now, to lose another fleet, that Rome might be less thronged." Besides, it is well known, that all the Claudii, except Publius Claudius, who, to effect the banishment of Cicero, procured himself to be adopted by a plebeian, and one younger than himself, were always of the patrician party, as well as great sticklers for the honour and power of that order; and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the plebeians, that not one of them, even in the case of a trial for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favour; and some of them in their contests, have even proceeded to lay hands on the tribunes of the people. A Vestal Virgin likewise of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honour of a triumph contrary to the will of the people, mounted the chariot with him, and attended him into the Capitol, that it might not be lawful for any of the tribunes to interfere and forbid it.

³ Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Caesar genus trahit, e[t] quidem utrumque: paternum a Tiberio Nerone, maternum ab Appio Pulchro, qui ambo Appi Caeci filii fuerunt. Insetus est et Liuiorum familiae adoptato in eam materno auo. Quae familia, quanquam plebeia, tamen et ipsa admodum floruit octo consulatibus, censuris duabus, triumphis tribus, dictatura etiam ac magisterio equitum honorata; clara et insignibus uiris ac maxime Salinatore Drusisque. Salinator uniuersas tribus in censura notauit leuitatis nomine, quod, cum se post Priorem consulatum multa inrogata condemnassent, consulem iterum censoremque fecissent. Drusus hostium duce Drauso comminus trucidato sibi posterisque suis cognomen inuenit. Traditur etiam pro praetore ex prouincia Gallia ret[t]ulisse aurum Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum nec, ut fama est, extortum a Camillo. Eius abnepos ob eximiam aduersus Gracchos operam patronus senatus dictus filium reliquit, quem in simili dissensione multa uarie molientem diuersa factio per fraudem interemit.

III. From this family Tiberius Caesar is descended; indeed both by the father and mother's side; by the former from Tiberius Nero, and by the latter from Appius Pulcher, who were both sons of Appius Caecus. He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather into it; which family, although plebeian, made a (195) distinguished figure, having had the honour of eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship, and the office of master of the horse; and was famous for eminent men, particularly, Salinator and the Drusi. Salinator, in his censorship, branded all the tribes, for their inconstancy in having made him consul a second time, as well as censor, although they had condemned him to a heavy fine after his first consulship. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new surname, by killing in single combat Drausus, the enemy's chief. He is likewise said to have recovered, when pro-praetor in the province of Gaul, the gold which was formerly given to the Senones, at the siege of the Capitol, and had not, as is reported, been forced from them by Camillus. His great-great-grandson, who, for his extraordinary services against the Gracchi, was styled the "Patron of the Senate," left a son, who, while plotting in a sedition of the same description, was treacherously murdered by the opposite party.

⁴ Pater Tiberi, Nero, quaestor C. Caesaris Alexandrino bello classi praepositus, plurimum ad uictoriam contulit. Quare et pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus et ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in quis Narbo et Arelate erant, missus est. Tamen Caesare occiso, cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de praemiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit. Praetura deinde functus, cum exitu anni discordia inter triumuiros orta esset, retentis ultra iustum tempus insignibus L. Antonium consulem triumuiiri fratrem ad Perusiam secutus, deditione a ceteris facta, solus permansit in partibus ac primo Praeneste, inde Neapolim euasit seruisque ad pilleum frustra uocatis in Siciliam profugit. Sed indigne ferens nec statim se in conspectum Sexti Pompei admissum et fascium usu prohibitum, ad M. Antonium traiecit in Achaia. Cum quo breui reconciliata inter omnis pace Romam redit uxoremque Liuiam Drusillam et tunc grauidam et ante iam apud se filium enixam petenti Augusto concessit. Nec multo post diem obiit, utroque liberorum superstite, Tiberio Drusoque Neronibus.

IV. But the father of Tiberius Caesar, being quaestor to Caius Caesar, and commander of his fleet in the war of Alexandria, contributed greatly to its success. He was therefore made one of the high-priests in the room of Publius Scipio; and was sent to settle some colonies in Gaul, and amongst the rest, those

of Narbonne and Arles . After the assassination of Caesar, however, when the rest of the senators, for fear of public disturbances; were for having the affair buried in oblivion, he proposed a resolution for rewarding those who had killed the tyrant. Having filled the office of praetor, and at the end of the year a disturbance breaking out amongst the triumviri, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following Lucius Antonius the consul, brother of the triumvir, to Perusia, though the rest submitted, yet he himself continued firm to the party, and escaped first to Praeneste, and then to Naples; whence, having in vain invited the slaves to liberty, he fled over to Sicily. But resenting (196) his not being immediately admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompey, and being also prohibited the use of the fasces, he went over into Achaia to Mark Antony; with whom, upon a reconciliation soon after brought about amongst the several contending parties, he returned to Rome; and, at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife Livia Drusilla, although she was then big with child, and had before borne him a son. He died not long after; leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero.

⁵ Tiberium quidam Fundis natum existimauerunt secuti leuem coniecturam, quod materna eius auia Fundana fuerit et quod mox simulacrum Felicitatis ex s. C. Publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est Romae in Palatio XVI. Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Munatio Planco cons. Per bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est. Nec tamen desunt, qui partim antecedente anno, Hirti ac Pansae, partim insequenti, Seruili Isaurici [L.]que Antoni[i] consulatu, genitum eum scribant.

V. Some have imagined that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but there is only this trifling foundation for the conjecture, that his mother's grandmother was of Fundi, and that the image of Good Fortune was, by a decree of the senate, erected in a public place in that town. But according to the greatest number of writers, and those too of the best authority, he was born at Rome, in the Palatine quarter, upon the sixteenth of the calends of December [16th Nov.], when Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was second time consul, with Lucius Munatius Plancus, after the battle of Philippi; for so it is registered in the calendar, and the public acts. According to some, however, he was born the preceding year, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa; and others say, in the year following, during the consulship of Servilius Isauricus and Antony.

⁶ Infantiam pueritiamque habuit laboriosam et exercitatum, comes usque quaque parentum fugae; quos quidem apud Neapolim sub inruptionem hostis

nauigium clam petentis uagitu suo paene bis prodidit, semel cum a nutricis ubere, ite[ru]m cum a sinu matris raptim auferretur ab iis, qui pro necessitate temporis mulierculas leuare onere temptabant. Per Siciliam quoque et per Achaïam circumductus ac Lacedaemoniis publice, quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, digrediens inde itinere nocturno discrimen uitae adiit flamma repente e siluis undique exorta adeoque omnem comitatum circumplexa, ut Liuiæ pars uestis et capilli amburerentur. Munera, quibus a Pompeia Sex. Pompei sorore in Sicilia donatus est, chlamys et fibula, item bullae aureae, durant ostendunturque adhuc Bais. Post reditum in urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus hereditate adita mox nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius aduersarum Augusto partium fuerat. Nouem natus annos defunctum patrem pro rostris laudauit. Dehinc pubescens Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octauiae filius dexteriore ueheretur. Praesedit et asticis ludis et Troiam circensibus [lusit] ductor turmae puerorum maiorum.

VI. His infancy and childhood were spent in the midst of danger and trouble; for he accompanied his parents everywhere in their flight, and twice at Naples nearly betrayed them by his crying, when they were privately hastening to a ship, as the enemy rushed into the town; once, when he was snatched from his nurse's breast, and again, from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who on the sudden emergency wished to relieve the women of their burden. Being carried through Sicily and Achaia, and entrusted for some time to the care of the Lacedaemonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence when travelling by night, he ran the hazard of his life, by a fire which, suddenly bursting out of a wood on all sides, surrounded the whole party so closely, that part of Livia's dress and hair was burnt. The presents which were made him (197) by Pompeia, sister to Sextus Pompey, in Sicily, namely, a cloak, with a clasp, and bullae of gold, are still in existence, and shewn at Baiae to this day. After his return to the city, being adopted by Marcus Gallius, a senator, in his will, he took possession of the estate; but soon afterwards declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party opposed to Augustus. When only nine years of age, he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his father upon the rostra; and afterwards, when he had nearly attained the age of manhood, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his triumph for the victory at Actium, riding on the left-hand horse, whilst Marcellus, Octavia's son, rode that on the right. He likewise presided at the games celebrated on account of that victory; and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he commanded a troop of the biggest boys.

7 Virili toga sumpta adulescentiam omnem spatiumque insequentis aetatis usque ad principatus initia per haec fere transegit. Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in aui Drusi dedit, diuersis temporibus ac locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro, rudiaris quoque quibusdam reuocatis auctoramento centenum milium; dedit et ludos, sed absens: cuncta magnifice, impensa matris ac uitrici. Agrippinam, Marco Agrippa genitam, neptem Caecili Attici equitis R., ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae, duxit uxorem; sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quanquam bene conuenientem rursusque grauidam dimittere ac Iuliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere non sine magno angore animi, cum et Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur et Iuliae mores improbaret, ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam uulgo existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam et abegisse post diuortium doluit et semel omnino ex occursum adeo contentis et [t]umentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne umquam in conspectum ei posthac ueniret. cum Iulia primo concorditer et amore mutuo uixit, mox dissedit et aliquanto grauius, ut etiam perpetuo secubaret, intercepto communis filii pignore, qui Aquileiae natus infans extinctus est. Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit, cuius corpus pedibus toto itinere praegrediens Romam usque peruexit.

VII. After assuming the manly habit, he spent his youth, and the rest of his life until he succeeded to the government, in the following manner: he gave the people an entertainment of gladiators, in memory of his father, and another for his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places: the first in the forum, the second in the amphitheatre; some gladiators who had been honourably discharged, being induced to engage again, by a reward of a hundred thousand sesterces. He likewise exhibited public sports, at which he was not present himself. All these he performed with great magnificence, at the expense of his mother and father-in-law. He married Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Caecilius Atticus, a Roman knight, the same person to whom Cicero has addressed so many epistles. After having by her his son Drusus, he was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affection, and was again pregnant, to make way for marrying Augustus's daughter Julia. But this he did with extreme reluctance; for, besides having the warmest attachment to Agrippina, he was disgusted with the conduct of Julia, who had made indecent advances to him during the lifetime of her former husband; and that she was a woman of loose character, was the general opinion. At divorcing Agrippina he felt the deepest regret; and upon meeting her afterwards, (198) he looked after her with eyes so passionately expressive of affection, that care was taken she should never again come in his sight. At first, however, he lived

quietly and happily with Julia; but a rupture soon ensued, which became so violent, that after the loss of their son, the pledge of their union, who was born at Aquileia and died in infancy, he never would sleep with her more. He lost his brother Drusus in Germany, and brought his body to Rome, travelling all the way on foot before it.

⁸ Ciuiliū officiorū rudimentis regem Archelaum Trallianos et Thessalos, uaria quosque de causa, Augusto cognoscente defendit; pro Laodiceis Thyatireis Chiis terrae motu afflictis opemque implorantibus senatum deprecatus est; Fannium Caepionem, qui cum Varrone Murena in Augustum conspirauerat, reum maiestatis apud iudices fecit et condemnauit. interque haec duplicem curam administravit, annonae quae artior inciderat, et repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in inuidiam uenerant quasi exceptos supprimerent non solum uiatores sed et quos sacramenti metus ad eius modi latebras compulisset.

VIII. When he first applied himself to civil affairs, he defended the several causes of king Archelaus, the Trallians, and the Thessalians, before Augustus, who sat as judge at the trials. He addressed the senate on behalf of the Laodiceans, the Thyatireans, and Chians, who had suffered greatly by an earthquake, and implored relief from Rome. He prosecuted Fannius Caepio, who had been engaged in a conspiracy with Varro Muraena against Augustus, and procured sentence of condemnation against him. Amidst all this, he had besides to superintend two departments of the administration, that of supplying the city with corn, which was then very scarce, and that of clearing the houses of correction throughout Italy, the masters of which had fallen under the odious suspicion of seizing and keeping confined, not only travellers, but those whom the fear of being obliged to serve in the army had driven to seek refuge in such places.

⁹ Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit, dein ducto ad Orientem exercitu regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit. recepit et signa, quae M. Crasso ademerant Parthi. Post hoc Comatam Galliam anno fere rexit et barbarorum incursionibus et principum discordia inquietam. Exin Raeticum Vindelicumque bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum gessit. Raetico atque Vindelico gentis Alpinas, Pannonico Breucos et Dalmatas subegit, Germanico quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis conlocauit. Quas ob res et ouans et curru urbem ingressus est, prius, ut quidam putant, triumphalibus

ornamentis honoratus, nouo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris. Magistratus et maturius incohauit et paene iunctim percucurrit, quaesturam praeturam consulatum; interpositoque tempore consul iterum etiam tribuniciam potestatem in quinquennium accepit.

IX. He made his first campaign, as a military tribune, in the Cantabrian war . Afterwards he led an army into the East, where he restored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes; and seated on a tribunal, put a crown upon his head. He likewise recovered from the Parthians the standards which they had taken from Crassus. He next governed, for nearly a year, the province of Gallia Comata, which was then in great disorder, on account of the incursions of the barbarians, and the feuds of the chiefs. He afterwards commanded in the several wars against the Rhaetians, Vindelicians, Pannonians, and Germans. In the Rhaetian and Vindelician wars, he subdued the nations in the Alps; and in the Pannonian wars the Bruci, and (199) the Dalmatians. In the German war, he transplanted into Gaul forty thousand of the enemy who had submitted, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For these actions, he entered the city with an ovation, but riding in a chariot, and is said by some to have been the first that ever was honoured with this distinction. He filled early the principal offices of state; and passed through the quaestorship, praetorship, and consulate almost successively. After some interval, he was chosen consul a second time, and held the tribunitian authority during five years.

¹⁰ Tot prosperis confluentibus integra aetate ac ualitudine statuit repente secedere seque e medio quam longissime amouere: dubium uxorisme taedio, quam neque criminari aut dimittere auderet neque ultra perferre posset, an ut uitato assiduitatis fastidio auctoritatem absentia tueretur atque etiam augeret, si quando indignisset sui res p. Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse exemplo M. Agrippae, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto Mytilenas abierit, ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens uideretur. Quam causam et ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem ac requiem laborum praetendens commeatum petit; neque aut matri suppliciter precanti aut uित्रico deserui se etiam in senatu conquerenti ueniam dedit. Quin et pertinacius retinentibus, cibo per quadriduum abstinuit. Facta tandem abeundi potestate, relictis Romae uxore et filio confestim Ostiam descendit, ne uerbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito paucosque admodum in digressu exosculatus.

X. Surrounded by all this prosperity, in the prime of life and in excellent

health, he suddenly formed the resolution of withdrawing to a greater distance from Rome . It is uncertain whether this was the result of disgust for his wife, whom he neither durst accuse nor divorce, and the connection with whom became every day more intolerable; or to prevent that indifference towards him, which his constant residence in the city might produce; or in the hope of supporting and improving by absence his authority in the state, if the public should have occasion for his service. Some are of opinion, that as Augustus's sons were now grown up to years of maturity, he voluntarily relinquished the possession he had long enjoyed of the second place in the government, as Agrippa had done before him; who, when M. Marcellus was advanced to public offices, retired to Mitylene, that he might not seem to stand in the way of his promotion, or in any respect lessen him by his presence. The same reason likewise Tiberius gave afterwards for his retirement; but his pretext at this time was, that he was satiated with honours, and desirous of being relieved from the fatigue of business; requesting therefore that he might have leave to withdraw. And neither the earnest entreaties of his mother, nor the complaint of his father-in-law made even in the senate, that he was deserted by him, could prevail upon him to alter his resolution. Upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to take any sustenance for four days together. At last, having obtained permission, leaving his wife and son at Rome, he proceeded (200) to Ostia, without exchanging a word with those who attended him, and having embraced but very few persons at parting.

¹¹ Ab Ostia oram Campaniae legens inbecillitate Augusti nuntiata paulum substitit. Sed increbrescente rumore quasi ad occasionem maioris spei commoraretur, tantum non aduersis tempestatibus Rhodum enauigauit, amoenitate et salubritate insulae iam inde captus cum ad eam ab Armenia rediens appulisset. Hic modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano genus uitae ciuile admodum instituit, sine lictore aut uiatore gymnasio interdum obambulans mutuaque cum Graeculis officia usurpans prope ex aequo. Forte quondam in disponendo die mane praedixerat, quidquid aegrorum in ciuitate esset uisitare se uelle; id a proximis aliter exceptum iussique sunt omnes aegri in publicam porticum deferri ac per ualitudinum genera disponi. Percussus ergo inopinata re diuque quid ageret incertus, tandem singulos circuit excusans factum etiam tenuissimo cuique et ignoto. unum hoc modo neque praeterea quicquam notatum est, in quo exeruisse ius tribuniciae potestatis uisus sit: cum circa scholas et auditoria professorum assiduus esset, moto inter antisophistas grauiore iurgio, non defuit qui eum interuenientem et quasi studiosiorem partis alterius conuicio incesset. Sensim itaque regressus domum repente cum

apparitoribus prodiit citatumque pro tribunali uoce praeconis conuiciatorem rapi iussit in carcerem. Comperit deinde Iuliam uxorem ob libidines atque adulteria damnatam repudiumque ei suo nomine ex auctoritate Augusti remissum; et quamquam laetus nuntio, tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiae patrem frequentibus litteris et uel utcumque merita, quidquid umquam dono dedisset, concedere. transacto autem tribuniciae potestatis tempore, confessus tandem, nihil aliud secessu deuitasse se quam aemulationis cum C. Lucioque suspicionem, petit ut sibi securo iam ab hac parte, conroboratis his et secundum locum facile tutantibus, permetteretur reuisere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur. Sed neque impetrauit ultroque etiam admonitus est, dimitteret omnem curam suorum, quos tam cupide reliquisset.

XI. From Ostia, journeying along the coast of Campania, he halted awhile on receiving intelligence of Augustus's being taken ill, but this giving rise to a rumour that he stayed with a view to something extraordinary, he sailed with the wind almost full against him, and arrived at Rhodes, having been struck with the pleasantness and healthiness of the island at the time of his landing therein his return from Armenia. Here contenting himself with a small house, and a villa not much larger, near the town, he led entirely a private life, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia, without any lictor or other attendant, and returning the civilities of the Greeks with almost as much complaisance as if he had been upon a level with them. One morning, in settling the course of his daily excursion, he happened to say, that he should visit all the sick people in the town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick were brought into a public portico, and ranged in order, according to their several distempers. Being extremely embarrassed by this unexpected occurrence, he was for some time irresolute how he should act; but at last he determined to go round them all, and make an apology for the mistake even to the meanest amongst them, and such as were entirely unknown to him. One instance only is mentioned, in which he appeared to exercise his tribunitian authority. Being a constant attendant upon the schools and lecture-rooms of the professors of the liberal arts, on occasion of a quarrel amongst the wrangling (201) sophists, in which he interposed to reconcile them, some person took the liberty to abuse him as an intruder, and partial in the affair. Upon this, withdrawing privately home, he suddenly returned attended by his officers, and summoning his accuser before his tribunal, by a public crier, ordered him to be taken to prison. Afterwards he received tidings that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lewdness and adultery, and that a bill of divorce had been sent to her in his name, by the authority of Augustus. Though he secretly rejoiced at this intelligence, he

thought it incumbent upon him, in point of decency, to interpose in her behalf by frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her to retain the presents which he had made her, notwithstanding the little regard she merited from him. When the period of his tribunitian authority expired, declaring at last that he had no other object in his retirement than to avoid all suspicion of rivalry with Caius and Lucius, he petitioned that, since he was now secure in that respect, as they were come to the age of manhood, and would easily maintain themselves in possession of the second place in the state, he might be permitted to visit his friends, whom he was very desirous of seeing. But his request was denied; and he was advised to lay aside all concern for his friends, whom he had been so eager to greet.

¹² Remansit igitur Rhodi contra uoluntatem, uix per matrem consecutus, ut ad uelandam ignominiam quasi legatus Augusto abesset. Enimuero tunc non priuatum modo, sed etiam obnoxium et trepidum egit mediterraneis agris abditus uitansque praeter-nauigantium officia, quibus frequentabatur assidue, nemine cum imperio aut magistratu tendente quoquam quin deuerteret Rhodum. Et accesserunt maioris sollicitudinis causae. Namque priuignum Gaium Orienti praepositum, cum uisendi gratia traiecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lolli comitis et rectoris eius. uenit etiam in suspicionem per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones a commeatu castra repetentis mandata ad complures dedisse ambigua et quae temptare singulorum animos ad nouas res uiderentur. De qua suspicione certior ab Augusto factus non cessauit efflagitare aliquem cuiuslibet ordinis custodem factis atque dictis suis.

XII. He therefore continued at Rhodes much against his will, obtaining, with difficulty, through his mother, the title of Augustus's lieutenant, to cover his disgrace. He thenceforth lived, however, not only as a private person, but as one suspected and under apprehension, retiring into the interior of the country, and avoiding the visits of those who sailed that way, which were very frequent; for no one passed to take command of an army, or the government of a province, without touching at Rhodes. But there were fresh reasons for increased anxiety. For crossing over to Samos, on a visit to his step-son Caius, who had been appointed governor of the East, he found him prepossessed against him, by the insinuations of Marcus Lollius, his companion and director. He likewise fell under suspicion of sending by some centurions who had been promoted by himself, upon their return to the camp after a furlough, mysterious messages to several persons there, intended, apparently, to (202) tamper with them for a revolt. This jealousy respecting his designs being intimated to him by Augustus,

he begged repeatedly that some person of any of the three Orders might be placed as a spy upon him in every thing he either said or did.

¹³ Equi quoque et armorum solitas exercitationes omisit redegitque se deposito patrio habitu ad pallium et crepidas atque in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies et inuisior, adeo ut imagines eius et statuas Nemausenses subuerterint ac familiari quondam conuiuio mentione eius orta extiterit qui Gaio polliceretur, confestim se, si iuberet, Rhodum nauigaturum caputque exulis — sic enim appellabatur — relaturum. Quo praecipue non iam metu sed discrimine coactus est, tam suis quam matris inpensissimis precibus reditum expostulare, impetrauitque adiutus aliquantum etiam casu. Destinatum Augusto erat, nihil super ea re nisi ex uoluntate maioris fili statuere; is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisque in uitricum fuit. Permittente ergo Gaio reuocatus est, uerum sub condicione ne quam partem curamue rei p. attingeret.

XIII. He laid aside likewise his usual exercises of riding and arms; and quitting the Roman habit, made use of the Pallium and Crepida . In this condition he continued almost two years, becoming daily an object of increasing contempt and odium; insomuch that the people of Nismes pulled down all the images and statues of him in their town; and upon mention being made of him at table one of the company said to Caius, “I will sail over to Rhodes immediately, if you desire me, and bring you the head of the exile;” for that was the appellation now given him. Thus alarmed not only by apprehensions, but real danger, he renewed his solicitations for leave to return; and, seconded by the most urgent supplications of his mother, he at last obtained his request; to which an accident somewhat contributed. Augustus had resolved to determine nothing in the affair, but with the consent of his eldest son. The latter was at that time out of humour with Marcus Lollius, and therefore easily disposed to be favourable to his father-in-law. Caius thus acquiescing, he was recalled, but upon condition that he should take no concern whatever in the administration of affairs.

¹⁴ Rediit octauo post secessum anno, magna nec incerta spe futurorum, quam et ostentis et praedictionibus ab initio aetatis conceperat. Praegnans eo Liuia cum an marem editura esset, uariis captaret ominibus, ouum incubanti gallinae subductum nunc sua nunc ministrarum manu per uices usque fouit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est. Ac de infante Scribonius mathematicus praeclara spopondit, etiam regnaturum quandoque, sed sine regio insigni, ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Caesarum potestate. Et ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit ut apud Philippos sacratae

olim uictriciū legionum arae sponte subitis conlucere ignibus; et mox, cum Illyricum petens iuxta Patauium adisset Geryonis oraculum, sorte tracta, qua monebatur ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos iaceret, euenit ut summum numerum iacti ab eo ostenderent; hodieque sub aqua uisuntur hi tali. Ante paucos uero quam reuocaretur dies aquila numquam antea Rhodi conspecta in culmine domus eius assedit; et pridie quam de reditu certior fieret, uestimenta mutanti tunica ardere uisa est. Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum, quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admouerat, tum maxime expertus est affirmantem naue prouisa gaudium afferri; cum quidem illum durius et contra praedicta cadentibus rebus ut falsum et secretorum temere conscium, eo ipso momento, dum spatiatum una, praecipitare in mare destinasset.

XIV. He returned to Rome after an absence of nearly eight years, with great and confident hopes of his future elevation, which he had entertained from his youth, in consequence of various prodigies and predictions. For Livia, when pregnant with him, being anxious to discover, by different modes of divination, whether her offspring would be a son, amongst others, took an egg from a hen that was sitting, and kept it warm with her own hands, and those of her maids, by turns, until a fine cock-chicken, with a large comb, was hatched. Scribonius, the astrologer, predicted great things of him when he was a mere child. "He will come in time," said the prophet, "to be even a king, but without the usual badge of royal dignity;" the rule of the Caesars being as yet unknown. When he was (203) making his first expedition, and leading his army through Macedonia into Syria, the altars which had been formerly consecrated at Philippi by the victorious legions, blazed suddenly with spontaneous fires. Soon after, as he was marching to Illyricum, he stopped to consult the oracle of Geryon, near Padua; and having drawn a lot by which he was desired to throw golden tali into the fountain of Aponus, for an answer to his inquiries, he did so, and the highest numbers came up. And those very tali are still to be seen at the bottom of the fountain. A few days before his leaving Rhodes, an eagle, a bird never before seen in that island, perched on the top of his house. And the day before he received intelligence of the permission granted him to return, as he was changing his dress, his tunic appeared to be all on fire. He then likewise had a remarkable proof of the skill of Thrasyllus, the astrologer, whom, for his proficiency in philosophical researches, he had taken into his family. For, upon sight of the ship which brought the intelligence, he said, good news was coming whereas every thing going wrong before, and quite contrary to his predictions, Tiberius had intended that very moment, when they were walking together, to throw him into the sea, as an impostor, and one to whom he had too hastily entrusted his secrets.

¹⁵ Romam reuersus deducto in forum filio Druso statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit, priuata modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers. Gaio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa, coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quicquam postea pro patre familias egit aut ius, quod amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neque donauit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit ulla aliter quam ut peculio referret accepta. Nihil ex eo tempore praetermissum est ad maiestatem eius augendam ac multo magis, postquam Agrippa abdicato atque seposito certum erat, uni spem successionis incumbere.

XV. Upon his return to Rome, having introduced his son Drusus into the forum, he immediately removed from Pompey's house, in the Carinae, to the gardens of Mecaenas, on the Esquiline, and resigned himself entirely to his ease, performing only the common offices of civility in private life, without any preferment in the government. But Caius and Lucius being both carried off in the space of three years, he was adopted by Augustus, along with their brother Agrippa; being obliged in the first place to adopt Germanicus, his brother's son. After his adoption, he never more acted as master of a (204) family, nor exercised, in the smallest degree, the rights which he had lost by it. For he neither disposed of anything in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave; nor so much as received any estate left him by will, nor any legacy, without reckoning it as a part of his peculium or property held under his father. From that day forward, nothing was omitted that might contribute to the advancement of his grandeur, and much more, when, upon Agrippa being discarded and banished, it was evident that the hope of succession rested upon him alone.

¹⁶ Data rursus potestas tribunicia in quinquennium, delegatus pacandae Germaniae status, Parthorum legati mandatis Augusto Romae redditus eum quoque adire in prouincia iussi. Sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione transiit ad curam noui belli, quod grauissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica, per quindecim legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam triennio gessit in magnis omnium rerum difficultatibus summaque frugum inopia. Et quanquam saepius reuocaretur, tamen perseuerauit, metuens ne uicinus et praeualens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac perseuerantiae grande pretium tulit, toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danuuium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet, perdomito et in dicionem redacto.

XVI. The tribunitian authority was again conferred upon him for five years,

and a commission given him to settle the affairs of Germany. The ambassadors of the Parthians, after having had an audience of Augustus, were ordered to apply to him likewise in his province. But on receiving intelligence of an insurrection in Illyricum, he went over to superintend the management of that new war, which proved the most serious of all the foreign wars since the Carthaginian. This he conducted during three years, with fifteen legions and an equal number of auxiliary forces, under great difficulties, and an extreme scarcity of corn. And though he was several times recalled, he nevertheless persisted; fearing lest an enemy so powerful, and so near, should fall upon the army in their retreat. This resolution was attended with good success; for he at last reduced to complete subjection all Illyricum, lying between Italy and the kingdom of Noricum, Thrace, Macedonia, the river Danube, and the Adriatic gulf.

¹⁷ Cui gloriae amplior adhuc ex oportunitate cumulus accessit. Nam sub id fere tempus Quintilius Varus cum tribus legionibus in Germania periit, nemine dubitante quin uictores Germani iuncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset. Quas ob res triumphus ei decretus est multi[que] et magni honores. Censuerunt etiam quidam ut Pannonicus, alii ut Inuictus, nonnulli ut Pius cognominaretur. Sed de cognomine intercessit Augustus, eo contentum repromittens, quod se defuncto suscepturus esset. Triumphum ipse distulit maesta ciuitate clade Variana; nihilo minus urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intrauit positumque in Saepthis tribunal senatu astante conscendit ac medius inter duos consules cum Augusto simul sedit; unde populo consalutato circum templa deductus est.

XVII. The glory he acquired by these successes received an increase from the conjuncture in which they happened. For almost about that very time Quintilius Varus was cut off with three legions in Germany; and it was generally believed that the victorious Germans would have joined the Pannonians, had not the war of Illyricum been previously concluded. A triumph, therefore, besides many other great honours, was decreed him. Some proposed that the surname of "Pannonicus," others that of "Invincible," and others, of "O Pius," should be conferred on him; but Augustus interposed, engaging for him that he would be satisfied with that to which he would succeed at his death. He postponed his triumph, because (205) the state was at that time under great affliction for the disaster of Varus and his army. Nevertheless, he entered the city in a triumphal robe, crowned with laurel, and mounting a tribunal in the Septa, sat with Augustus between the two consuls, whilst the senate gave their attendance

standing; whence, after he had saluted the people, he was attended by them in procession to the several temples.

¹⁸ Proximo anno repetita Germania cum animaduerteret Varianam cladem temeritate et negligentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit; semper alias sui arbitrii contentusque se uno, tunc praeter consuetudinem cum compluribus de ratione belli communicavit. Curam quoque solito exactiorem praestitit. Traiecturus Rhenum commeatum omnem ad certam formulam adstrictum non ante transmisit, quam consistens apud ripam explorasset uehiculorum onera, ne qua deportarentur nisi concessa aut necessaria. Trans Rhenum uero eum uitae ordinem tenuit, ut sedens in caespite nudo cibum caperet, saepe sine tentorio pernoctaret, praecepta sequentis diei omnia, et si quid subiti muneris iniungendum esset, per libellos daret; addita monitione ut, de quo quisque dubitaret, se nec alio interprete quacumque uel noctis hora uteretur.

XVIII. Next year he went again to Germany, where finding that the defeat of Varus was occasioned by the rashness and negligence of the commander, he thought proper to be guided in everything by the advice of a council of war; whereas, at other times, he used to follow the dictates of his own judgment, and considered himself alone as sufficiently qualified for the direction of affairs. He likewise used more cautions than usual. Having to pass the Rhine, he restricted the whole convoy within certain limits, and stationing himself on the bank of the river, would not suffer the waggons to cross the river, until he had searched them at the water-side, to see that they carried nothing but what was allowed or necessary. Beyond the Rhine, such was his way of living, that he took his meals sitting on the bare ground, and often passed the night without a tent; and his regular orders for the day, as well as those upon sudden emergencies, he gave in writing, with this injunction, that in case of any doubt as to the meaning of them, they should apply to him for satisfaction, even at any hour of the night.

¹⁹ Disciplinam acerrime exegit animaduersionum et ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis atque etiam legato legionis, quod paucos milites cum liberto suo trans ripam uenatum misisset, ignominia notato. proelia, quamuis minimum fortunae casibusque permetteret, aliquanto constantius inibat, quotiens lucubrante se subito ac nullo propellente decideret lumen et extingueretur, confidens, ut aiebat, ostento sibi a maioribus suis in omni ducatu expertissimo. Sed re prospere gesta non multum afuit quin a Bructero quodam occideretur, cui inter proximos uersanti et trepidatione detecto tormentis expressa confessio est cogitati facinoris.

XIX. He maintained the strictest discipline amongst the troops; reviving many old customs relative to punishing and degrading offenders; setting a mark of disgrace even upon the commander of a legion, for sending a few soldiers with one of his freedmen across the river for the purpose of hunting. Though it was his desire to leave as little as possible in the power of fortune or accident, yet he always engaged the enemy with more confidence when, in his night-watches, the lamp failed and went out of itself; trusting, as he said, in an omen which had never failed him and his ancestors (206) in all their commands. But, in the midst of victory, he was very near being assassinated by some Bructerian, who mixing with those about him, and being discovered by his trepidation, was put to the torture, and confessed his intended crime.

²⁰ A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus triumphum, quem distulerat, egit prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat. Ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit. Batonem Pannonium ducem ingentibus donatum praemiis Rauennam transtulit, gratiam referens, quod se quondam cum exercitu iniquitate loci circumclusum passus es[se]t euadere. prandium dehinc populo mille mensis et congiarium trecentos nummos uiritim dedit. Dedicauit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine de manubiis.

XX. After two years, he returned from Germany to the city, and celebrated the triumph which he had deferred, attended by his lieutenants, for whom he had procured the honour of triumphal ornaments . Before he turned to ascend the Capitol, he alighted from his chariot, and knelt before his father, who sat by, to superintend the solemnity. Bato, the Pannonian chief, he sent to Ravenna, loaded with rich presents, in gratitude for his having suffered him and his army to retire from a position in which he had so enclosed them, that they were entirely at his mercy. He afterwards gave the people a dinner at a thousand tables, besides thirty sesterces to each man. He likewise dedicated the temple of Concord, and that of Castor and Pollux, which had been erected out of the spoils of the war, in his own and his brother's name.

²¹ Ac non multo post lege per consules lata, ut prouincias cum Augusto communiter administraret simulque censum a[u]geret, condito lustrum in Illyricum profectus est. Et statim ex itinere reuocatus iam quidem adfectum, sed tamen spirantem adhuc Augustum repperit fuitque una secreto per totum diem. Scio uulgo persuasum quasi egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio uox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: "Miserum populum R., qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit."

Ne illud quidem ignoro aliquos tradidisse, Augustum palam nec dissimulanter morum eius diritatem adeo improbasse, ut nonnumquam remissiores hilarioresque sermones superueniente eo abrumperet; sed expugnatum precibus uxoris adoptionem non abnuisse, uel etiam ambitione tractum, ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret. Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem in tanto praesertim negotio nihil temere fecisse; sed uitiis Tiberi[i] uirtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse uirtutes, praesertim cum et rei p. causa adoptare se eum pro contione iurauerit et epistulis aliquot ut peritissimum rei militaris utque unicum p. R. praesidium prosequatur. Ex quibus in exemplum pauca hinc inde subieci. “Vale, iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere, *emoi kai tais mousais strategonnomimotate*, uale. Ordinem aestiuorum tuorum ego uero [.....], mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates *kai tosaute apothym[e]ian ton strateuomenon* non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se quam tu gesseris, existimo. [h]ii quoque qui tecum fuerunt omnes confitentur, uersum illum in te posse dici:

Unus homo nobis uigilando restituit rem.

Siue quid incidit de quo sit cogitandum diligentius, siue quid stomachor, ualde medius Fidius Tiberium meum desidero succurritque uersus ille Homericus:

Toutou d’espomenoio kai ek pyros aithomenoio

Ampho nostaesuimen, epei peri oide noaesai.

Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum cum audio et lego, di me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum; teque oro ut parcas tibi, ne si te languere audierimus, et ego et mater tua expiremus et summa imperi sui populus R. periclitetur. Nihil interest ualeam ipse necne, si tu non ualebis. Deos obsecro, ut te nobis conseruent et ualere nunc et semper patiantur, si non p. R. perosi sunt.”

XXI. A law having been not long after carried by the consuls for his being appointed a colleague with Augustus in the administration of the provinces, and in taking the census, when that was finished he went into Illyricum . But being hastily recalled during his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed, but past all hopes of recovery, and was with him in private a whole day. I know, it is generally believed, that upon Tiberius’s quitting the room, after their private conference, those who were in waiting overheard Augustus say, “Ah! unhappy Roman people, to be ground by the jaws of such a slow devourer!” Nor am I ignorant of its being reported by some, that Augustus so openly and undisguisedly condemned the sourness of his temper, that sometimes, upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular conversation in which he was engaged; and that he was only prevailed upon by the (207) importunity of his

wife to adopt him; or actuated by the ambitious view of recommending his own memory from a comparison with such a successor. Yet I must hold to this opinion, that a prince so extremely circumspect and prudent as he was, did nothing rashly, especially in an affair of so great importance; but that, upon weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius with each other, he judged the latter to preponderate; and this the rather since he swore publicly, in an assembly of the people, that “he adopted him for the public good.” Besides, in several of his letters, he extols him as a consummate general, and the only security of the Roman people. Of such declarations I subjoin the following instances: “Farewell, my dear Tiberius, and may success attend you, whilst you are warring for me and the Muses . Farewell, my most dear, and (as I hope to prosper) most gallant man, and accomplished general.” Again. “The disposition of your summer quarters? In truth, my dear Tiberius, I do not think, that amidst so many difficulties, and with an army so little disposed for action, any one could have behaved more prudently than you have done. All those likewise who were with you, acknowledge that this verse is applicable to you:”

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

One man by vigilance restored the state.

“Whenever,” he says, “anything happens that requires more than ordinary consideration, or I am out of humour upon any occasion, I still, by Hercules! long for my dear Tiberius; and those lines of Homer frequently occur to my thoughts:”

Toutou d’ espomenoio kai ek pyros aithomenoio

Ampho nostaesuimen, epei peri oide noaesai.

Bold from his prudence, I could ev’n aspire

To dare with him the burning rage of fire.

“When I hear and read that you are much impaired by the (208) continued fatigues you undergo, may the gods confound me if my whole frame does not tremble! So I beg you to spare yourself, lest, if we should hear of your being ill, the news prove fatal both to me and your mother, and the Roman people should be in peril for the safety of the empire. It matters nothing whether I be well or no, if you be not well. I pray heaven preserve you for us, and bless you with health both now and ever, if the gods have any regard for the Roman people

²² Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit, quam Agrippa iuvene interempto. Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus occidit lectis codicillis, quibus ut id faceret iubebatur; quos codicillos dubium fuit, Augustusne moriens reliquisset, quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret; an nomine Augusti Liuia et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro, dictasset. Tiberius renuntianti tribuno, factum esse

quod imperasset, neque imperasse se et redditurum eum senatui rationem respondit, inuidiam scilicet in praesentia uitans. Nam mox silentio rem obliterauit.

XXII. He did not make the death of Augustus public, until he had taken off young Agrippa. He was slain by a tribune who commanded his guard, upon reading a written order for that purpose: respecting which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left it in his last moments, to prevent any occasion of public disturbance after his decease, or Livia issued it, in the name of Augustus; and whether with the knowledge of Tiberius or not. When the tribune came to inform him that he had executed his command, he replied, “I commanded you no such thing, and you must answer for it to the senate;” avoiding, as it seems, the odium of the act for that time. And the affair was soon buried in silence.

²³ Iure autem tribuniciae potestatis coacto senatu incohataque adlocutione derepente uelut impar dolori congemuit, utque non solum uox sed et spiritus deficeret optauit ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit. Inlatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, ceteris extra curiam signa agnoscentibus, recitauit per libertum. testamenti initium fuit: “Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et sextante heres esto.” Quo et ipso aucta suspicio est opinantium successorem ascitum eum necessitate magis quam iudicio, quando ita praefari non abstinerit.

XXIII. Having summoned the senate to meet by virtue of his tribunitian authority, and begun a mournful speech, he drew a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction; and wishing that not his voice only, but his very breath of life, might fail him, gave his speech to his son Drusus to read. Augustus’s will was then brought in, and read by a freedman; none of the witnesses to it being admitted, but such as were of the senatorian order, the rest owning their hand-writing without doors. The will began thus: “Since my ill-fortune has deprived me of my two sons, Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Caesar be heir to two-thirds of my estate.” These words countenanced the suspicion of those who were of opinion, that Tiberius was appointed successor more out of necessity than choice, since Augustus could not refrain from prefacing his will in that manner.

²⁴ Principatum, quamuis neque occupare confestim neque agere dubitasset, et statione militum, hoc est ui et specie dominationis assumpta, diu tamen

recusauit, impudentissimo mimo nunc adhortantis amicos increpans ut ignaros, quanta belua esset imperium, nunc precantem senatum et procumbentem sibi ad genua ambiguis responsis et callida cunctatione suspendens, ut quidam patientiam rumperent atque unus in tumultu proclamaret: “Aut agat aut desistat!” Alter coram exprobraret ceteros, quod polliciti sint tarde praestare, se[d] ipsum, quod praestet tarde polliceri. Tandem quasi coactus et querens miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi seruitutem, recepit imperium; nec tamen aliter, quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. Ipsius uerba sunt: “Dum ueniam ad id tempus, quo uobis aequum possit uideri dare uos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.”

XXIV. Though he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by giving orders that he (209) should be attended by the guards, who were the security and badge of the supreme power; yet he affected, by a most impudent piece of acting, to refuse it for a long time; one while sharply reprehending his friends who entreated him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was; another while keeping in suspense the senate, when they implored him and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answers, and a crafty kind of dissimulation; insomuch that some were out of patience, and one cried out, during the confusion, “Either let him accept it, or decline it at once;” and a second told him to his face, “Others are slow to perform what they promise, but you are slow to promise what you actually perform.” At last, as if forced to it, and complaining of the miserable and burdensome service imposed upon him, he accepted the government; not, however, without giving hopes of his resigning it some time or other. The exact words he used were these: “Until the time shall come, when ye may think it reasonable to give some rest to my old age.”

²⁵ Cunctandi causa erat metus undique imminentium discriminum, ut saepe lupum se auribus tenere diceret. Nam et seruus Agrippae Clemens nomine non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini compararat et L. Scribonius Libo uir nobilis res nouas clam moliebatur et duplex seditio militum in Illyrico et in Germania exorta est. Flagitabant ambo exercitus multa extra ordinem, ante omnia ut aequarentur stipendio praetoriani[s]. Germaniciani quidem etiam principem detractabant non a se datum summaque ui Germanicum, qui tum iis praeerat, ad capessendam rem p. urgebant, quanquam obfirmate resistantem. Quem maxime casum timens, partes sibi quas senatui liberet, tuendas in re p. depoposcit, quando uniuersae sufficere solus nemo posset nisi cum altero uel etiam cum pluribus. Simulauit et ualitudinem, quo aequiore animo Germanicus

celerem successionem uel certe societatem principatus opperiretur. Compositis seditiōibus Clementem quoque fraude deceptum redegit in potestatem. Libonem, ne quid in nouitate acerbius fieret, secundo demum anno in senatu coarguit, medio temporis spatio tantum cauere contentus; nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curauit et secretum petenti non nisi adhibito Druso filio dedit dextramque obambulantis ueluti incumbens, quoad perageretur sermo, continuuit.

XXV. The cause of his long demur was fear of the dangers which threatened him on all hands; insomuch that he said, "I have got a wolf by the ears." For a slave of Agrippa's, Clemens by name, had drawn together a considerable force to revenge his master's death; Lucius Scribonius Libo, a senator of the first distinction, was secretly fomenting a rebellion; and the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were mutinous. Both armies insisted upon high demands, particularly that their pay should be made equal to that of the pretorian guards. The army in Germany absolutely refused to acknowledge a prince who was not their own choice; and urged, with all possible importunity, Germanicus, who commanded them, to take the government on himself, though he obstinately refused it. It was Tiberius's apprehension from this quarter, which made him request the senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper, since no man could be sufficient for the whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended likewise to be in a bad state of health, that Germanicus might the more patiently wait in hopes of speedily succeeding him, or at least of being (210) admitted to be a colleague in the government. When the mutinies in the armies were suppressed, he got Clemens into his hands by stratagem. That he might not begin his reign by an act of severity, he did not call Libo to an account before the senate until his second year, being content, in the mean time, with taking proper precautions for his own security. For upon Libo's attending a sacrifice amongst the high-priests, instead of the usual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him; and when he desired a private conference with him, he would not grant his request, but on condition that his son Drusus should be present; and as they walked together, he held him fast by the right hand, under the pretence of leaning upon him, until the conversation was over.

²⁶ Verum liberatus metu ciuilem admodum inter initia ac paulo minus quam priuatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus praeter paucos et modicos non recepit. Natalem suum plebeis incurrentem circensibus uix unius bigae adiectione honorari passus est. Tempa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi

prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur. Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua iuraretur, et ne mensis September Tiberius, October Liuius uocarentur. Praenomen quoque imperatoris cognomenque patris patriae et ciuicam in uestibulo coronam recusauit; ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quanquam hereditarium, nullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit. Nec amplius quam mox tres consulatus, unum paucis diebus, alterum tribus mensibus, tertium absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.

XXVI. When he was delivered from his apprehensions, his behaviour at first was unassuming, and he did not carry himself much above the level of a private person; and of the many and great honours offered him, he accepted but few, and such as were very moderate. His birth-day, which happened to fall at the time of the Plebeian Circensian games, he with difficulty suffered to be honoured with the addition of only a single chariot, drawn by two horses. He forbid temples, flamens, or priests to be appointed for him, as likewise the erection of any statues or effigies for him, without his permission; and this he granted only on condition that they should not be placed amongst the images of the gods, but only amongst the ornaments of houses. He also interposed to prevent the senate from swearing to maintain his acts; and the month of September from being called Tiberius, and October being named after Livia. The praenomen likewise of EMPEROR, with the cognomen of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, and a civic crown in the vestibule of his house, he would not accept. He never used the name of AUGUSTUS, although he inherited it, in any of his letters, excepting those addressed to kings and princes. Nor had he more than three consulships; one for a few days, another for three months, and a third, during his absence from the city, until the ides [fifteenth] of May.

²⁷ Adulationes adeo auersatus est, ut neminem senatorum aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit, consularem uero satisfacientem sibi ac per genua orare conantem ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus; atque etiam, si quid in sermone uel in continua oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare ac reprehendere et commutare continuo. Dominus appellatus a quodam denuntiauit, ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret. alium dicentem sacras eius occupationes et rursus alium, auctore eo senatum se a[u]disse, uerba mutare et pro auctore suasorem, pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit.

XXVII. He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any

senator to approach his litter, as he passed the streets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon business. (211) And when a man of consular rank, in begging his pardon for some offence he had given him, attempted to fall at his feet, he started from him in such haste, that he stumbled and fell. If any compliment was paid him, either in conversation or a set speech, he would not scruple to interrupt and reprimand the party, and alter what he had said. Being once called "lord," by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner. When another, to excite veneration, called his occupations "sacred," and a third had expressed himself thus: "By your authority I have waited upon the senate," he obliged them to change their phrases; in one of them adopting persuasion, instead of "authority," and in the other, laborious, instead of "sacred."

²⁸ Sed et aduersus conuicia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens subinde iactabat in ciuitate libera linguam mentemque liberas esse debere; et quondam senatu cognitionem de eius modi criminibus ac reis flagitante: "Non tantum," inquit, "otii habemus, ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus; si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis: omnium inimicitiae hoc praetexto ad uos deferentur." Extat et sermo eius in senatu perciuilis: "Siquidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumque reddam; si perseuerauerit, in uicem eum odero."

XXVIII. He remained unmoved at all the aspersions, scandalous reports, and lampoons, which were spread against him or his relations; declaring, "In a free state, both the tongue and the mind ought to be free." Upon the senate's desiring that some notice might be taken of those offences, and the persons charged with them, he replied, "We have not so much time upon our hands, that we ought to involve ourselves in more business. If you once make an opening for such proceedings, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence." There is also on record another sentence used by him in the senate, which is far from assuming: "If he speaks otherwise of me, I shall take care to behave in such a manner, as to be able to give a good account both of my words and actions; and if he persists, I shall hate him in my turn."

²⁹ Atque haec eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellandis uenerandisque et singulis et uniuersis prope excesserat humanitatis modum. Dissentiens in curia a Q. Haterio: "Ignoscas," inquit, "rogo, si quid aduersus te liberius sicut senator dixero." Et deinde omnis adloquens: "Dixi et nunc et saepe alias, p. c., bonum et salutarem principem, quem uos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui

seruire debere et uniuersis ciuibus saepe et plerumque etiam singulis; neque id dixisse me paenitet, et bonos et aequos et fauentes uos habui dominos et adhuc habeo.”

XXIX. These things were so much the more remarkable in him, because, in the respect he paid to individuals, or the whole body of the senate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Quintus Haterius in the senate-house, “Pardon me, sir,” he said, “I beseech you, if I shall, as a senator, speak my mind very freely in opposition to you.” Afterwards, addressing the senate in general, he said: “Conscript Fathers, I have often said it both now and at other times, that a good (212) and useful prince, whom you have invested with so great and absolute power, ought to be a slave to the senate, to the whole body of the people, and often to individuals likewise: nor am I sorry that I have said it. I have always found you good, kind, and indulgent masters, and still find you so.”

³⁰ Quin etiam speciem libertatis quandam induxit conseruatis senatui ac magistratibus et maiestate pristina et potestate. Neque tam paruum quicquam neque tam magnum publici priuatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscriptos referretur: de uectigalibus ac monopoliis, de extruendis reficiendisue operibus, etiam de legendo uel exauctorando milite ac legionum et auxiliorum discriptione, denique quibus imperium prorogari aut extraordinaria bella mandari, quid et qua[m] forma[m] regum litteris rescribi placeret. Praefectum alae de ui et rapinis reum causam in senatu dicere coegit. Numquam curiam nisi solus intrauit; lectica quondam intro latus aeger comites a se remouit.

XXX. He likewise introduced a certain show of liberty, by preserving to the senate and magistrates their former majesty and power. All affairs, whether of great or small importance, public or private, were laid before the senate. Taxes and monopolies, the erecting or repairing edifices, levying and disbanding soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, and the answers to letters from foreign princes, were all submitted to the senate. He compelled the commander of a troop of horse, who was accused of robbery attended with violence, to plead his cause before the senate. He never entered the senate-house but unattended; and being once brought thither in a litter, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door.

³¹ Quaedam aduersus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est. Negante eo destinatos magistratus abesse oportere, ut praesentes honori adquiescerent,

praetor designatus liberam legationem impetrauit. Iterum censente, ut Trebianis legatam in opus noui theatri pecuniam ad munitionem uiae transferre concederetur, optinere non potuit quin rata uoluntas legatoris esset. cum senatus consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo. Cetera quoque non nisi per magistratus et iure ordinario agebantur, tanta consulum auctoritate, ut legati ex Africa adierint eos querentes, trahi se a Caesare ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset, ipsum quoque eisdem et assurgere et decedere uia.

XXXI. When some decrees were made contrary to his opinion, he did not even make any complaint. And though he thought that no magistrates after their nomination should be allowed to absent themselves from the city, but reside in it constantly, to receive their honours in person, a praetor-elect obtained liberty to depart under the honorary title of a legate at large. Again, when he proposed to the senate, that the Trebians might have leave granted them to divert some money which had been left them by will for the purpose of building a new theatre, to that of making a road, he could not prevail to have the will of the testator set aside. And when, upon a division of the house, he went over to the minority, nobody followed him. All other things of a public nature were likewise transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms; the authority of the consuls remaining so great, that some ambassadors from Africa applied to them, and complained, that they could not have their business dispatched by Caesar, to whom they had been sent. And no wonder; since it was observed that he used to rise up as the consuls approached, and give them the way.

³² Corripuit consulares exercitibus praepositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent quodque de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi ius haberent. Praetorem conlaudauit, quod honore inito consuetudinem antiquam ret[t]ulisset de maioribus suis pro contione memorandi. Quorundam illustrium exequias usque ad rogam frequentauit. Parem moderationem minoribus quoque et personis et rebus exhibuit. Cum Rhodiorum magistratus, quod litteras publicas sine subscriptione ad se dederant, euocasset, ne uerbo quidem insectatus ac tantum modo iussos subscribere remisit. Diogenes grammaticus, disputare sabbatis Rhodi solitus, uenientem eum, ut se extra ordinem audiret, non admiserat ac per seruolum suum in septimum diem distulerat; hunc Romae salutandi sui causa pro foribus adstantem nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret admonuit. praesidibus onerandas tributo prouincias suadentibus rescripsit boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.

(213) XXXII. He reprimanded some persons of consular rank in command of armies, for not writing to the senate an account of their proceedings, and for consulting him about the distribution of military rewards; as if they themselves had not a right to bestow them as they judged proper. He commended a praetor, who, on entering office, revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He attended the corpses of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He displayed the same moderation with regard to persons and things of inferior consideration. The magistrates of Rhodes, having dispatched to him a letter on public business, which was not subscribed, he sent for them, and without giving them so much as one harsh word, desired them to subscribe it, and so dismissed them. Diogenes, the grammarian, who used to hold public disquisitions, at Rhodes every sabbath-day, once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and sent him a message by a servant, postponing his admission until the next seventh day. Diogenes afterwards coming to Rome, and waiting at his door to be allowed to pay his respects to him, he sent him word to come again at the end of seven years. To some governors, who advised him to load the provinces with taxes, he answered, "It is the part of a good shepherd to shear, not flay, his sheep."

³³ Paulatim principem exeruit praestititque etsi uarium diu, commodiorem tamen saepius et ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo eatenus interueniebat, ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque et constitutiones senatus quasdam rescidit et magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium assidebatque iuxtim uel exaduersum in parte primori; et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat iudicesque aut e plano aut e quaesitoris tribunali legum et religionis et noxae, de qua cognoscerent, admonebat; atque etiam, si qua in publicis moribus desidia aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit.

XXXIII. He assumed the sovereignty by slow degrees, and exercised it for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first he only interposed to prevent ill management. Accordingly, he rescinded some decrees of the senate; and when the magistrates sat for the administration of justice, he frequently offered his service as assessor, either taking his place promiscuously amongst them, or seating himself in a corner of the tribunal. If a rumour prevailed, that any person under prosecution was likely to be acquitted by his interest, he would suddenly make his appearance, and from the floor of the court, (214) or the praetor's bench, remind the judges of the laws, and of their oaths, and the nature of the charge brought

before them, he likewise took upon himself the correction of public morals, where they tended to decay, either through neglect, or evil custom.

³⁴ Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit mercedibus scaenicorum recisis paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis. Corinthiorum uasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse tresque mul[los] triginta milibus nummum uenisse grauiter conquestus, adhibendum supellectili modum censuit annonamque macelli senatus arbitratu quotannis temperandam, dato aedilibus negotio popinas ganeasque usque eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi uenalia sinerent. Et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo quoque iuuaret, sollemnibus ipse cenis pridiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans omnia eadem habere, quae totum. Cotidiana oscula edicto prohibuit, item strenarum commercium ne ultra Kal. Ian. exerceretur. consuerat quadriplam stren[u]am, et de manu, reddere; sed offensus interpellari se toto mense ab iis qui potestatem sui die festo non habuissent, ultra non tulit.

XXXIV. He reduced the expense of the plays and public spectacles, by diminishing the allowances to actors, and curtailing the number of gladiators. He made grievous complaints to the senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was become enormous, and that three mullets had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces: upon which he proposed that a new sumptuary law should be enacted; that the butchers and other dealers in viands should be subject to an assize, fixed by the senate yearly; and the aediles commissioned to restrain eating- houses and taverns, so far as not even to permit the sale of any kind of pastry. And to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his solemn feasts, have at his tables victuals which had been served up the day before, and were partly eaten, and half a boar, affirming, "It has all the same good bits that the whole had." He published an edict against the practice of people's kissing each other when they met; and would not allow new- year's gifts to be presented after the calends [the first] of January was passed. He had been in the habit of returning these offerings four-fold, and making them with his own hand; but being annoyed by the continual interruption to which he was exposed during the whole month, by those who had not the opportunity of attending him on the festival, he returned none after that day.

³⁵ Matronas prostratae pudicitiae, quibus accusator publicus deesset, ut propinqui more maiorum de communi sententia coercerent auctor fuit. Eq(uiti) R(omano) iuris iurandi gratiam fecit, uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se numquam repudiaturum ante iurauerat. Feminae famosae, ut

ad euitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exoluerentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant, et ex iuuentute utriusque ordinis profligatissimus quisque, quominus in opera scaenae harenaeque edenda senatus consulto teneretur, famosi iudicii notam sponte subibant; eos easque omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exilio adfecit. Senatori latum clauum ademit, cum cognosset sub Kal. Iul. demigrasse in hortos, quo uilius post diem aedes in urbe conduceret. Alium e quaestura remouit, quod uxorem pridie sortitionem ductam postridie repudiasset.

XXXV. Married women guilty of adultery, though not prosecuted publicly, he authorised the nearest relations to punish by agreement among themselves, according to ancient custom. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife; and allowed him to divorce her, upon her being caught in criminal intercourse with her son-in-law. Women of ill-fame, divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, had now begun a practice of professing themselves prostitutes, to avoid (215) the punishment of the laws; and the most profligate young men of the senatorian and equestrian orders, to secure themselves against a decree of the senate, which prohibited their performing on the stage, or in the amphitheatre, voluntarily subjected themselves to an infamous sentence, by which they were degraded. All those he banished, that none for the future might evade by such artifices the intention and efficacy of the law. He stripped a senator of the broad stripes on his robe, upon information of his having removed to his gardens before the calends [the first] of July, in order that he might afterwards hire a house cheaper in the city. He likewise dismissed another from the office of quaestor, for repudiating, the day after he had been lucky in drawing his lot, a wife whom he had married only the day before.

³⁶ Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas uestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuuentutem per speciem sacramenti in prouincias grauioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem uel similia sectantes urbe summouit, sub poena perpetuae seruitutis nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus ueniam dedit.

XXXVI. He suppressed all foreign religions, and the Egyptian and Jewish rites, obliging those who practised that kind of superstition, to burn their vestments, and all their sacred utensils. He distributed the Jewish youths, under the pretence of military service, among the provinces noted for an unhealthy

climate; and dismissed from the city all the rest of that nation as well as those who were proselytes to that religion, under pain of slavery for life, unless they complied. He also expelled the astrologers; but upon their suing for pardon, and promising to renounce their profession, he revoked his decree.

³⁷ In primis tuendae pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit. Romae castra constituit, quibus praetorianae cohortes uagae ante id tempus et per hospitia dispersae continerentur. Populares tumultus et ortos grauissime coercuit et ne orerentur sedulo cauit. Caede in theatro per discordiam admissa capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegauit, nec ut reuocaret umquam ullis populi precibus potuit euinci. Cum Pollentina plebs funus cuiusdam primipilaris non prius ex foro misisset quam extorta pecunia per uim heredibus ad gladiatorium munus, cohortem ab urbe et aliam a Cotti regno dissimulata itineris causa detectis repente armis concinentibusque signis per diuersas portas in oppidum immisit ac partem maiorem plebei ac decurionum in perpetua uincula coiecit. Aboleuit et ius moremque asylorum, quae usquam erant. Cyzicenis in ciues R. uiolentius quaedam ausis publice libertatem ademit, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant. Hostiles motus nulla postea expeditione suscepta per legatos compescuit, ne per eos quidem nisi cunctanter et necessario. reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis et querelis quam ui repressit; quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut Marobodum Germanum, Rhascuporim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in formam prouinciae redegit.

XXXVII. But, above all things, he was careful to keep the (216) public peace against robbers, burglars, and those who were disaffected to the government. He therefore increased the number of military stations throughout Italy; and formed a camp at Rome for the pretorian cohorts, which, till then, had been quartered in the city. He suppressed with great severity all tumults of the people on their first breaking out; and took every precaution to prevent them. Some persons having been killed in a quarrel which happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players about whom the disturbance had arisen; nor could all the entreaties of the people afterwards prevail upon him to recall them. The people of Pollentia having refused to permit the removal of the corpse of a centurion of the first rank from the forum, until they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money for a public exhibition of gladiators, he detached a cohort from the city, and another from the kingdom of Cottius; who concealing the cause of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms suddenly

displayed, and trumpets sounding; and having seized the greatest part of the people, and the magistrates, they were imprisoned for life. He abolished every where the privileges of all places of refuge. The Cyzicenians having committed an outrage upon some Romans, he deprived them of the liberty they had obtained for their good services in the Mithridatic war. Disturbances from foreign enemies he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever going against them in person; nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with much reluctance, and when it was absolutely necessary. Princes who were ill-affected towards him, he kept in subjection, more by menaces and remonstrances, than by force of arms. Some whom he induced to come to him by fair words and promises, he never would permit to return home; as Maraboduus the German, Thrascypolis the (217) Thracian, and Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom he even reduced into the form of a province.

³⁸ Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenus nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies; quamvis prouincias quoque et exercitus reuisurum se saepe pronuntiasset et prope quotannis profectionem praepararet, uehicularum comprehensis, commeatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis, ad extremum uota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus, ut uulgo iam per iocum "Callippides" uocaretur, quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi prouerbio Graeco notatum est.

XXXVIII. He never set foot outside the gates of Rome, for two years together, from the time he assumed the supreme power; and after that period, went no farther from the city than to some of the neighbouring towns; his farthest excursion being to Antium, and that but very seldom, and for a few days; though he often gave out that he would visit the provinces and armies, and made preparations for it almost every year, by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for his retinue in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered vows to be put up for his good journey and safe return, insomuch that he was called jocosely by the name of Callippides, who is famous in a Greek proverb, for being in a great hurry to go forward, but without ever advancing a cubit.

³⁹ Sed orbatus utroque filio, quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romae obierat, secessum Campaniae petit; constanti et opinione et sermone paene omnium quasi neque rediturus umquam et cito mortem etiam obiturus. Quod paulo minus utrumque euenit; nam neque Romam amplius rediit [s]et paucos

post dies iuxta Tarracinam in praetorio, cui Speluncae nomen est, incenante eo complura et ingentia saxa fortuito superne dilapsa sunt, multisque conuiuorum et ministrorum elisis praeter spem euasit.

XXXIX. But after the loss of his two sons, of whom Germanicus died in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he withdrew into Campania; at which time opinion and conversation were almost general, that he never would return, and would die soon. And both nearly turned out to be true. For indeed he never more came to Rome; and a few days after leaving it, when he was at a villa of his called the Cave, near Terracina, during supper a great many huge stones fell from above, which killed several of the guests and attendants; but he almost hopelessly escaped.

⁴⁰ Peragrata Campania, cum Capuae Capitolium, Nolae templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis praetenderat, dedicasset, Capreas se contulit, praecipue delectatus insula, quod uno paruoque litore adiretur, saepta undique praeuptis immensae altitudinis rupibus et profundo mari. Statimque reuocante assidua obtestatione populo propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas supra uiginti hominum milia gladiatorio munere amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit: tanto magis, quod urbe egrediens ne quis se interpellaret edixerat ac toto itinere adeuntis submouerat.

XL. After he had gone round Campania, and dedicated the capitol at Capua, and a temple to Augustus at Nola, which he made the pretext of his journey, he retired to Capri; being (218) greatly delighted with the island, because it was accessible only by a narrow beach, being on all sides surrounded with rugged cliffs, of a stupendous height, and by a deep sea. But immediately, the people of Rome being extremely clamorous for his return, on account of a disaster at Fidenae, where upwards of twenty thousand persons had been killed by the fall of the amphitheatre, during a public spectacle of gladiators, he crossed over again to the continent, and gave all people free access to him; so much the more, because, at his departure from the city, he had caused it to be proclaimed that no one should address him, and had declined admitting any persons to his presence, on the journey.

⁴¹ Regressus in insulam rei p. Quidem curam usque adeo abiecit, ut postea non decurias equitum umquam supplerit, non tribunos militum praefectosque, non prouinciarum praesides ullos mutauerit, Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit, Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Moesiam a

Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis uastari neglexerit: magno dedecore imperii nec minore discrimine.

XLI. Returning to the island, he so far abandoned all care of the government, that he never filled up the decuriae of the knights, never changed any military tribunes or prefects, or governors of provinces, and kept Spain and Syria for several years without any consular lieutenants. He likewise suffered Armenia to be seized by the Parthians, Moesia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans; to the great disgrace, and no less danger, of the empire.

⁴² Ceterum secreti licentiam nactus et quasi ciuitatis oculis remotis, cuncta simul uitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit: de quibus singillatim ab exordio referam. In castris tiro etiam tum propter nimiam uini auditatem pro Tiberio “Biberius,” pro Claudio “Caldius,” pro Nerone “Mero” uocabatur. Postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri Syriam prouinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit, codicillis quoque iucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus. Cestio Gall[i]o, libidinoso ac prodigo seni, olim ab Augusto ignominia notato et a se ante paucos dies apud senatum increpito cenam ea lege condixit, ne quid ex consuetudine immutaret aut demeret, utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cenaretur. ignotissimum quaesturae candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit ob epotam in conuiuio propinante se uini amphoram. Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donauit pro dialogo, in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat. nouum denique officium instituit a uoluptatibus, praeposito equite R. T. Caesonio Prisco.

XLII. But having now the advantage of privacy, and being remote from the observation of the people of Rome, he abandoned himself to all the vicious propensities which he had long but imperfectly concealed, and of which I shall here give a particular account from the beginning. While a young soldier in the camp, he was so remarkable for his excessive inclination to wine, that, for Tiberius, they called him Biberius; for Claudius, Caldus; and for Nero, Mero. And after he succeeded to the empire, and was invested with the office of reforming the morality of the people, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso; to one of whom he immediately gave the province of Syria, and to the other the prefecture of the city; declaring them, in his letters-patent, to be “very pleasant

companions, and friends fit for all occasions.” He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus, a lewd and prodigal old fellow, who had been disgraced by Augustus, and reprimanded by himself but a few days before in the senate-house; upon condition that he should not recede in the least from his usual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the quaestorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off, in pledging him at table, an amphora of wine at a draught . He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sesterces, for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the truffle and the fig-pecker, the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office to administer to his voluptuousness, to which he appointed Titus Caesonius Priscus, a Roman knight.

⁴³ Secessu uero Caprensi etiam sellaria excogitauit, sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum et exoletorum greges monstrosique concubitus repertores, quos spintrias appellabat, triplici serie conexi, in uicem incestarent coram ipso, ut aspectu deficientis libidines excitaret. Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lasciuissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornauit librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar impe[t]ratae schemae deesset. In siluis quoque ac nemoribus passim Venerios locos commentus est prost[r]antisque per antra et causa rupes ex utriusque sexus pube Paniscorum et Nympharum habitu, quae palam iam et uulgo nomine insulae abutentes “Caprineum” dictitabant.

XLIII. In his retreat at Capri, he also contrived an apartment containing couches, and adapted to the secret practice of abominable lewdness, where he entertained companies of girls and catamites, and assembled from all quarters inventors of unnatural copulations, whom he called Spintriae, who defiled one another in his presence, to inflame by the exhibition the languid appetite. He had several chambers set round with pictures and statues in the most lascivious attitudes, and furnished with the books of Elephantis, that none might want a pattern for the execution of any lewd project that was prescribed him. He likewise contrived recesses in woods and groves for the gratification of lust, where young persons of both sexes prostituted themselves in caves and hollow rocks, in the disguise of little Pans and Nymphs . So that he was publicly and commonly called, by an abuse of the name of the island, Caprineus.

⁴⁴ Maiore adhuc ac turpiore infamia flagrauit, uix ut referri audiriue, nedum credi fas sit, quasi pueros primae teneritudinis, quos pisciculos uocabat,

institueret, ut natanti sibi inter femura uersarentur ac luderent lingua morsuque sensim adpetentes; atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini ceu papillae admoueret, pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et natura et aetate. Quare Parrasi quoque tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub condicione, ut si argumento offenderetur decies pro ea sestertium acciperet, non modo praetulit, sed et in cubiculo dedicauit. Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam captus facie ministri acerram praeferentis nequisse abstinere, quin paene uixdum re diuina peracta ibidem statim seductum constupraret simulque fratrem eius tibicinem; atque utrique mox, quod mutuo flagitium exprobrant, crura fregisse.

XLIV. But he was still more infamous, if possible, for an (220) abomination not fit to be mentioned or heard, much less credited. When a picture, painted by Parrhasius, in which the artist had represented Atalanta in the act of submitting to Meleager's lust in a most unnatural way, was bequeathed to him, with this proviso, that if the subject was offensive to him, he might receive in lieu of it a million of sesterces, he not only chose the picture, but hung it up in his bed-chamber. It is also reported that, during a sacrifice, he was so captivated with the form of a youth who held a censer, that, before the religious rites were well over, he took him aside and abused him; as also a brother of his who had been playing the flute; and soon afterwards broke the legs of both of them, for upbraiding one another with their shame.

⁴⁵ Feminarum quoque, et quidem illustrium, capitibus quanto opere solitus sit inludere, eidentissime apparuit Malloniae cuiusdam exitu, quam perductam nec quicquam amplius pati constantissime recusantem delatoribus obiecit ac ne ream quidem interpellare desiit, "ecquid paeniteret"; donec ea relicto iudicio domum se abripuit ferroque transegit, obscaenitate[m] oris hirsuto atque olido seni clare exprobrata. unde mora in Atellanico exhodio proximis ludis adsensu maximo excepta percrebruit, "hircum uetulum capreis naturam ligurare."

XLV. How much he was guilty of a most foul intercourse with women even of the first quality, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, who, being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to comply with his lust, he gave her up to the common informers. Even when she was upon her trial, he frequently called out to her, and asked her, "Do you repent?" until she, quitting the court, went home, and stabbed herself; openly upbraiding the vile old lecher for his gross obscenity. Hence there was an allusion to him in a farce, which was acted at the next public sports, and was received with great applause, and became a

common topic of ridicule : that “the old goat was licking the does.”

⁴⁶ Pecuniae parcus ac tenax comites peregrinationum expeditionumque numquam salario, cibariis tantum sustentavit, una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia uitrici prosecutus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cuiusque, primae sescenta sestertia, secundae quadringenta distribuit, ducenta tertiae, quam non amicorum sed Graecorum appellabat.

XLVI. He was so niggardly and covetous, that he never allowed to his attendants, in his travels and expeditions, any salary, but their diet only. Once, indeed, he treated them liberally, at the instigation of his step-father, when, dividing them into three classes, according to their rank, he gave the (221) first six, the second four, and the third two, hundred thousand sesterces, which last class he called not friends, but Greeks.

⁴⁷ Princeps neque opera ulla magna fecit — nam et quae sola suscepit, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit — neque spectacula omnino edidit; et iis, quae ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comoedum Actium coactus est manumittere. Paucorum senatorum inopia sustentata, ne pluribus opem ferret, negavit se aliis subuenturum, nisi senatui iustas necessitatum causas probassent. Quo pacto plerosque modestia et pudore deterruit, in quibus Hortalum, Quinti Hortensi oratoris nepotem, qui permodica re familiari auctore Augusto quattuor liberos tulerat.

XLVII. During the whole time of his government, he never erected any noble edifice; for the only things he did undertake, namely, building the temple of Augustus, and restoring Pompey's Theatre, he left at last, after many years, unfinished. Nor did he ever entertain the people with public spectacles; and he was seldom present at those which were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him; especially after he was obliged to give freedom to the comedian Actius. Having relieved the poverty of a few senators, to avoid further demands, he declared that he should for the future assist none, but those who gave the senate full satisfaction as to the cause of their necessity. Upon this, most of the needy senators, from modesty and shame, declined troubling him. Amongst these was Hortalus, grandson to the celebrated orator Quintus Hortensius, who [marrying], by the persuasion of Augustus, had brought up four children upon a very small estate.

⁴⁸ Publice munificentiam bis omnino exhibuit, pro posito milies sestertium gratuito in trienni tempus et rursus quibusdam dominis insularum, quae in monte Caelio deflagrant, pretio restituto. Quorum alterum magna difficultate nummaria populo auxilium flagitante coactus est facere, cum per senatus consultum sanxisset, ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim soluerent, nec res expediretur; alterum ad mitigandam temporum atrocitatem. Quod tamen beneficium tanti aestimauit, ut montem Caelium appellatione mutata uocari Augustum iusserit. Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil umquam largitus est, praeterquam singula milia denariorum praetorianis, quod Seiano se non accommodassent, et quaedam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent. Atque etiam missiones ueteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans. Ne prouincias quidem liberalitate ulla subleuauit, excepta Asia, disiectis terrae motu ciuitatibus.

XLVIII. He displayed only two instances of public munificence. One was an offer to lend gratis, for three years, a hundred millions of sesterces to those who wanted to borrow; and the other, when, some large houses being burnt down upon Mount Caelius, he indemnified the owners. To the former of these he was compelled by the clamours of the people, in a great scarcity of money, when he had ratified a decree of the senate obliging all money-lenders to advance two-thirds of their capital on land, and the debtors to pay off at once the same proportion of their debts, and it was found insufficient to remedy the grievance. The other he did to alleviate in some degree the pressure of the times. But his benefaction to the sufferers by fire, he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered the Caelian Hill to be called, in future, the Augustan. To the soldiery, after doubling the legacy left them by Augustus, he never gave any thing, except a thousand denarii a man to the pretorian guards, for not joining the party of Sejanus; and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had not paid reverence to the effigies of Sejanus among their standards. He seldom gave discharges to the veteran soldiers, calculating (222) on their deaths from advanced age, and on what would be saved by thus getting rid of them, in the way of rewards or pensions. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by any act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been destroyed by an earthquake.

⁴⁹ Procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas conuertit animum. Satis constat, Cn. Lentulum Augurem, cui census maximus fuerit, metu et angore ad fastidium uitae ab eo actum et ut ne quo nisi ipso herede moreretur; condemnatam et

generosissimam feminam Lepidam in gratiam Quirini consularis praediuitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio post uicensimum annum ueneni olim in se comparati arguebat; praeterea Galliarum et Hispaniarum Syriaeque et Graeciae principes confiscatos ob tam leue ac tam inpudens calumniarum genus, ut quibusdam non aliud sit obiectum, quam quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent; plurimis etiam ciuitatibus et priuatis ueteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac uectigalium adempta; sed et Vononem regem Parthorum, qui pulsus a suis quasi in fidem p. r. cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat. Spoliatum perfidia et occisum.

XLIX. In the course of a very short time, he turned his mind to sheer robbery. It is certain that Cneius Lentulus, the augur, a man of vast estate, was so terrified and worried by his threats and importunities, that he was obliged to make him his heir; and that Lepida, a lady of a very noble family, was condemned by him, in order to gratify Quirinus, a man of consular rank, extremely rich, and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and now charged her with an old design to poison him. Several persons, likewise, of the first distinction in Gaul, Spain, Syria, and Greece, had their estates confiscated upon such despicably trifling and shameless pretences, that against some of them no other charge was preferred, than that they held large sums of ready money as part of their property. Old immunities, the rights of mining, and of levying tolls, were taken from several cities and private persons. And Vonones, king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a vast treasure, claiming the protection of the Roman people, his allies, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and afterwards murdered.

⁵⁰ Odium aduersus necessitudines in Druso primum fratre detexit, prodita eius epistula, qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat, deinde et in reliquis. Iuliae uxori tantum afuit ut relegatae, quod minimum est, officii aut humanitatis aliquid impertiret, ut ex constitutione patris uno oppido clausam domo quoque egredi et commercio hominum frui uetuerit; sed et peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudauit, per speciem publici iuris, quod nihil de his Augustus testamento cauisset. Matrem Liuiam grauatus uelut partes sibi aequas potentiae uindicantem, et congressum eius assiduum uitauit et longiores secretioresque sermones, ne consiliis, quibus tamen interdum et egere et uti solebat, regi uideretur. Tulit etiam perindigne actum in senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti, ita et “Liuiae filius” adiceretur. Quare non “parentem patriae” appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est; sed et

frequenter admonuit, maioribus nec feminae conuenientibus negotiis abstineret, praecipue ut animaduertit incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam interuenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset.

L. He first manifested hatred towards his own relations in the case of his brother Drusus, betraying him by the production of a letter to himself, in which Drusus proposed that Augustus should be forced to restore the public liberty. In course of time, he shewed the same disposition with regard to the rest of his family. So far was he from performing any office of kindness or humanity to his wife, when she was banished, and, by her father's order, confined to one town, that he forbid her to stir out of the house, or converse with any men. He even wronged her of the dowry given her by her father, and of her yearly allowance, by a quibble of law, because Augustus had made no provision for them on her behalf in his will. Being harassed by his mother, Livia, who claimed an equal share in the government with him, he frequently avoided (223) seeing her, and all long and private conferences with her, lest it should be thought that he was governed by her counsels, which, notwithstanding, he sometimes sought, and was in the habit of adopting. He was much offended at the senate, when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the Son of Livia, as well as Augustus. He, therefore, would not suffer her to be called "the Mother of her Country," nor to receive any extraordinary public distinction. Nay, he frequently admonished her "not to meddle with weighty affairs, and such as did not suit her sex;" especially when he found her present at a fire which broke out near the Temple of Vesta, and encouraging the people and soldiers to use their utmost exertions, as she had been used to do in the time of her husband.

⁵¹ Dehinc ad simultatem usque processit hac, ut ferunt, de causa. Instanti saepius, ut ciuitate donatum in decurias adlegeret, negauit alia se condicione adlecturum, quam si pateretur ascribi albo extortum id sibi a matre. At illa commota ueteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum eius e sacrario protulit atque recitauit. Hos et custoditos tam diu et exprobratos tam infeste adeo grauiter tulit, ut quidam putent inter causas secessus hanc ei uel praecipuam fuisse. Toto quidem triennio, quo uiuente matre afuit, semel omnino eam nec amplius quam uno die paucissimis uidit horis; ac mox neque aegrae adesse curauit defunctamque et, dum aduentus sui spem facit, complurium dierum mora corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsa mandasset. Testamentum quoque eius pro irritum habuit omnisque amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris sui curam moriens

demandauerat, intra breue tempus afflixit, uno ex iis, equestris ordinis uiro, et in antliam condemnato.

LI. He afterwards proceeded to an open rupture with her, and, as is said, upon this occasion. She having frequently urged him to place among the judges a person who had been made free of the city, he refused her request, unless she would allow it to be inscribed on the roll, "That the appointment had been extorted from him by his mother." Enraged at this, Livia brought forth from her chapel some letters from Augustus to her, complaining of the sourness and insolence of Tiberius's temper, and these she read. So much was he offended at these letters having been kept so long, and now produced with so much bitterness against him, that some considered this incident as one of the causes of his going into seclusion, if not the principal reason for his so doing. In the (224) whole years she lived during his retirement, he saw her but once, and that for a few hours only. When she fell sick shortly afterwards, he was quite unconcerned about visiting her in her illness; and when she died, after promising to attend her funeral, he deferred his coming for several days, so that the corpse was in a state of decay and putrefaction before the interment; and he then forbad divine honours being paid to her, pretending that he acted according to her own directions. He likewise annulled her will, and in a short time ruined all her friends and acquaintance; not even sparing those to whom, on her death-bed, she had recommended the care of her funeral, but condemning one of them, a man of equestrian rank, to the treadmill.

⁵² Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum neque adoptium Germanicum patria caritate dilexit, alterius uitae infensus. Nam Drusus fluxioris remissiorisque uitae erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde adfectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit iustitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Iliensium legatis paulo serius consolantibus, quasi oblitterata iam doloris memoria, irridens se quoque respondit uicem eorum dolere, quod egregium ciuem Hectorem amisissent. Germanico usque adeo obtrectauit, ut et praeclara facta eius pro superuacuis eleuarit et gloriosissimas uictorias ceu damnosas rei publicae increparet. Quod uero Alexandream propter immensam et repentinam famem inconsulto se adisset, questus est in senatu. Etiam causa mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriae creditur, quem mox huius criminis reum putant quidam mandata prolaturum, nisi ea secreto ostendant [.....] quae multifariam inscriptum et per noctes celeberrime adclamatum est: "Redde Germanicum!" Quam suspicionem confirmauit ipse postea coniuge etiam ac liberis Germanici crudelem in modum afflictis.

LII. He entertained no paternal affection either for his own son Drusus, or his adopted son Germanicus. Offended at the vices of the former, who was of a loose disposition and led a dissolute life, he was not much affected at his death; but, almost immediately after the funeral, resumed his attention to business, and prevented the courts from being longer closed. The ambassadors from the people of Ilium coming rather late to offer their condolence, he said to them by way of banter, as if the affair had already faded from his memory, "And I heartily condole with you on the loss of your renowned countryman, Hector." He so much affected to depreciate Germanicus, that he spoke of his achievements as utterly insignificant, and railed at his most glorious victories as ruinous to the state; complaining of him also to the senate for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occasion of a great and sudden famine at Rome. It was believed that he took care to have him dispatched by Cneius Piso, his lieutenant in Syria. This person was afterwards tried for the murder, and would, as was supposed, have produced his orders, had they not been contained in a private and confidential dispatch. The following words therefore were posted up in many places, and frequently shouted in the night: "Give us back our Germanicus." This suspicion was afterwards confirmed by the barbarous treatment of his wife and children.

⁵³ Nurum Agrippinam post mariti mortem liberius quiddam questam manu apprehendit Graecoque uersu: "Si non dominaris," inquit, "filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?" Nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est. Quondam uero inter cenam porrecta a se poma gustare non ausam etiam uocare desiit, simulans ueneni se crimine accersi; cum praestructum utrumque consulto esset, ut et ipse temptandi gratia offerret et illa quasi certissimum exitium caueret. Nouissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere uelle, Pandatariam relegauit conuiciantique oculum per centurionem uerberibus excussit. rursus mori inedia destinanti per uim ore diducto infulciri cibum iussit. sed et perseuerantem atque ita absumptam criminosissime insectatus, cum diem quoque natalem eius inter nefastos referendum suasisset, imputauit etiam, quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abiecerit: proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiae agerentur et Capitolino Ioui donum ex auro sacraretur.

(225) LIII. His daughter-in-law Agrippina, after the death of her husband, complaining upon some occasion with more than ordinary freedom, he took her by the hand, and addressed her in a Greek verse to this effect: "My dear child, do you think yourself injured, because you are not empress?" Nor did he ever

vouchsafe to speak to her again. Upon her refusing once at supper to taste some fruit which he presented to her, he declined inviting her to his table, pretending that she in effect charged him with a design to poison her; whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own. He was to offer the fruit, and she to be privately cautioned against eating what would infallibly cause her death. At last, having her accused of intending to flee for refuge to the statue of Augustus, or to the army, he banished her to the island of Pandataria . Upon her reviling him for it, he caused a centurion to beat out one of her eyes; and when she resolved to starve herself to death, he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her throat. But she persisting in her resolution, and dying soon afterwards, he persecuted her memory with the basest aspersions, and persuaded the senate to put her birth- day amongst the number of unlucky days in the calendar. He likewise took credit for not having caused her to be strangled and her body cast upon the Gemonian Steps, and suffered a decree of the senate to pass, thanking him for his clemency, and an offering of gold to be made to Jupiter Capitolinus on the occasion.

⁵⁴ Cum ex Germanico tres nepotes, Neronem et Drusum et Gaium, ex Druso unum Tiberium haberet, destitutus morte liberorum maximos natu de Germanici filiis, Neronem et Drusum, patribus conscriptis commendavit diemque utriusque tirocinii congiario plebei dato celebrauit. Sed ut comperit ineunte anno pro eorum quoque salute publice uota suscepta, egit cum senatu, non debere talia praemia tribui nisi expertis et aetate prouectis. Atque ex eo patefacta interiore animi sui nota omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit uariaque fraude inductos, ut et concitarentur ad conuicia et concitati proderentur, accusauit per litteras amarissime congestis etiam probris et iudicatos hostis fame necauit, Neronem in insula Pontia, Drusum in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad uoluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missus laqueos et uncas ostentaret, Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum e culcita temptauerit mandere; amborum sic reliquias dispersas, ut uix quandoque colligi possent.

LIV. He had by Germanicus three grandsons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius; and by his son Drusus one, named Tiberius. Of these, after the loss of his sons, he commended Nero and Drusus, the two eldest sons of Germanicus, to the senate; and at their being solemnly introduced into the forum, distributed money among the people. But when he found that on entering upon the new year they were included in the public vows for his own welfare, he told the senate, “that such honours ought not to be conferred but upon those who had been proved, and

were of more advanced years.” By thus betraying his private feelings towards them, he exposed them to all sorts of accusations; and after practising many artifices to provoke (226) them to rail at and abuse him, that he might be furnished with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the senate; at the same time accusing them, in the bitterest terms, of the most scandalous vices. Upon their being declared enemies by the senate, he starved them to death; Nero in the island of Ponza, and Drusus in the vaults of the Palatium. It is thought by some, that Nero was driven to a voluntary death by the executioner’s shewing him some halters and hooks, as if he had been sent to him by order of the senate. Drusus, it is said, was so rabid with hunger, that he attempted to eat the chaff with which his mattress was stuffed. The relics of both were so scattered, that it was with difficulty they were collected.

⁵⁵ Super ueteres amicos ac familiares uiginti sibi e numero principum ciuitatis depoposcerat uelut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium uix duos anne tres incolumis praestitit, ceteros alium alia de causa perculit, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum; quem ad summam potentiam non tam beniuolentia prouexerat, quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumueniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.

LV. Besides his old friends and intimate acquaintance, he required the assistance of twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, as counsellors in the administration of public affairs. Out of all this number, scarcely two or three escaped the fury of his savage disposition. All the rest he destroyed upon one pretence or another; and among them Aelius Sejanus, whose fall was attended with the ruin of many others. He had advanced this minister to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much from any real regard for him, as that by his base and sinister contrivances he might ruin the children of Germanicus, and thereby secure the succession to his own grandson by Drusus.

⁵⁶ Nihilo lenior in conuictos Graeculos, quibus uel maxime adquiescebat, Xenonem quendam exquisitius sermocinantem cum interrogasset, quaenam illa tam molesta dialectos esset, et ille respondisset Doridem, relegauit Cinariam, existimans exprobratum sibi ueterem secessum, quod Dorice Rhodii loquantur. Item cum soleret ex lectione cotidiana quaestiones super cenam proponere comperissetque Seleucum grammaticum a ministris suis perquirere, quos quoque tempore tractaret auctores, atque ita praeparatum uenire, primum a contubernio remouit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

LVI. He treated with no greater leniency the Greeks in his family, even those with whom he was most pleased. Having asked one Zeno, upon his using some far-fetched phrases, “What uncouth dialect is that?” he replied, “The Doric.” For this answer he banished him to Cinara, suspecting that he taunted him with his former residence at Rhodes, where the Doric dialect is spoken. It being his custom to start questions at supper, arising out of what he had been reading in the day, and finding that Seleucus, the grammarian, used to inquire of his attendants what authors he was then studying, and so came prepared for his enquiries — he first turned him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himself.

⁵⁷ Saeua ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit; quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricae praeceptor et perspexisse primus sagaciter et assimilasse aptissime uisus est, subinde in obiurgando appellans eum *pylon aimati pefesamenon*, id est, lutum a sanguine maceratum. Sed aliquanto magis in principe eluxit, etiam inter initia cum adhuc fauorem hominum moderationis simulatione captaret. Scurram, qui praetereunte funere clare mortuo mandaratur, ut nuntiaret Augusto nondum reddi legata quae plebei reliquisset, adtractum ad se recipere debitum ducique ad supplicium imperauit et patri suo uerum referre. Nec multo post in senatu Pompeio cuidam equiti R. quiddam perneganti, dum uincula minatur, affirmauit fore ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret, acerba cauillatione simul hominis nomen incessans ueteremque partium fortunam.

(227) LVII. His cruel and sullen temper appeared when he was still a boy; which Theodorus of Gadara, his master in rhetoric, first discovered, and expressed by a very apposite simile, calling him sometimes, when he chid him, “Mud mixed with blood.” But his disposition shewed itself still more clearly on his attaining the imperial power, and even in the beginning of his administration, when he was endeavouring to gain the popular favour, by affecting moderation. Upon a funeral passing by, a wag called out to the dead man, “Tell Augustus, that the legacies he bequeathed to the people are not yet paid.” The man being brought before him, he ordered that he should receive what was due to him, and then be led to execution, that he might deliver the message to his father himself. Not long afterwards, when one Pompey, a Roman knight, persisted in his opposition to something he proposed in the senate, he threatened to put him in prison, and told him, “Of a Pompey I shall make a Pompeian of you;” by a bitter kind of pun playing upon the man’s name, and the ill-fortune of his party.

⁵⁸ Sub idem tempus consulente praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi iuberet,

exercendas esse leges respondit et atrocissime exercuit. statuae quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret; acta res in senatu et, quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo paulatim genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum seruum cecidisse, uestimenta mutasse, nummo uel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factumue eius existimatione aliqua laesisse. Perit denique et is, qui honorem in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est, quo decreti et Augusto olim erant.

LVIII. About the same time, when the praetor consulted him, whether it was his pleasure that the tribunals should take cognizance of accusations of treason, he replied, "The laws ought to be put in execution;" and he did put them in execution most severely. Some person had taken off the head of Augustus from one of his statues, and replaced it by another. The matter was brought before the senate, and because the case was not clear, the witnesses were put to the torture. The party accused being found guilty, and condemned, this kind of proceeding was carried so far, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change his clothes, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamped upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house, or the stews; or to reflect upon anything that had been either said or done by him. In fine, a person was condemned to death, for suffering some honours to be decreed to him in the colony where he lived, upon the same day on which they had formerly been decreed to Augustus.

⁵⁹ Multa praeterea specie grauitatis ac morum corrigendorum, sed et magis naturae optemperans, ita saeue et atrociter factitauit, ut nonnulli uersiculis quoque et praesentia exprobrarent et futura denuntiarent mala:

*Asper et immitis, breuiter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques, quare? non sunt tibi millia centum?
Omnia si quaeras, et Rhodos exsilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit vinum, quia jam sit it iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc auide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Sullam:
Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis*

*Nec semel infectas adspice caeda manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

Quae primo, quasi ab impatientibus remedi[or]um ac non tam ex animi sententia quam bile et stomacho fingerentur, uolebat accipi dicebatque identidem: "Oderint, dum probent." Dein uera plane certaue esse ipse fecit fidem.

(228) LIX. He was besides guilty of many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners, but more to gratify his own savage disposition. Some verses were published, which displayed the present calamities of his reign, and anticipated the future.

*Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques, quare? non sunt tibi millia centum?
Omnia si quaeras, et Rhodos exsilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit vinum, quia jam sit it iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc auide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Sullam:
Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis
Nec semel infectas adspice caeda manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

Obdurate wretch! too fierce, too fell to move
The least kind yearnings of a mother's love!
No knight thou art, as having no estate;
Long suffered'st thou in Rhodes an exile's fate,
No more the happy Golden Age we see;
The Iron's come, and sure to last with thee.
Instead of wine he thirsted for before,
He wallows now in floods of human gore.
Reflect, ye Romans, on the dreadful times,
Made such by Marius, and by Sylla's crimes.

Reflect how Antony's ambitious rage
Twice scar'd with horror a distracted age,
And say, Alas! Rome's blood in streams will flow,
When banish'd miscreants rule this world below.

At first he would have it understood, that these satirical verses were drawn forth by the resentment of those who were impatient under the discipline of reformation, rather than that they spoke their real sentiments; and he would frequently say, "Let them hate me, so long as they do but approve my conduct." At length, however, his behaviour showed that he was sensible they were too well founded.

⁶⁰ In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit piscatori, qui sibi secretum agenti grandem mullum inopinanter obtulerat, perfricari eodem pisce faciem iussit, territus quod is a tergo insulae per aspera et deuia erepsisset ad se; gratulanti autem inter poenam, quod non et lucustam, quam praegrandem ceperat, obtulisset, lucusta quoque lacerari os imperauit. Militem praetorianum ob subreptum e uiridiario pauonem capite puniit. In quodam itinere lectica, qua uehebatur, uepribus impedita exploratorem uiae, primarum cohortium centurionem, stratum humi paene ad necem uerberauit.

(229) LX. A few days after his arrival at Capri, a fisherman coming up to him unexpectedly, when he was desirous of privacy, and presenting him with a large mullet, he ordered the man's face to be scrubbed with the fish; being terrified at the thought of his having been able to creep upon him from the back of the island, over such rugged and steep rocks. The man, while undergoing the punishment, expressing his joy that he had not likewise offered him a large crab which he had also taken, he ordered his face to be farther lacerated with its claws. He put to death one of the pretorian guards, for having stolen a peacock out of his orchard. In one of his journeys, his litter being obstructed by some bushes, he ordered the officer whose duty it was to ride on and examine the road, a centurion of the first cohorts, to be laid on his face upon the ground, and scourged almost to death.

⁶¹ Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit numquam deficiente materia, cum primo matris, deinde nepotum et nurus, postremo Seiani familiares atque etiam notos persequeretur; post cuius interitum uel saeuissimus extitit. Quo maxime apparuit, non tam ipsum ab Seiano concitari solitum, quam Seianum quaerenti occasiones sumministrasse; etsi commentario, quem de uita sua summatim

breuiterque composuit, ausus est scribere Seianum se punisse, quod comperisset furere aduersus liberos Germanici filii sui; quorum ipse alterum suspecto iam, alterum oppresso demum Seiano interemit. Singillatim crudeliter facta eius exequi longum est; genera, uelut exemplaria saeuitiae, enumerare sat erit. Nullus a poena hominum cessauit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer; animaduersum in quosdam ineunte anno nouo. Accusati damnatique multi cum liberis atque etiam a liberis suis. Interdictum ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent. Decreta accusatoribus praecipua praemia, nonnumquam et testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. omne crimen pro capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simpliciumque uerborum. obiectum est poetae, quod in tragoedia Agamemnonem probris laccessisset; obiectum et historico, quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset; animaduersum statim in auctores scriptaque abolita, quamuis probarentur ante aliquot annos etiam Augusto audiente recitata. Quibusdam custodiae traditis non modo studendi solacium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis et conloqui usus. Citati ad causam dicendam partim se domi uulnerauerunt certi damnationis et ad uexationem ignominiamque uitandam, partim in media curia uenenum hauserunt; et tamen conligatis uulneribus ac semianimes palpitantesque adhuc in carcerem rapti. Nemo punitorum non in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, uiginti uno die abiecti tractique, inter eos feminae et pueri. Immaturae puellae, quia more tradito nefas esset uirgines strangulari, uitatae prius a carnifice, dein strangulatae. Mori uolentibus uis adhibita uiuendi. Nam mortem adeo leue supplicium putabat, ut cum audisset unum e reis, Carnulum nomine, anticipasse eam, exclamauerit: "Carnulus me euasit." Et in recognoscendis custodiis precanti cuidam poenae maturitatem respondit: "Nondum tecum in gratiam redii." Annalibus suis uir consularis inseruit, frequenti quodam conuiuio, cui et ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum subito et clare a quodam nano astante mensae inter copreas, cur Paconius maiestatis reus tam diu uiueret, statim quidem petulantiam linguae obiurgasse, ceterum post paucos dies scripsisse senatui, ut de poena Paconi quam primum statueret.

LXI. Soon afterwards, he abandoned himself to every species of cruelty, never wanting occasions of one kind or another, to serve as a pretext. He first fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother, then those of his grandsons, and his daughter-in-law, and lastly those of Sejanus; after whose death he became cruel in the extreme. From this it appeared, that he had not been so much instigated by Sejanus, as supplied with occasions of gratifying his savage temper, when he wanted them. Though in a short memoir which he composed of his own life, he had the effrontery to write, "I have punished Sejanus, because I found him bent

upon the destruction of the children of my son Germanicus,” one of these he put to death, when he began to suspect Sejanus; and another, after he was taken off. It would be tedious to relate all the numerous instances of his cruelty: suffice it to give a few examples, in their different kinds. Not a day passed without the punishment of some person or other, not excepting holidays, or those appropriated to the worship of the gods. Some were tried even on New-Year’s-Day. Of many who were condemned, their wives and children shared the same fate; and for those who were sentenced to death, the relations were forbid to put on mourning. Considerable rewards were voted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the witnesses also. The information of any person, without exception, was taken; and all offences were capital, even speaking (230) a few words, though without any ill intention. A poet was charged with abusing Agamemnon; and a historian, for calling Brutus and Cassius “the last of the Romans.” The two authors were immediately called to account, and their writings suppressed; though they had been well received some years before, and read in the hearing of Augustus. Some, who were thrown into prison, were not only denied the solace of study, but debarred from all company and conversation. Many persons, when summoned to trial, stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the distress and ignominy of a public condemnation, which they were certain would ensue. Others took poison in the senate house. The wounds were bound up, and all who had not expired, were carried, half-dead, and panting for life, to prison. Those who were put to death, were thrown down the Gemonian stairs, and then dragged into the Tiber. In one day, twenty were treated in this manner; and amongst them women and boys. Because, according to an ancient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled. Those who were desirous to die, were forced to live. For he thought death so slight a punishment, that upon hearing that Carnulius, one of the accused, who was under prosecution, had killed himself, he exclaimed, “Carnulius has escaped me.” In calling over his prisoners, when one of them requested the favour of a speedy death, he replied, “You are not yet restored to favour.” A man of consular rank writes in his annals, that at table, where he himself was present with a large company, he was suddenly asked aloud by a dwarf who stood by amongst the buffoons, why Paconius, who was under a prosecution for treason, lived so long. Tiberius immediately reprimanded him for his pertness; but wrote to the senate a few days after, to proceed without delay to the punishment of Paconius.

⁶² Auxit intenditque saeuitiam exacerbatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi. Quem cum morbo et intemperantia perisse existimaret, ut tandem ueneno

interemptum fraude Liuillae uxoris atque Seiani cognouit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cuiusquam pepercit, soli huic cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus et intentus, ut Rhodiensem hospitem, quem familiaribus litteris Romam euocar, aduenisse sibi nuntiatum torqueri sine mora iusserit, quasi aliquis ex necessariis quaestioni adesset, deinde errore detecto et occidi, ne uulgaret iniuriam. Carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa et exquisita tormenta praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat, excipiente classiariorum manu et contis atque remis elidente cadauera, ne cui residui spiritus quicquam inesset. Excogitauerat autem inter genera cruciatus etiam, ut larga meri potione per fallaciam oneratos, repente ueretris deligatis, fidicularum simul urinaeque tormento distenderet. Quod nisi eum et mors praeuenisset et Thrasyllus consulto, ut aiunt, differre quaedam spe longioris uitae compulisset, plures aliquanto necaturus ac ne reliquis quidem nepotibus parsurus creditur, cum et Gaium suspectum haberet et Tiberium ut ex adulterio conceptum aspernaretur. Nec abhorret a uero; namque identidem felicem Priamum uocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.

LXII. Exasperated by information he received respecting the death of his son Drusus, he carried his cruelty still farther. He imagined that he had died of a disease occasioned (231) by his intemperance; but finding that he had been poisoned by the contrivance of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, he spared no one from torture and death. He was so entirely occupied with the examination of this affair, for whole days together, that, upon being informed that the person in whose house he had lodged at Rhodes, and whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome, was arrived, he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture, as a party concerned in the enquiry. Upon finding his mistake, he commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publish the injury done him. The place of execution is still shown at Capri, where he ordered those who were condemned to die, after long and exquisite tortures, to be thrown, before his eyes, from a precipice into the sea. There a party of soldiers belonging to the fleet waited for them, and broke their bones with poles and oars, lest they should have any life left in them. Among various kinds of torture invented by him, one was, to induce people to drink a large quantity of wine, and then to tie up their members with harp-strings, thus tormenting them at once by the tightness of the ligature, and the stoppage of their urine. Had not death prevented him, and Thrasyllus, designedly, as some say, prevailed with him to defer some of his cruelties, in hopes of longer life, it is believed that he would have destroyed many more: and not have spared even the rest of his grandchildren: for he was jealous of Caius, and hated Tiberius as having been conceived in adultery. This

conjecture is indeed highly probable; for he used often to say, "Happy Priam, who survived all his children!"

⁶³ Quam inter haec non modo inuisus ac detestabilis, sed praetrepidus quoque atque etiam contumeliis obnoxius uixerit, multa indicia sunt. haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli uetuit. uicina uero urbi oracula etiam dis[s]icere conatus est, sed maiestate Praenestinarum sortium territus destitit, cum obsignatas deuectasque Romam non repperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum. unum et alterum consulares oblatis prouinciis non ausus a se dimittere usque eo detinuit, donec successores post aliquot annos praesentibus daret, cum interim manente officii titulo etiam delegaret plurima assidue, quae illi per legatos et adiutores suos exequenda curarent.

LXIII. Amidst these enormities, in how much fear and apprehension, as well as odium and detestation, he lived, is evident from many indications. He forbade the soothsayers to be consulted in private, and without some witnesses being present. He attempted to suppress the oracles in the neighbourhood of the city; but being terrified by the divine authority of the (232) Praenestine Lots, he abandoned the design. For though they were sealed up in a box, and carried to home, yet they were not to be found in it, until it was returned to the temple. More than one person of consular rank, appointed governors of provinces, he never ventured to dismiss to their respective destinations, but kept them until several years after, when he nominated their successors, while they still remained present with him. In the meantime, they bore the title of their office; and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.

⁶⁴ Nurus ac nepotes numquam aliter post damnationem quam catenatos obsutaque lectica loco mouit, prohibitis per militem obuiis ac uiatoribus respicere usquam uel consistere.

LXIV. He never removed his daughter-in-law, or grandsons, after their condemnation, to any place, but in fetters and in a covered litter, with a guard to hinder all who met them on the road, and travellers, from stopping to gaze at them.

⁶⁵ Seianum res nouas molientem, quamuis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim uideret, uix tandem et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subuertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris

dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo interuallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe affinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum inopinantem criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione, cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, mitterent alterum e consulibus, qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio perduceret. Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens Drusum nepotem, quem uinculis adhuc Romae continebat, solui, si res posceret, ducemque constitui praeceperat. Aptatis etiam nauibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quidque factum foret, mandauerat. uerum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani nihilo securior aut constantior per nouem proximos menses non egressus est uilla, quae uocatur Ionis.

LXV. After Sejanus had plotted against him, though he saw that his birth-day was solemnly kept by the public, and divine honours paid to golden images of him in every quarter, yet it was with difficulty at last, and more by artifice than his imperial power, that he accomplished his death. In the first place, to remove him from about his person, under the pretext of doing him honour, he made him his colleague in his fifth consulship; which, although then absent from the city, he took upon him for that purpose, long after his preceding consulship. Then, having flattered him with the hope of an alliance by marriage with one of his own kindred, and the prospect of the tribunitian authority, he suddenly, while Sejanus little expected it, charged him with treason, in an abject and pitiful address to the senate; in which, among other things, he begged them “to send one of the consuls, to conduct himself, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of soldiers, into their presence.” Still distrustful, however, and apprehensive of an insurrection, he ordered his grandson, Drusus, whom he still kept in confinement at Rome, to be set at liberty, and if occasion required, to head the troops. He had likewise ships in readiness to transport him to any of the legions to which he might consider it expedient to make his escape. Meanwhile, he was upon the (233) watch, from the summit of a lofty cliff, for the signals which he had ordered to be made if any thing occurred, lest the messengers should be tardy. Even when he had quite foiled the conspiracy of Sejanus, he was still haunted as much as ever with fears and apprehensions, insomuch that he never once stirred out of the Villa Jovis for nine months after.

⁶⁶ Vrebant insuper anxiam mentem uaria undique conuicia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram uel per libellos in orchestra positos ingerente. Quibus quidem diuersissime adficiebatur, modo ut prae pudore ignota

et celata cuncta cuperet, nonnumquam eadem contemneret et proferret ultro atque uulgaret. Quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est litteris parricidia et caedes et ignauiam et luxuriam obicientis monentisque, ut uoluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque ciuium odio quam primum satis faceret

LXVI. To the extreme anxiety of mind which he now experienced, he had the mortification to find superadded the most poignant reproaches from all quarters. Those who were condemned to die, heaped upon him the most opprobrious language in his presence, or by hand-bills scattered in the senators' seats in the theatre. These produced different effects: sometimes he wished, out of shame, to have all smothered and concealed; at other times he would disregard what was said, and publish it himself. To this accumulation of scandal and open sarcasm, there is to be subjoined a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, in which he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cowardice, and lewdness, and advises him to satisfy the furious rage of his own people, which he had so justly excited, by putting an end to his life without delay.

⁶⁷ Postremo semet ipse pertaesus, tali epistulae principio tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est: "Quid scribam uobis, p. c., aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaeque peius perdant quam cotidie perire sentio, si scio." Existimant quidam praescisse haec eum peritia futurorum ac multo ante, quanta se quandoque acerbitas et infamia maneret, prospexisse; ideoque, ut imperium inierit, et patris patriae appellationem et ne in acta sua iuraretur obstinatissime recusasse, ne mox maiore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inueniretur. Quod sane ex oratione eius, quam de utraque re habuit, colligi potest; uel cum ait: similem se semper sui futurum nec umquam mutaturum mores suos, quam diu sanae mentis fuisset; sed exempli causa cauendum esse, ne se senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, quia aliquo casu mutari posset. Et rursus: "Si quando autem," inquit, "de moribus meis deuotoque uobis animo dubitaueritis, — quod prius quam eueniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatae uestrae de me opinioni eripiat — nihil honoris adiciet mihi patria appellatio, uobis autem exprobrabit aut temeritatem delati mihi eius cognominis aut inconstantiam contrarii de me iudicii."

LXVII. At last, being quite weary of himself, he acknowledged his extreme misery, in a letter to the senate, which begun thus: "What to write to you, Conscript Fathers, or how to write, or what not to write at this time, may all the gods and goddesses pour upon my head a more terrible vengeance than that under which I feel myself daily sinking, if I can tell." Some are of opinion that

he had a foreknowledge of those things, from his skill in the science of divination, and perceived long before what misery and infamy would at last come upon him; and that for this reason, at the beginning of his reign, he had absolutely refused the title of the “Father of his Country,” and the proposal of the senate to swear to his acts; lest he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found unequal to such extraordinary honours. This, indeed, may be justly inferred from the speeches which he made upon both those occasions; as when he says, “I shall ever be the same, and shall never change my conduct, so long as I retain my senses; but to avoid giving a bad precedent to posterity, the senate ought to beware of binding themselves to the acts of (234) any person whatever, who might by some accident or other be induced to alter them.” And again: “If ye should at any time entertain a jealousy of my conduct, and my entire affection for you, which heaven prevent by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of Father will add no honour to me, but be a reproach to you, for your rashness in conferring it upon me, or inconstancy in altering your opinion of me.”

⁶⁸ Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura quae iustam excederet; latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens; sinistra manu agiliore ac ualidiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri uel etiam adulescentis talitro uulneraret. Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium summissiore ut ceruicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo uidebatur; facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri et subiti tumores, cum praegrandibus oculis et qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris uiderent, sed ad breue et cum primum e somno patuissent; deinde rursum hebescebant. Incedebat ceruice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere uultu, plerumque tacitus, nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. Quae omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena et animaduertit Augustus in eo et excusare temptauit saepe apud senatum ac populum professus naturae uitia esse, non animi. Ualitudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus paene toto prope inlaesa, quamuis a tricesimo aetatis anno arbitrato eam suo rexit sine adiumento consiliorum medicorum.

LXVIII. In person he was large and robust; of a stature somewhat above the common size; broad in the shoulders and chest, and proportionable in the rest of his frame. He used his left hand more readily and with more force than his right; and his joints were so strong, that he could bore a fresh, sound apple through with his finger, and wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a fillip.

He was of a fair complexion, and wore his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, but it was often full of pimples. His eyes, which were large, had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time, and in the dark, for a short time only, and immediately after awaking from sleep; but they soon grew dim again. He walked with his neck stiff and upright: generally with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent: when he spoke to those about him, it was very slowly, and usually accompanied with a slight gesticulation of his fingers. All which, being repulsive habits and signs of arrogance, were remarked by Augustus, who often endeavoured to excuse them to the senate and people, declaring that “they were natural defects, which proceeded from no viciousness of mind.” He enjoyed a good state of health, without interruption, almost during the whole period of his rule; though, from the thirtieth year of his age, he treated it himself according to his own discretion, without any medical assistance.

⁶⁹ Circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus mathematicae plenusque persuasionis cuncta fato agi, tonitrua tamen praeter modum expauescebat et turbatiore caelo numquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis.

LXIX. In regard to the gods, and matters of religion, he discovered much indifference; being greatly addicted to astrology, and fully persuaded that all things were governed by fate. Yet he was extremely afraid of lightning, and when the sky was in a disturbed state, always wore a laurel crown on his head; because it is supposed that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the lightning.

⁷⁰ Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit. In oratione Latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam, quem senem adulescens observarat. Sed adfectione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura praestantior haberetur. Composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus “conquestio de morte L. Caesaris.” Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit; et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt. Maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis usque ad ineptias atque derisum; nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur: “Quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter uirgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae.” Et quo primum die post excessum Augusti curiam intrauit, quasi pietati

simul ac religioni satis facturus Minonis exemplo ture quidem ac uino uerum sine tibicine supplicauit, ut ille olim in morte filii.

(235) LXX. He applied himself with great diligence to the liberal arts, both Greek and Latin. In his Latin style, he affected to imitate Messala Corvinus, a venerable man, to whom he had paid much respect in his own early years. But he rendered his style obscure by excessive affectation and abstruseness, so that he was thought to speak better extempore, than in a premeditated discourse. He composed likewise a lyric ode, under the title of “A Lamentation upon the death of Lucius Caesar;” and also some Greek poems, in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius . These poets he greatly admired, and placed their works and statues in the public libraries, amongst the eminent authors of antiquity. On this account, most of the learned men of the time vied with each other in publishing observations upon them, which they addressed to him. His principal study, however, was the history of the fabulous ages, inquiring even into its trifling details in a ridiculous manner; for he used to try the grammarians, a class of men which, as I have already observed, he much affected, with such questions as these: “Who was Hecuba’s mother? What name did Achilles assume among the virgins? What was it that the Sirens used to sing?” And the first day that he entered the senate-house, after the death of Augustus, as if he intended to pay respect at once to his father’s memory and to the gods, he made an offering of frankincense and wine, but without any music, in imitation of Minos, upon the death of his son.

⁷¹ Sermone Graeco quamquam alioqui promptus et facilis, non tamen usque quaque usus est abstinuitque maxime in senatu; adeo quidem, ut monopolium nominaturus ueniam prius postularet, quod sibi uerbo peregrino utendum esset. Atque etiam cum in quodam decreto patrum *emblema* recitaretur, commutandam censuit uocem et pro peregrina nostratem requirendam aut, si non reperiretur, uel pluribus et per ambitum uerborum rem enuntiandam. Militem quoque Graece testimonium interrogatum nisi Latine respondere uetuit.

LXXI. Though he was ready and conversant with the Greek tongue, yet he did not use it everywhere; but chiefly he avoided it in the senate-house, insomuch that having occasion to employ the word monopolium (monopoly), he first begged pardon for being obliged to adopt a foreign word. And when, in a decree of the senate, the word emblaema (emblem) was read, he proposed to have it changed, and that a Latin word should be substituted in its room; or, if no proper one could be found, to express the thing by circumlocution. A soldier (236) who

was examined as a witness upon a trial, in Greek, he would not allow to reply, except in Latin.

⁷² Bis omnino toto secessus tempore Romam redire conatus, semel triremi usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subuectus est disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obuiam prodeuntis submoueret, iterum Appia usque ad septimum lapidem; sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit, primo incertum qua de causa, postea ostento territus. Erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco, quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus cum consumptum a formicis inuenisset, monitus est ut uim multitudinis caueret. rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturae in languorem incidit, quo paulum leuatus Cerceios pertendit. Ac ne quam suspicionem infirmitatis daret, castrensibus ludis non tantum interfuit, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum iaculis desuper petit; statimque latere conuulso et, ut exaestuarat, afflatus aura in grauiorem recidit morbum. Sustentaui tamen aliquamdiu, quamuis Misenum usque deuectus nihil ex ordine cotidiano praetermitteret, ne conuiuia quidem aut ceteras uoluptates partim intemperantia partim dissimulatione. Nam Chariclen medicum, quod commeatu afuturus e conuiuio egrediens manum sibi osculandi causa apprehendisset, existimans temptatas ab eo uenas, remanere ac recumbere hortatus est cenamque protraxit. Nec abstinuit consuetudine quin tunc quoque instans in medio triclinio astante lictore singulos ualere dicentis appellaret.

LXXII. During the whole time of his seclusion at Capri, twice only he made an effort to visit Rome. Once he came in a galley as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all who should offer to come to meet him. The second time he travelled on the Appian Way, as far as the seventh mile-stone from the city, but he immediately returned, without entering it, having only taken a view of the walls at a distance. For what reason he did not disembark in his first excursion, is uncertain; but in the last, he was deterred from entering the city by a prodigy. He was in the habit of diverting himself with a snake, and upon going to feed it with his own hand, according to custom, he found it devoured by ants: from which he was advised to beware of the fury of the mob. On this account, returning in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Astura; but recovering a little, went on to Circeii. And to obviate any suspicion of his being in a bad state of health, he was not only present at the sports in the camp, but encountered, with javelins, a wild boar, which was let loose in the arena. Being immediately seized with a pain in the side, and catching cold upon his over-heating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was before. He held out, however, for some time; and

sailing as far as Misenum, omitted nothing (237) in his usual mode of life, not even in his entertainments, and other gratifications, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles, a physician, having obtained leave of absence, on his rising from table, took his hand to kiss it; upon which Tiberius, supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and resume his place, and continued the entertainment longer than usual. Nor did he omit his usual custom of taking his station in the centre of the apartment, a lictor standing by him, while he took leave of each of the party by name.

⁷³ Interim cum in actis senatus legisset dimissos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos, de quibus strictim et nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se habitum fremens repetere Capreas quoquo modo destinavit, non temere quicquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Sed tempestatibus et ingraescente ui morbi retentus paulo post obiit in uilla Lucullana octauo et septuagesimo aetatis anno, tertio et uicesimo imperii, XVII. Kal. Ap. Cn. Acerronio Proculo C. Pontio Nigr[in]o cons. Sunt qui putent uenenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabificum; alii, in remissione fortuitae febris cibum desideranti negatum; nonnulli, puluinum iniectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti anulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit intellecta defectione exemptum anulum quasi alicui traditurum parumper tenuisse, dein rursus aptasse digito et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito uocatis ministris ac nemine respondente consurrexisse nec procul a lectulo deficientibus uiribus concidisse.

LXXIII. Meanwhile, finding, upon looking over the acts of the senate, “that some person under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing,” for he had only written cursorily that they had been denounced by an informer; he complained in a great rage that he was treated with contempt, and resolved at all hazards to return to Capri; not daring to attempt any thing until he found himself in a place of security. But being detained by storms, and the increasing violence of his disorder, he died shortly afterwards, at a villa formerly belonging to Lucullus, in the seventy- eighth year of his age, and the twenty- third of his reign, upon the seventeenth of the calends of April (16th March), in the consulship of Cneius Acerronius Proculus and Caius Pontius Niger. Some think that a slow-consuming poison was given him by Caius . Others say that during the interval of the intermittent fever with which he happened to be seized, upon asking for food, it was denied him. Others report, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him, when, on his recovering from a swoon, he called for his ring, which had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, “That finding

himself dying, he took his signet ring off his finger, and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to somebody; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time, with his left hand clenched, and without stirring; when suddenly summoning his attendants, (238) and no one answering the call, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down at a short distance from his bed.”

⁷⁴ Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiae, aduectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca templi noui poneretur, uiderat per quietem affirmantem sibi non posse se ab ipso dedicari. Et ante paucos quam obiret dies, turris Phari terrae motu Capreis concidit. Ac Miseni cinis e fauilla et carbonibus ad calficiendum triclinium inlatis, extinctus iam et diu frigidus, exarsit repente prima uespera atque in multam noctem pertinaciter luxit.

LXXIV. Upon his last birth-day, he had brought a full-sized statue of the Timenian Apollo from Syracuse, a work of exquisite art, intending to place it in the library of the new temple; but he dreamt that the god appeared to him in the night, and assured him “that his statue could not be erected by him.” A few days before he died, the Pharos at Capri was thrown down by an earthquake. And at Misenum, some embers and live coals, which were brought in to warm his apartment, went out, and after being quite cold, burst out into a flame again towards evening, and continued burning very brightly for several hours.

⁷⁵ Morte eius ita laetatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes pars: “Tiberium in Tiberim!” clamitarent, pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent, alii uncum et Gemonias cadaueri minarentur, exacerbati super memoriam pristinae crudelitatis etiam recenti atrocitate. Nam cum senatus consulto cautum esset, ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur, forte accidit ut quorundam supplicii dies is esset, quo nuntiatum de Tiberio erat. Hos implorantis hominum fidem, quia absente adhuc Gaio nemo extabat qui adiri interpellarique posset, custodes, ne quid aduersus constitutum facerent, strangulauerunt abieceruntque in Gemonias. Creuit igitur inuidia, quasi etiam post mortem tyranni saeuitia permanente. Corpus ut moueri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustilandum, Romam per milites deportatum est crematumque publico funere.

LXXV. The people were so much elated at his death, that when they first heard the news, they ran up and down the city, some crying out, “Away with Tiberius to the Tiber;” others exclaiming, “May the earth, the common mother of

mankind, and the infernal gods, allow him no abode in death, but amongst the wicked.” Others threatened his body with the hook and the Gemonian stairs, their indignation at his former cruelty being increased by a recent atrocity. It had been provided by an act of the senate, that the execution of condemned criminals should always be deferred until the tenth day after the sentence. Now this fell on the very day when the news of Tiberius’s death arrived, and in consequence of which the unhappy men implored a reprieve, for mercy’s sake; but, as Caius had not yet arrived, and there was no one else to whom application could be made on their behalf, their guards, apprehensive of violating the law, strangled them, and threw them down the Gemonian stairs. This roused the people to a still greater abhorrence of the tyrant’s memory, since his cruelty continued in use even after he was dead. As soon as his corpse was begun to be moved from Misenum, many cried out for its being carried to Atella, and being half burnt there (239) in the amphitheatre. It was, however, brought to Rome, and burnt with the usual ceremony.

⁷⁶ Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat, alterum sua, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo, obsignaueratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento heredes aequis partibus reliquit Gaium ex Germanico et Tiberium ex Druso nepotes substituitque in uicem; dedit et legata plerisque, inter quos uirginibus Vestalibus, sed et militibus uniuersis plebeique Romanae uiritim atque etiam separatim uicorum magistris.

LXXVI. He had made about two years before, duplicates of his will, one written by his own hand, and the other by that of one of his freedmen; and both were witnessed by some persons of very mean rank. He appointed his two grandsons, Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, joint heirs to his estate; and upon the death of one of them, the other was to inherit the whole. He gave likewise many legacies; amongst which were bequests to the Vestal Virgins, to all the soldiers, and each one of the people of Rome, and to the magistrates of the several quarters of the city.

THE LIFE OF CALIGULA

¹ Germanicus, C. Caesaris pater, Drusi et minoris Antoniae filius, a Tiberio patruo adoptatus, quaesturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret et post eam consulatum statim gessit, missusque ad exercitum in Germaniam, excessu Augusti nuntiato, legiones universas imperatorem Tiberium pertinacissime recusantis et sibi summam rei p. deferentis incertum pietate an constantia maiore compescuit atque hoste mox devicto triumphavit. Consul deinde iterum creatus ac prius quam honorem iniret ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus, cum Armeniae regem devicisset, Cappadociam in provinciae formam redegisset, annum agens aetatis quartum et tricensimum diuturno morbo Antiochiae obiit, non sine veneni suspicione. Nam praeter livores, qui toto corpore erant, et spumas, quae per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cuius ea natura existimatur, ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat.

(251) I. Germanicus, the father of Caius Caesar, and son of Drusus and the younger Antonia, was, after his adoption by Tiberius, his uncle, preferred to the quaestorship five years before he had attained the legal age, and immediately upon the expiration of that office, to the consulship . Having been sent to the army in Germany, he restored order among the legions, who, upon the news of Augustus's death, obstinately refused to acknowledge Tiberius as emperor, and offered to place him at the head of the state. In which affair it is difficult to say, whether his regard to filial duty, or the firmness of his resolution, was most conspicuous. Soon afterwards he defeated the enemy, and obtained the honours of a triumph. Being then made consul for the second time, before he could enter upon his office he was obliged to set out suddenly for the east, where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, he died at Antioch, of a lingering distemper, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, not without the suspicion of being poisoned. For besides the livid spots which appeared all over his body, and a foaming at the mouth; when his corpse was burnt, the heart was found entire among the bones; its nature being such, as it is supposed, that when tainted by poison, it is indestructible by fire.

² Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi, ministerio et opera Cn. Pisonis, qui sub idem tempus Syriae praepositus, nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam aegrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus nullo adhibito modo adfecit; propter quae, ut Romam rediit, paene discerptus a populo, a senatu capitis

damnatus est.

II. It was a prevailing opinion, that he was taken off by the contrivance of Tiberius, and through the means of Cneius Piso. This person, who was about the same time prefect of Syria, and made no secret of his position being such, that (252) he must either offend the father or the son, loaded Germanicus, even during his sickness, with the most unbounded and scurrilous abuse, both by word and deed; for which, upon his return to Rome, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the people, and was condemned to death by the senate.

³ Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens, benivolentiam singularem conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium. Formae minus congruebat gracilitas crurum, sed ea quoque paulatim repleta assidua equi vectatione post cibum. Hostem comminus saepe percussit. Oravit causas etiam triumphalis; atque inter cetera studiorum monimenta reliquit et comoedias Graecas. Domi forisque civilis, libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat. Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulcra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat. Caesarum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumultu humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus adgressus est. Obrectatoribus etiam, qualescumque et quantacumque de causa nactus esset, lenis adeo et innoxius, ut Pisoni decreta sua rescindentem, clientelas divexanti non prius suscensere in animum induxerit, quam veneficiis quoque et devotionibus impugnari se comperisset; ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus, quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret.

III. It is generally agreed, that Germanicus possessed all the noblest endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than had ever before fallen to the lot of any man; a handsome person, extraordinary courage, great proficiency in eloquence and other branches of learning, both Greek and Roman; besides a singular humanity, and a behaviour so engaging, as to captivate the affections of all about him. The slenderness of his legs did not correspond with the symmetry and beauty of his person in other respects; but this defect was at length corrected by his habit of riding after meals. In battle, he often engaged and slew an enemy in single combat. He pleaded causes, even after he had the honour of a triumph. Among other fruits of his studies, he left behind him some Greek comedies. Both at home and abroad he always conducted himself in a manner the most

unassuming. On entering any free and confederate town, he never would be attended by his lictors. Whenever he heard, in his travels, of the tombs of illustrious men, he made offerings over them to the infernal deities. He gave a common grave, under a mound of earth, to the scattered relics of the legionaries slain under Varus, and was the first to put his hand to the work of collecting and bringing them to the place of burial. He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, whoever they were, or on what account soever they bore him enmity, that, although Piso rescinded his decrees, and for a long time severely harassed his dependents, he never showed the smallest resentment, until he found himself attacked by magical charms and imprecations; and even then the only steps he took was to renounce all friendship with him, according to ancient custom, and to exhort his servants to avenge his death, if any thing untoward should befall him.

⁴ Quarum virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, sic probatus et dilectus a suis, ut Augustus – omitto enim necessitudines reliquas – diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dedit; sic vulgo favorabilis, ut plurimi tradant, quotiens aliquo adveniret vel sicunde discederet, prae turba occurrentium prosequentiumve nonnumquam eum discrimen vitae adisse, e Germania vero post compressam seditionem revertenti praetorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset, ut duae tantum modo exirent, populi autem Romani sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicesimum lapidem effudisse se.

IV. He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long time in doubt, whether he should not appoint him his successor, at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular, that many authors tell us, the crowds of those who went to meet him upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life; and that upon his return from Germany, after he had quelled the mutiny in the army there, all the cohorts of the pretorian guards marched out to meet him, notwithstanding the order that only two should go; and that all the people of Rome, both men and women, of every age, sex, and rank, flocked as far as the twentieth milestone to attend his entrance.

⁵ Tamen longe maiora et firmiora de eo iudicia in morte ac post mortem exstiterunt. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti, partus coniugum expositi.

Quin et barbaros ferunt, quibus intestinum quibusque adversus nos bellum esset, velut in domestico communique maerore consensisse ad indutias; regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorū capita rasisse ad indicium maximi luctus; regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iusti[ti] instar est.

V. At the time of his death, however, and afterwards, they displayed still greater and stronger proofs of their extraordinary attachment to him. The day on which he died, stones were thrown at the temples, the altars of the gods demolished, the household gods, in some cases, thrown into the streets, and new-born infants exposed. It is even said that barbarous nations, both those engaged in intestine wars, and those in hostilities against us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been mourning for some very near and common friend; that some petty kings shaved their beards and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings forbore his exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which, amongst the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us.

⁂ Romae quidem, cum ad primam famam validudinis attonita et maesta civitas sequentis nuntios opperiretur, et repente iam vesperi incertis auctoribus convaluisse tandem percrebruisset, passim cum luminibus et victimis in Capitolium concursum est ac paene revolsae templi fores, ne quid gestientis vota reddere moraretur, expergefactus e somno Tiberius gratulantium vocibus atque undique concinentium:

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Et ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solaciis ullis, non edictis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Auxit gloriam desideriumque defuncti et atrocitas insequentium temporum, cunctis nec temere opinantibus reverentia eius ac metu repressam Tiberi saevitiam, quae mox eruperit.

VI. At Rome, upon the first news of his sickness, the city was thrown into great consternation and grief, waiting impatiently for farther intelligence; when suddenly, in the evening, a report, without any certain author, was spread, that he was recovered; upon which the people flocked with torches (254) and victims to the Capitol, and were in such haste to pay the vows they had made for his recovery, that they almost broke open the doors. Tiberius was roused from out of

his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing about the streets,

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Rome is safe, our country safe, for our Germanicus is safe.

But when certain intelligence of his death arrived, the mourning of the people could neither be assuaged by consolation, nor restrained by edicts, and it continued during the holidays in the month of December. The atrocities of the subsequent times contributed much to the glory of Germanicus, and the endearment of his memory; all people supposing, and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon afterwards.

⁷ Habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam, M. Agrippae et Iuliae filiam, et ex ea novem liberos tulit: quorum duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate, cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit, Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiensque introiret, exosculabatur; ceteri superstites patri fuerunt, tres sexus feminini, Agrippina, Drusilla, Livilla, continuo triennio natae; totidem mares, Nero et Drusus et C. Caesar. Neronem et Drusum senatus Tiberio criminante hostes iudicavit.

VII. Germanicus married Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, by whom he had nine children, two of whom died in their infancy, and another a few years after; a sprightly boy, whose effigy, in the character of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol. Augustus also placed another statue of him in his bed-chamber, and used to kiss it as often as he entered the apartment. The rest survived their father; three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, who were born in three successive years; and as many sons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius Caesar. Nero and Drusus, at the accusation of Tiberius, were declared public enemies.

⁸ C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit, Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes; addit etiam pro argumento aras ibi ostendi inscriptas ob Agrippinae pverperivm. Versiculi imperante mox eo divulgati apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant:

*In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis omen erat.*

Ego in actis Anti editum invenio. Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem, ut ad laudes iuvenis gloriosique principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi sacra sumeret, abusumque audentius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus et ipse C. Caesar, de cuius amabili pueritia immaturoque obitu supra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio temporum. Nam qui res Augusti memoriae mandarunt, Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum consentiunt iam nato Gaio. Nec Plini opinionem inscriptio arae quicquam adiuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa sit, et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueros, sicut et pueros puellulos dictitarent. Exstat et Augusti epistula, ante paucos quam obiret menses ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Gaio hoc – neque enim quisquam iam alius infans nomine pari tunc supererat –: “puerum Gaium XV. Kal. Iun. si dii volent, ut ducerent Talarius et Asillius, heri cum iis constitui. Mitto praeterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret. Valebis, mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum.” Abunde parere arbitror non potuisse ibi nasci Gaium, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe sit. Versiculorum quoque fidem eadem haec elevant et eo facilius, quod ii sine auctore sunt. Sequenda est igitur, quae sola [auctor] restat et publici instrumenti auctoritas, praesertim cum Gaius Antium omnibus semper locis atque secessibus praelatum non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium imperii taedio urbis transferre eo destinasse

VIII. Caius Caesar was born on the day before the calends [31st August] of September, at the time his father and Caius Fonteius Capito were consuls . But where he was born, is rendered uncertain from the number of places which are said to have given him birth. Cneius Lentulus Gaetulicus says that he was born at Tibur; Pliny the younger, in the country of the Treviri, at a village called Ambiatinus, above Confluentes; and he alleges, as a proof of it, that altars are there shown with this inscription: “For Agrippina’s child-birth.” Some verses which were published in his reign, intimate that he was born in the winter quarters of the legions,

*In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis omen erat.*
Born in the camp, and train’d in every toil

Which taught his sire the haughtiest foes to foil;
Destin'd he seem'd by fate to raise his name,
And rule the empire with Augustan fame.

I find in the public registers that he was born at Antium. Pliny charges Gaetulicus as guilty of an arrant forgery, merely to soothe the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving him the lustre of being born in a city sacred to Hercules; and says that he advanced this false assertion with the more assurance, because, the year before the birth of Caius, Germanicus had a son of the same name born at Tibur; concerning whose amiable childhood and premature death I have already spoken. Dates clearly prove that Pliny is mistaken; for the writers of Augustus's history all agree, that Germanicus, at the expiration of his consulship, was sent into Gaul, after the birth of Caius. Nor will the inscription upon the altar serve to establish Pliny's opinion; because Agrippina was delivered of two daughters in that country, and any child-birth, without regard to sex, is called *puerperium*, as the ancients were used to call girls *puerae*, and boys *puelli*. There is also extant a letter written by Augustus, a few months before his death, to his granddaughter Agrippina, about the same Caius (for there was then no other child of hers living under that name). He writes as follows: "I gave orders yesterday for Talarius and Asellius to set out on their journey towards you, if the gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the calends of June [18th May]. I also send with him a physician of mine, and I wrote to Germanicus that he may retain him if he pleases. Farewell, my dear Agrippina, and take what care you can to (256) come safe and well to your Germanicus." I imagine it is sufficiently evident that Caius could not be born at a place to which he was carried from The City when almost two years old. The same considerations must likewise invalidate the evidence of the verses, and the rather, because the author is unknown. The only authority, therefore, upon which we can depend in this matter, is that of the acts, and the public register; especially as he always preferred Antium to every other place of retirement, and entertained for it all that fondness which is commonly attached to one's native soil. It is said, too, that, upon his growing weary of the city, he designed to have transferred thither the seat of empire.

9 Caligulae cognomen castrensi ioco traxit, quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur. Apud quos quantum praeterea per hanc nutrimentorum consuetudinem amore et gratia valuerit, maxime cognitum est, cum post excessum Augusti tumultuantis et in furorem usque praecipites solus haud dubie ex conspectu suo flexit. Non enim prius destiterunt, quam ablegari eum ob

seditionis periculum et in proximam civitatem demandari animadvertissent; tunc demum ad paenitentiam versi reprehendo ac retento vehiculo invidiam quae sibi fieret deprecata sunt.

IX. It was to the jokes of the soldiers in the camp that he owed the name of Caligula, he having been brought up among them in the dress of a common soldier. How much his education amongst them recommended him to their favour and affection, was sufficiently apparent in the mutiny upon the death of Augustus, when the mere sight of him appeased their fury, though it had risen to a great height. For they persisted in it, until they observed that he was sent away to a neighbouring city, to secure him against all danger. Then, at last, they began to relent, and, stopping the chariot in which he was conveyed, earnestly deprecated the odium to which such a proceeding would expose them.

¹⁰ Comitatus est patrem et Syriaca expeditione. Unde reversus primum in matris, deinde ea relegata in Liviae Augustae proaviae suae contubernio mansit; quam defunctam praetextatus etiam tunc pro rostris laudavit. Transitque ad Antoniam aviam et undevicensimo aetatis anno accitus Capreas a Tiberio uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit barbamque posuit, sine ullo honore qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum eius. Hic omnibus insidiis temptatus elicientium cogentiumque se ad querelas nullam umquam occasionem dedit, perinde oblitterato suorum casu ac si nihil cuiquam accidisset, quae vero ipse pateretur incredibili dissimulatione transmittens tantique in avum et qui iuxta erant obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum nec servum meliorem ullum nec deteriorem dominum fuisse.

X. He likewise attended his father in his expedition to Syria. After his return, he lived first with his mother, and, when she was banished, with his great-grandmother, Livia Augusta, in praise of whom, after her decease, though then only a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostra. He was then transferred to the family of his grandmother, Antonia, and afterwards, in the twentieth year of his age, being called by Tiberius to Capri, he in one and the same day assumed the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without receiving any of the honours which had been paid to his brothers on a similar (257) occasion. While he remained in that island, many insidious artifices were practised, to extort from him complaints against Tiberius, but by his circumspection he avoided falling into the snare. He affected to take no more notice of the ill-treatment of his relations, than if nothing had befallen them. With regard to his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and

behaved with such obsequiousness to his grandfather and all about him, that it was justly said of him, "There never was a better servant, nor a worse master."

¹¹ Naturam tamen saevam atque probrosam ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat, quin et animadversionibus poenisque ad supplicium datorum cupidissime interesset et ganeas atque adulteria capillamento celatus et veste longa noctibus obiret ac scaenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret, facile id sane Tiberio patiente, si per has mansuefieri posset ferum eius ingenium. Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus perspexerat, ut aliquotiens praedicaret exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere et se natricem populo Romano, Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.

XI. But he could not even then conceal his natural disposition to cruelty and lewdness. He delighted in witnessing the infliction of punishments, and frequented taverns and bawdy-houses in the night-time, disguised in a periwig and a long coat; and was passionately addicted to the theatrical arts of singing and dancing. All these levities Tiberius readily connived at, in hopes that they might perhaps correct the roughness of his temper, which the sagacious old man so well understood, that he often said, "That Caius was destined to be the ruin of himself and all mankind; and that he was rearing a hydra for the people of Rome, and a Phaeton for all the world."

¹² Non ita multo post Iuniam Claudillam M. Silani nobilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. Deinde augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, prius quam inauguraretur ad pontificatum traductus est insigni testimonio pietatis atque indolis, cum deserta desolataque reliquis subsidiis aula, Seiano hoste suspecto mox et oppresso, ad spem successionis paulatim admoveretur. Quam quo magis confirmaret, amissa Iunia ex partu Enniam Naeviam, Macronis uxorem, qui tum praetorianis cohortibus praeerat, sollicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus et matrimonium suum, si potitus imperio fuisset; deque ea re et iure iurando et chirographo cavit. Per hanc insinuatus Macroni veneno Tiberium adgressus est, ut quidam opinantur, spirantique adhuc detrahi anulum et, quoniam suspicionem retinentis dabat, pulvinum iussit inici atque etiam fauces manu sua oppressit, liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acto. Nec abhorret a veritate, cum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea etsi non de perfecto, at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum; gloriatum enim assidue in commemoranda sua pietate, ad ulciscendam necem matris et fratrum introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberi[i] dormientis et misericordia correptum abiecto ferro recessisse; nec illum, quanquam sensisset, aut inquirere quicquam aut

exsequi ausum.

XII. Not long afterwards, he married Junia Claudilla, the daughter of Marcus Silanus, a man of the highest rank. Being then chosen augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated he was advanced to the pontificate, with no small commendation of his dutiful behaviour, and great capacity. The situation of the court likewise was at this time favourable to his fortunes, as it was now left destitute of support, Sejanus being suspected, and soon afterwards taken off; and he was by degrees flattered with the hope of succeeding Tiberius in the empire. In order more effectually to secure this object, upon Junia's dying in child-bed, he engaged in a criminal commerce with Ennia Naevia, the wife (258) of Macro, at that time prefect of the pretorian cohorts; promising to marry her if he became emperor, to which he bound himself, not only by an oath, but by a written obligation under his hand. Having by her means insinuated himself into Macro's favour, some are of opinion that he attempted to poison Tiberius, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body; and that, because he seemed to hold it fast, he caused a pillow to be thrown upon him, squeezing him by the throat, at the same time, with his own hand. One of his freedmen crying out at this horrid barbarity, he was immediately crucified. These circumstances are far from being improbable, as some authors relate that, afterwards, though he did not acknowledge his having a hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared that he had formerly entertained such a design; and as a proof of his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, "That, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard, but being seized with a fit of compassion, threw it away, and retired; and that Tiberius, though aware of his intention, durst not make any inquiries, or attempt revenge."

¹³ Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum, vel dicam hominum genus, voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximae parti provincialium ac militum, quod infantem plerique cognoverant, sed et universae plebi urbanae ob memoriam Germanici patris miserationemque prope afflictæ domus. Itaque ut a Miseno movit quamvis lugentis habitu et funus Tiberi prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas ardentisque taedas densissimo et laetissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina "sidus" et "pullum" et "pupum" et "alumnum" appellantium.

XIII. Having thus secured the imperial power, he fulfilled by his elevation the

wish of the Roman people, I may venture to say, of all mankind; for he had long been the object of expectation and desire to the greater part of the provincials and soldiers, who had known him when a child; and to the whole people of Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus, his father, and compassion for the family almost entirely destroyed. Upon his moving from Misenum, therefore, although he was in mourning, and following the corpse of Tiberius, he had to walk amidst altars, victims, and lighted torches, with prodigious crowds of people everywhere attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other auspicious names, by those of “their star,” “their chick,” “their pretty puppet,” and “bantling.”

¹⁴ Ingressoque urbem, statim consensu senatus et irrumpentis in curiam turbae, inrita Tiberi voluntate, qui testamento alterum nepotem suum praetextatum adhuc coheredem ei dederat, ius arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est tanta publica laetitia, ut tribus proximis mensibus ac ne totis quidem supra centum sexaginta milia victimarum caesa tradantur. Cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniae insulas traiecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt, ne minimam quidem occasionem quoquam omittente in testificanda sollicitudine et cura de incolumitate eius. Ut vero in adversam valitudinem incidit, pernoctantibus cunctis circa Palatium, non defuerunt qui depugnatos se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent. Accessit ad immensum civium amorem notabilis etiam externorum favor. Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberi prae se ferens, amicitiam huius ultro petiit venitque ad colloquium legati consularis et transgressus Euphraten aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.

XIV. Immediately on his entering the city, by the joint acclamations of the senate, and people, who broke into the senate-house, Tiberius’s will was set aside, it having left his (259) other grandson, then a minor, coheir with him, the whole government and administration of affairs was placed in his hands; so much to the joy and satisfaction of the public, that, in less than three months after, above a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been offered in sacrifice. Upon his going, a few days afterwards, to the nearest islands on the coast of Campania, vows were made for his safe return; every person emulously testifying their care and concern for his safety. And when he fell ill, the people hung about the Palatium all night long; some vowed, in public handbills, to risk their lives in the combats of the amphitheatre, and others to lay them down, for his recovery. To this extraordinary love entertained for him by his countrymen,

was added an uncommon regard by foreign nations. Even Artabanus, king of the Parthians, who had always manifested hatred and contempt for Tiberius, solicited his friendship; came to hold a conference with his consular lieutenant, and passing the Euphrates, paid the highest honours to the eagles, the Roman standards, and the images of the Caesars.

¹⁵ Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis. Tiberio cum plurimis lacrimis pro contione laudato funeratoque amplissime, confestim Pandateriam et Pontias ad transferendos matris fratrisque cineres festinavit, tempestate turbida, quo magis pietas emereret, adiitque venerabundus ac per semet in urnas condidit; nec minore scaena Ostiam praefixo in biremis puppe vexillo et inde Romam Tiberi subvectos per splendidissimum quemque equestris ordinis medio ac frequenti die duobus ferculis Mausoleo intulit, inferiasque is annua religione publice instituit, et eo amplius matri circenses carpentumque quo in pompa traduceretur. At in memoriam patris Septembrem mensem Germanicum appellavit. Post haec Antoniae aviae, quidquid umquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatus consulto congeffit; patrum Claudium, equitem R. ad id tempus, collegam sibi in consulatu assumpsit; fratrem Tiberium die virilis togae adoptavit appellavitque principem iuventutis. De sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adicerentur: “neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quam Gaium habeo et sorores eius”; item relationibus consulum: “quod bonum felixque sit C. Caesari sororibusque eius.” Pari popularitate damnatos relegatosque restituit; criminum, si quae residua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit; commentarios ad matris fratrumque suorum causas pertinentis, ne cui postmodum delatori aut testi maneret ullus metus, convectos in forum, et ante clare obtestatus deos neque legisse neque attigisse quicquam, concremavit; libellum de salute sua oblatum non recepit, contendens nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset, negavitque se delatoribus aures habere.

XV. Caligula himself inflamed this devotion, by practising all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered, with floods of tears, a speech in praise of Tiberius, and buried him with the utmost pomp, he immediately hastened over to Pandataria and the Pontian islands, to bring thence the ashes of his mother and brother; and, to testify the great regard he had for their memory, he performed the voyage in a very tempestuous season. He approached their remains with profound veneration, and deposited them in the urns with his own hands. Having brought them in grand solemnity to Ostia, with an ensign flying in the stern of the galley, and thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were borne by persons of the

first distinction in the equestrian order, on two biers, into the mausoleum, (260) at noon-day. He appointed yearly offerings to be solemnly and publicly celebrated to their memory, besides Circensian games to that of his mother, and a chariot with her image to be included in the procession . The month of September he called Germanicus, in honour of his father. By a single decree of the senate, he heaped upon his grandmother, Antonia, all the honours which had been ever conferred on the empress Livia. His uncle, Claudius, who till then continued in the equestrian order, he took for his colleague in the consulship. He adopted his brother, Tiberius, on the day he took upon him the manly habit, and conferred upon him the title of “Prince of the Youths.” As for his sisters, he ordered these words to be added to the oaths of allegiance to himself: “Nor will I hold myself or my own children more dear than I do Caius and his sisters:” and commanded all resolutions proposed by the consuls in the senate to be prefaced thus: “May what we are going to do, prove fortunate and happy to Caius Caesar and his sisters.” With the like popularity he restored all those who had been condemned and banished, and granted an act of indemnity against all impeachments and past offences. To relieve the informers and witnesses against his mother and brothers from all apprehension, he brought the records of their trials into the forum, and there burnt them, calling loudly on the gods to witness that he had not read or handled them. A memorial which was offered him relative to his own security, he would not receive, declaring, “that he had done nothing to make any one his enemy:” and said, at the same time, “he had no ears for informers.”

¹⁶ Spintrias monstrosarum libidinum aegre ne profundo mergeret exoratus, urbe submovit. Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit, quando maxime sua interesset ut facta quaeque posteris tradantur. Rationes imperii ab Augusto proponi solitas sed a Tiberio intermissas publicavit. Magistratibus liberam iuris dictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit. Equites R. severe curioseque nec sine moderatione recognovit, palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus modo in recitatione praeteritis. Ut levior labor iudicantibus foret, ad quattuor prioris quintam decuriam addidit. Temptavit et comitiorum more revocato suffragia populo reddere. Legata ex testamento Tiberi quamquam abolito, sed et Iuliae Augustae, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide ac sine calumnia repraesentata persolvit. Ducentesimam auctionum Italiae remisit; multis incendiorum damna supplevit; ac si quibus regna restituit, adiecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et redditum medii temporis, ut Antiocho Commageno sestertium milies confiscatum.

Quoque magis nullius non boni exempli fautor videretur, mulieri libertinae octingenta donavit, quod excruciatam gravissimis tormentis de scelere patroni reticuisset. Quas ob res inter reliquos honores decretus est ei clipeus aureus, quem quotannis certo die collegia sacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, senatu prosequente nobilesque pueris ac puellis carmine modulato laudes virtutum eius canentibus. Decretum autem ut dies, quo cepisset imperium, Parilia vocaretur, velut argumentum rursus conditae urbis.

XVI. The Spintriae, those panderers to unnatural lusts, he banished from the city, being prevailed upon not to throw them (261) into the sea, as he had intended. The writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been suppressed by an act of the senate, he permitted to be drawn from obscurity, and universally read; observing, “that it would be for his own advantage to have the transactions of former times delivered to posterity.” He published accounts of the proceedings of the government — a practice which had been introduced by Augustus, but discontinued by Tiberius. He granted the magistrates a full and free jurisdiction, without any appeal to himself. He made a very strict and exact review of the Roman knights, but conducted it with moderation; publicly depriving of his horse every knight who lay under the stigma of any thing base and dishonourable; but passing over the names of those knights who were only guilty of venial faults, in calling over the list of the order. To lighten the labours of the judges, he added a fifth class to the former four. He attempted likewise to restore to the people their ancient right of voting in the choice of magistrates. He paid very honourably, and without any dispute, the legacies left by Tiberius in his will, though it had been set aside; as likewise those left by the will of Livia Augusta, which Tiberius had annulled. He remitted the hundredth penny, due to the government in all auctions throughout Italy. He made up to many their losses sustained by fire; and when he restored their kingdoms to any princes, he likewise allowed them all the arrears of the taxes and revenues which had accrued in the interval; as in the case of Antiochus of Comagene, where the confiscation would have amounted to a hundred millions of sesterces. To prove to the world that he was ready to encourage good examples of every kind, he gave to a freed-woman eighty thousand sesterces, for not discovering a crime committed by her patron, though she had been put to exquisite torture for that purpose. For all these acts of beneficence, amongst other honours, a golden shield was decreed to him, which the colleges of priests were to carry annually, upon a fixed day, into the Capitol, with the senate attending, and the youth of the nobility, of both sexes, celebrating the praise of his virtues in (262) songs. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he

succeeded to the empire should be called Palilia, in token of the city's being at that time, as it were, new founded.

¹⁷ Consulatus quattuor gessit, primum ex Kal. Iul. per duos menses, secundum ex Kal. Ian. per XXX dies, tertium usque in Idus Ian., quartum usque septimum Idus easdem. Ex omnibus duos novissimos coniunxit. Tertium autem Luguduni iniit solus, non ut quidam opinantur superbia neglegentiae, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegam rescisse absens non potuerat. Congiarium populo bis dedit trecenos sestertios, totiens abundantissimum epulum senatui equestrique ordini, etiam coniugibus ac liberis utrorumque; posteriore epulo forensia insuper viris, feminis ac pueris fascias purpurae ac conchylii distribuit. Et ut laetitiam publicam in perpetuum quoque augeret, adiecit diem Saturnalibus appellavitque Iuvenalem.

XVII. He held the consulship four times; the first, from the calends [the first] of July for two months: the second, from the calends of January for thirty days; the third, until the ides [the 13th] of January; and the fourth, until the seventh of the same ides [7th January]. Of these, the two last he held successively. The third he assumed by his sole authority at Lyons; not, as some are of opinion, from arrogance or neglect of rules; but because, at that distance, it was impossible for him to know that his colleague had died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice distributed to the people a bounty of three hundred sesterces a man, and as often gave a splendid feast to the senate and the equestrian order, with their wives and children. In the latter, he presented to the men forensic garments, and to the women and children purple scarfs. To make a perpetual addition to the public joy for ever, he added to the Saturnalia one day, which he called Juvenalis [the juvenile feast].

¹⁸ Munera gladiatoria partim in amphitheatro Tauri partim in Saeptis aliquot edidit, quibus inseruit catervas Afrorum Campanorumque pugilum ex utraque regione electissimorum. Neque spectaculis semper ipse praesedit, sed interdum aut magistratibus aut amicis praesidendi munus iniunxit. Scaenicos ludos et assidue et varii generis ac multifariam fecit, quondam et nocturnos accensis tota urbe luminibus. Sparsit et missilia variarum rerum et panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit; qua epulatione equiti R. contra se hilarius avidiusque vescenti partes suas misit, sed et senatori ob eandem causam codicillos, quibus praetorem eum extra ordinem designabat. Edidit et circenses plurimos a mane ad vesperam interiecta modo Africanarum venatione modo Troiae decursione, et quosdam praecipuos, minio et chrysocolla constrato circo nec ullis nisi ex senatorio ordine

aurigantibus. Commisit et subitos, cum e Gelotiana apparatus circi prospicientem pauci ex proximis Maenianis postulassent.

XVIII. He exhibited some combats of gladiators, either in the amphitheatre of Taurus, or in the Septa, with which he intermingled troops of the best pugilists from Campania and Africa. He did not always preside in person upon those occasions, but sometimes gave a commission to magistrates or friends to supply his place. He frequently entertained the people with stage-plays (263) of various kinds, and in several parts of the city, and sometimes by night, when he caused the whole city to be lighted. He likewise gave various things to be scrambled for among the people, and distributed to every man a basket of bread with other victuals. Upon this occasion, he sent his own share to a Roman knight, who was seated opposite to him, and was enjoying himself by eating heartily. To a senator, who was doing the same, he sent an appointment of praetor-extraordinary. He likewise exhibited a great number of Circensian games from morning until night; intermixed with the hunting of wild beasts from Africa, or the Trojan exhibition. Some of these games were celebrated with peculiar circumstances; the Circus being overspread with vermilion and chrysolite; and none drove in the chariot races who were not of the senatorian order. For some of these he suddenly gave the signal, when, upon his viewing from the Gelotiana the preparations in the Circus, he was asked to do so by a few persons in the neighbouring galleries.

¹⁹ Novum praeterea atque inauditum genus spectaculi excogitavit. Nam Baiarum medium intervallum [ad] Puteolanas moles, trium milium et sescentorum fere passuum spatium, ponte coniunxit contractis undique onerariis navibus et ordine duplici ad ancoras conlocatis superiectoque terreno ac derecto in Appiae viae formam. Per hunc pontem ultro citro commeavit biduo continenti, primo die phalerato equo insignisque quercea corona et caetra et gladio aureaque chlamyde, postridie quadrigario habitu curriculoque biiugi famosorum equorum, prae se ferens Dareum puerum ex Parthorum obsidibus, comitante praetorianorum agmine et in essedis cohorte amicorum. Scio plerosque existimasse talem a Gaio pontem excogitatum aemulatione Xerxis, qui non sine admiratione aliquanto angustiores Hellespontum contabulaverit; alios, ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminerebat, alicuius immensi operis fama terraret. Sed avum meum narrantem puer audiebam, causam operis ab interioribus aulicis proditam, quod Thrasyllus mathematicus anxio de successore Tiberio et in verum nepotem proniori affirmasset non magis Gaium imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum.

XIX. He invented besides a new kind of spectacle, such as had never been heard of before. For he made a bridge, of about three miles and a half in length, from Baiae to the mole of Puteoli, collecting trading vessels from all quarters, mooring them in two rows by their anchors, and spreading earth upon them to form a viaduct, after the fashion of the Appian Way . This bridge he crossed and recrossed for two days together; the first day mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, wearing on his head a crown of oak leaves, armed with a battle-axe, a Spanish buckler and a sword, and in a cloak made of cloth of gold; the day following, in the habit of a charioteer, standing in a chariot, drawn by two high-bred horses, having with him a young boy, Darius by name, one of the Parthian hostages, with a cohort of the pretorian guards attending him, and a (264) party of his friends in cars of Gaulish make . Most people, I know, are of opinion, that this bridge was designed by Caius, in imitation of Xerxes, who, to the astonishment of the world, laid a bridge over the Hellespont, which is somewhat narrower than the distance betwixt Baiae and Puteoli. Others, however, thought that he did it to strike terror in Germany and Britain, which he was upon the point of invading, by the fame of some prodigious work. But for myself, when I was a boy, I heard my grandfather say, that the reason assigned by some courtiers who were in habits of the greatest intimacy with him, was this; when Tiberius was in some anxiety about the nomination of a successor, and rather inclined to pitch upon his grandson, Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured him, “That Caius would no more be emperor, than he would ride on horseback across the gulf of Baiae.”

²⁰ Edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos et in Gallia Luguduni miscellos; sed hic certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorundem et laudes componere coactos; eos autem, qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.

XX. He likewise exhibited public diversions in Sicily, Grecian games at Syracuse, and Attic plays at Lyons in Gaul besides a contest for pre- eminence in the Grecian and Roman eloquence; in which we are told that such as were baffled bestowed rewards upon the best performers, and were obliged to compose speeches in their praise: but that those who performed the worst, were forced to blot out what they had written with a sponge or their tongue, unless they preferred to be beaten with a rod, or plunged over head and ears into the nearest river.

²¹ Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompei, absolvit. Incohavit autem aquae ductum regione Tiburti et amphitheatrum iuxta Saepta, quorum operum a successore eius Claudio alterum peractum, omisum alterum est. Syracusis conlapsa vetustate moenia deorumque aedes refectae. Destinaverat et Sami Polycratis regiam restituere, Mileti Didymeum peragere, in iugo Alpium urbem condere, sed ante omnia Isthmum in Achaia perfodere, miseratque iam ad dimetiendum opus primipilarem.

XXI. He completed the works which were left unfinished by Tiberius, namely, the temple of Augustus, and the theatre (265) of Pompey . He began, likewise, the aqueduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an amphitheatre near the Septa; of which works, one was completed by his successor Claudius, and the other remained as he left it. The walls of Syracuse, which had fallen to decay by length of time, he repaired, as he likewise did the temples of the gods. He formed plans for rebuilding the palace of Polycrates at Samos, finishing the temple of the Didymaeon Apollo at Miletus, and building a town on a ridge of the Alps; but, above all, for cutting through the isthmus in Achaia; and even sent a centurion of the first rank to measure out the work.

²² Hactenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt. Compluribus cognominibus adsumptis — nam et “pius” et “castrorum filius” et “pater exercituum” et “optimus maximus Caesar” vocabatur - - cum audiret forte reges, qui officii causa in urbem advenerant, concertantis apud se super cenam de nobilitate generis, exclamavit: —

Eis koiranos eto, eis basileus.

Nec multum afuit quin statim diadema sumeret speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret. Verum admonitus et principum et regum se excessisse fastigium, divinam ex eo maiestatem asserere sibi coepit; datoque negotio, ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympii Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto suum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens saepe inter fratres deos, medium adorandum se adeuntibus exhibebat; et quidam eum Latiarem Iovem consalutarunt. Templum etiam numini suo proprium et sacerdotes et excogitatissimas hostias instituit. In templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum amiciebaturque cotidie veste, quali ipse uteretur. Magisteria sacerdotii ditissimus quisque et ambitione et licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant. Hostiae erant phoenicopteri, pauones, tetraones,

numidicae, meleagrides, phasianae, quae generatim per singulos dies immolarentur. Et noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atque concubitum, interdium vero cum Capitolino Iove secreto fabulabatur, modo insusurrans ac praebens in vicem aurem, modo clarius nec sine iurgiis. Nam vox comminantis audita est: —

Hae em' anaeir', hae ego se...

donec exoratus, ut referebat, et in contubernium ultro invitatus super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit. mox, quo propior esset, in area Capitolina novae domus fundamenta iecit.

XXII. Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said of him, bespeaks him rather a monster than a man. He assumed a variety of titles, such as “Dutiful,” “The (266) Pious,” “The Child of the Camp, the Father of the Armies,” and “The Greatest and Best Caesar.” Upon hearing some kings, who came to the city to pay him court, conversing together at supper, about their illustrious descent, he exclaimed,

Eis koiranos eto, eis basileus.

Let there be but one prince, one king.

He was strongly inclined to assume the diadem, and change the form of government, from imperial to regal; but being told that he far exceeded the grandeur of kings and princes, he began to arrogate to himself a divine majesty. He ordered all the images of the gods, which were famous either for their beauty, or the veneration paid them, among which was that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own. Having continued part of the Palatium as far as the Forum, and the temple of Castor and Pollux being converted into a kind of vestibule to his house, he often stationed himself between the twin brothers, and so presented himself to be worshipped by all votaries; some of whom saluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. He also instituted a temple and priests, with choicest victims, in honour of his own divinity. In his temple stood a statue of gold, the exact image of himself, which was daily dressed in garments corresponding with those he wore himself. The most opulent persons in the city offered themselves as candidates for the honour of being his priests, and purchased it successively at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, guinea-fowls, turkey and pheasant hens, each sacrificed on their respective days. On nights when the

moon was full, he was in the constant habit of inviting her to his embraces and his bed. In the day-time he talked in private to Jupiter Capitolinus; one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him: sometimes he spoke aloud, and in railing language. For he was overheard to threaten the god thus:

Hae em' anaeir', hae ego se...

Raise thou me up, or I'll —

(267) until being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the god, as he said, to take up his abode with him, he built a bridge over the temple of the Deified Augustus, by which he joined the Palatium to the Capitol. Afterwards, that he might be still nearer, he laid the foundations of a new palace in the very court of the Capitol.

²³ Agrippae se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius volebat suscensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Caesarum insererent. Praedicabat autem matrem suam ex incesto, quod Augustus cum Iulia filia admisisset, procreata; ac non contentus hac Augusti insectatione Actiacas Siculasque victorias, ut funestas p. R. et calamitosas, vetuit sollemnibus feriis celebrari. Liviam Augustam proaviam “Vlixem stolatum” identidem appellans, etiam ignobilitatis quadam ad senatum epistula arguere ausus est quasi materno avo decurione Fundano ortam, cum publicis monumentis certum sit, Aufidium Lurconem Romae honoribus functum. Aviae Antoniae secretum petenti denegavit, nisi ut interveniret Macro praefectus, ac per istius modi indignitates et taedia causa exstitit mortis, dato tamen, ut quidam putant, et veneno; nec defunctae ullum honorem habuit prospexitque e triclinio ardentem rogam. Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem repente immisso tribuno militum interemit, Silanum item socerum ad necem secandasque novacula fauces compulit, causatus in utroque, quod hic ingressum se turbatus mare non esset secutus ac spe occupandi urbem, si quid sibi per tempestates accideret, remansisset, ille antidotum oboluisse, quasi ad praecavenda venena sua sumptum, cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseae vitasset et molestiam navigandi, et Tiberius propter assiduam et ingravescentem tussim medicamento usus esset. Nam Claudium patrum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit.

XXIII. He was unwilling to be thought or called the grandson of Agrippa, because of the obscurity of his birth; and he was offended if any one, either in prose or verse, ranked him amongst the Caesars. He said that his mother was the fruit of an incestuous commerce, maintained by Augustus with his daughter

Julia. And not content with this vile reflection upon the memory of Augustus, he forbad his victories at Actium, and on the coast of Sicily, to be celebrated, as usual; affirming that they had been most pernicious and fatal to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augusta “Ulysses in a woman’s dress,” and had the indecency to reflect upon her in a letter to the senate, as of mean birth, and descended, by the mother’s side, from a grandfather who was only one of the municipal magistrates of Fondi; whereas it is certain, from the public records, that Aufidius Lurco held high offices at Rome. His grandmother Antonia desiring a private conference with him, he refused to grant it, unless Macro, the prefect of the pretorian guards, were present. Indignities of this kind, and ill usage, were the cause of her death; but some think he also gave her poison. Nor did he pay the smallest respect to her memory after her death, but witnessed the burning from his private apartment. His brother Tiberius, who had no expectation of any violence, was suddenly dispatched by a military tribune sent by his order for that purpose. He forced Silanus, his father-in-law, to kill himself, by cutting his throat with a razor. The pretext he alleged for these murders was, that the latter had not followed him upon his putting to sea in stormy weather, but stayed behind with the view of seizing the city, if he should perish. The other, he said, smelt of an antidote, which he had taken to prevent his being poisoned by him; whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea-sick, and the disagreeableness of a voyage; and Tiberius had merely taken a medicine for an habitual cough, (268) which was continually growing worse. As for his successor Claudius, he only saved him for a laughing-stock.

²⁴ Cum omnibus sororibus suis consuetudinem stupri fecit plenoque convivio singulas infra se vicissim conlocabat uxore supra cubante. Ex iis Drusillam vitiasse virginem praetextatus adhuc creditur atque etiam in concubitu eius quondam deprehensus ab Antonia avia, apud quam simul educabantur; mox Lucio Cassio Longino consulari conlocatam abduxit et in modum iustae uxoris propalam habuit; heredem quoque bonorum atque imperii aeger instituit. Eadem defuncta iustitium indixit, in quo risisse lavisce cenasse cum parentibus aut coniuge liberisve capital fuit. Ac maeroris impatiens, cum repente noctu profugisset ab urbe transcucurrissetque Campaniam, Syracusas petit, rursusque inde propere rediit barba capilloque promisso; nec umquam postea quantiscumque de rebus, ne pro contione quidem populi aut apud milites, nisi per numen Drusillae deieravit. Reliquas sorores nec cupiditate tanta nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas saepe exoletis suis prostraverit; quo facilius eas in causa Aemili Lepidi condemnavit quasi adulteras et insidiarum adversus se conscias ei. Nec solum chirographa omnium requisita fraude ac stupro

divulgavit, sed et tres gladios in necem suam praeparatos Marti Ultori addito elogio consecravat.

XXIV. He lived in the habit of incest with all his sisters; and at table, when much company was present, he placed each of them in turns below him, whilst his wife reclined above him. It is believed, that he deflowered one of them, Drusilla, before he had assumed the robe of manhood; and was even caught in her embraces by his grandmother Antonia, with whom they were educated together. When she was afterwards married to Cassius Longinus, a man of consular rank, he took her from him, and kept her constantly as if she were his lawful wife. In a fit of sickness, he by his will appointed her heiress both of his estate and the empire. After her death, he ordered a public mourning for her; during which it was capital for any person to laugh, use the bath, or sup with his parents, wife, or children. Being inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily, and in the night-time, from the City; going through Campania to Syracuse, and then suddenly returned without shaving his beard, or trimming his hair. Nor did he ever afterwards, in matters of the greatest importance, not even in the assemblies of the people or before the soldiers, swear any otherwise, than “By the divinity of Drusilla.” The rest of his sisters he did not treat with so much fondness or regard; but frequently prostituted them to his catamites. He therefore the more readily condemned them in the case of Aemilius Lepidus, as guilty of adultery, and privy to that conspiracy against him. Nor did he only divulge their own hand-writing relative to the affair, which he procured by base and lewd means, but likewise consecrated to Mars the Avenger three swords which had been prepared to stab him, with an inscription, setting forth the occasion of their consecration.

²⁵ Matrimonia contraxerit turpius an dimiserit an tenuerit, non est facile discernere. Liviam Orestillam C. Pisoni nubentem, cum ad officium et ipse venisset, ad se deduci imperavit intraque paucos dies repudiatam biennio post relegavit, quod repetisse usum prioris mariti tempore medio videbatur. Alii tradunt adhibitum cenae nuptiali mandasse ad Pisonem contra accumbentem: “Noli uxorem meam premere,” statimque e convivio abduxisse secum ac proximo die edixisse: matrimonium sibi repertum exemplo Romuli et Augusti. Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio consulari exercitus regenti nuptam, facta mentione aviae eius ut quondam pulcherrimae, subito ex provincia evocavit ac perductam a marito coniunxit sibi brevique missam fecit interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuum coitu. Caesoniam neque facie insigni neque aetate integra matremque iam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriae ac lasciviae perditae, et ardentius et

constantius amavit, ut saepe chlamyde peltaque et galea ornatam ac iuxta adequitantes militibus ostenderit, amicis vero etiam nudam. Uxorio nomine [non prius] dignatus est quam enixam, uno atque eodem die professus et maritum se eius et patrem infantis ex ea natae. Infantem autem, Iuliam Drusillam appellatam, per omnium dearum templa circumferens Minervae gremio imposuit alendamque et instituendam commendavit. Nec ullo firmiore indicio sui seminis esse credebat quam feritatis, quae illi quoque tanta iam tunc erat, ut infestis digitis ora et oculos simul ludentium infantium incesseret.

XXV. Whether in the marriage of his wives, in repudiating them, or retaining them, he acted with greater infamy, it is difficult to say. Being at the wedding of Caius Piso with Livia Orestilla, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own house, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after banished her; because it was thought, that upon her divorce she returned to the embraces of her former husband. (269) Some say, that being invited to the wedding-supper, he sent a messenger to Piso, who sat opposite to him, in these words: “Do not be too fond with my wife,” and that he immediately carried her off. Next day he published a proclamation, importing, “That he had got a wife as Romulus and Augustus had done.” Lollia Paulina, who was married to a man of consular rank in command of an army, he suddenly called from the province where she was with her husband, upon mention being made that her grandmother was formerly very beautiful, and married her; but he soon afterwards parted with her, interdicting her from having ever afterwards any commerce with man. He loved with a most passionate and constant affection Caesonia, who was neither handsome nor young; and was besides the mother of three daughters by another man; but a wanton of unbounded lasciviousness. Her he would frequently exhibit to the soldiers, dressed in a military cloak, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side. To his friends he even showed her naked. After she had a child, he honoured her with the title of wife; in one and the same day, declaring himself her husband, and father of the child of which she was delivered. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the goddesses, laid it on the lap of Minerva; to whom he recommended the care of bringing up and instructing her. He considered her as his own child for no better reason than her savage temper, which was such even in her infancy, that she would attack with her nails the face and eyes of the children at play with her.

²⁶ Leve ac frigidum sit his addere, quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit, Ptolemaeum regis Iubae filium, consobrinum suum – erat enim et is M. Antoni ex Selene filia nepos – et in primis ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam, adiutores

imperii; quibus omnibus pro necessitudinis iure proque meritorum gratia cruenta mors persoluta est. Nihilo reverentior leniorve erga senatum, quosdam summis honoribus functos ad essedum sibi currere togatos per aliquot passuum milia et cenanti modo ad pluteum modo ad pedes stare succinctos linteo passus est; alios cum clam interemisset, citare nihilo minus ut vivos perseveravit, paucos post dies voluntaria morte perisse mentitus. Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate res p. Quaestorem suum in coniuratione nominatum flagellavit veste detracta subiectaque militum pedibus, quo firme verberaturi insisterent. Simili superbia violentiaque ceteros tractavit ordines. Inquietatus fremitu gratuita in circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnis fustibus abegit; elisi per eum tumultum viginti amplius equites R., totidem matronae, super innumeram turbam ceteram. Scaenicis ludis, inter plebem et equitem causam discordiarum ferens, decimas maturius dabat, ut equestria ab infimo quoque occuparentur. Gladiatorio munere reductis interdum flagrantissimo sole velis emitti quemquam vetabat, remotoque ordinario apparatu tabidas feras, vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores, proque paegniariis patres familiarum notos in bonam partem sed insignis debilitate aliqua corporis subiciebat. Ac nonnumquam horreis praeclusis populo famem indixit.

XXVI. It would be of little importance, as well as disgusting, to add to all this an account of the manner in which he treated his relations and friends; as Ptolemy, king Juba's son, his cousin (for he was the grandson of Mark Antony by his daughter Selene), and especially Macro himself, and Ennia likewise, by whose assistance he had obtained the empire; all of whom, for their alliance and eminent services, he rewarded with violent deaths. Nor was he more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the senate. Some who had borne the (270) highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his litter in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins. Others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he nevertheless continued to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended that they had laid violent hands upon themselves. The consuls having forgotten to give public notice of his birth-day, he displaced them; and the republic was three days without any one in that high office. A quaestor who was said to be concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having first stripped off his clothes, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the work, that they might stand the more firm. The other orders likewise he treated with the same insolence and violence. Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places at midnight in the

circus, as they were to have free admission, he drove them all away with clubs. In this tumult, above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death, with as many matrons, with a great crowd besides. When stage-plays were acted, to occasion disputes between the people and the knights, he distributed the money-tickets sooner than usual, that the seats assigned to the knights might be all occupied by the mob. In the spectacles of gladiators, sometimes, when the sun was violently hot, he would order the curtains, which covered the amphitheatre, to be drawn aside, and forbid any person to be let out; withdrawing at the same time the usual apparatus for the entertainment, and presenting wild beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only to work the machinery, and decent house-keepers, who were remarkable for some bodily infirmity. Sometimes shutting up the public granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

²⁷ Saevitiam ingenii per haec maxime ostendit. Cum ad saginam ferarum muneri praeparatarum carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis laniandos adnotavit, et custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantum modo intra porticum mediam, “a calvo ad calvum” duci imperavit. Votum exegit ab eo, qui pro salute sua gladiatoriam operam promiserat, spectavitque ferro dimicantem nec dimisit nisi victorem et post multas preces. Alterum, qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit, verbenatum infulatumque votum reposcentes per vicos agerent, quoad praecipitaretur ex aggere. Multos honesti ordinis deformatos prius stigmatum notis ad metalla et munitiones viarum aut ad bestias condemnavit aut bestiarum more quadripedes cavea coercuit aut medios serra dissecuit, nec omnes gravibus ex causis, verum male de munere suo opinatos, vel quod numquam per genium suum deierassent. Parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogeabat; quorum uni valitudinem excusanti lecticam misit, alium a spectaculo poenae epulis statim adhibuit atque omni comitate ad hilaritatem et iocos provocavit. Curatorem munerum ac venationum per continuos dies in conspectu suo catenis verberatum non prius occidit quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore. Atellanae poetam ob ambigui ioci versiculum media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit. Equitem R. obiectum feris, cum se innocentem proclamasset, reduxit abscisaque lingua rursus induxit.

XXVII. He evinced the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following indications. When flesh was only to be had at a high price for feeding his wild beasts reserved for the spectacles, he ordered that criminals should be given them (271) to be devoured; and upon inspecting them in a row, while he

stood in the middle of the portico, without troubling himself to examine their cases he ordered them to be dragged away, from “bald-pate to bald- pate.” Of one person who had made a vow for his recovery to combat with a gladiator, he exacted its performance; nor would he allow him to desist until he came off conqueror, and after many entreaties. Another, who had vowed to give his life for the same cause, having shrunk from the sacrifice, he delivered, adorned as a victim, with garlands and fillets, to boys, who were to drive him through the streets, calling on him to fulfil his vow, until he was thrown headlong from the ramparts. After disfiguring many persons of honourable rank, by branding them in the face with hot irons, he condemned them to the mines, to work in repairing the high-ways, or to fight with wild beasts; or tying them by the neck and heels, in the manner of beasts carried to slaughter, would shut them up in cages, or saw them asunder. Nor were these severities merely inflicted for crimes of great enormity, but for making remarks on his public games, or for not having sworn by the Genius of the emperor. He compelled parents to be present at the execution of their sons; and to one who excused himself on account of indisposition, he sent his own litter. Another he invited to his table immediately after he had witnessed the spectacle, and coolly challenged him to jest and be merry. He ordered the overseer of the spectacles and wild beasts to be scourged in fetters, during several days successively, in his own presence, and did not put him to death until he was disgusted with the stench of his putrefied brain. He burned alive, in the centre of the arena of the amphitheatre, the writer of a farce, for some witty verse, which had a double meaning. A Roman knight, who had been exposed to the wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he called him back, and having had his tongue cut out, remanded him to the arena.

²⁸ Revocatum quendam a vetere exilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesset, respondente eo per adulationem: “deos semper oravi ut, quod evenit, periret Tiberius et tu imperares,” opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas, qui universos contrucidarent. Cum discerpi senatorem concupisset, subornavit qui ingredientem curiam repente hostem publicum appellantes invaderent, graphisque confossum lacerandum ceteris traderent; nec ante satius est quam membra et artus et viscera hominis tracta per vicos atque ante se congesta vidisset.

XXVIII. Asking a certain person, whom he recalled after a long exile, how he used to spend his time, he replied, with flattery, “I was always praying the gods for what has happened, that Tiberius might die, and you be emperor.” Concluding, therefore, that those he had himself banished also (272) prayed for

his death, he sent orders round the islands to have them all put to death. Being very desirous to have a senator torn to pieces, he employed some persons to call him a public enemy, fall upon him as he entered the senate-house, stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear asunder. Nor was he satisfied, until he saw the limbs and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged through the streets, piled up in a heap before him.

²⁹ Immanissima facta augebat atrocitate verborum. Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat quam, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἄεὶ ὁ νόμος αἰνέται, hoc est inverecundiam. Monenti Antoniae aviae tamquam parum esset non oboedire: “memento,” ait, “omnia mihi et in omnis licere.” Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum praemuniri medicamentis suspicabatur: “antidotum,” inquit, “adversus Caesarem?” Relegatis sororibus non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios minabatur. Praetorium virum ex secessu Anticyrae, quam valitudinis causa petierat, propagari sibi commeatum saepius desiderantem cum mandasset interimi, adiecit necessariam esse sanguinis missionem, cui tam diu non prodesset elleborum. Decimo quoque die numerum puniendorum ex custodia subscribens rationem se purgare dicebat. Gallis Graecisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis gloriabatur Gallograeciam se subegisse.

XXIX. He aggravated his barbarous actions by language equally outrageous. “There is nothing in my nature,” said he, “that I commend or approve so much, as my adiatrepsia (inflexible rigour).” Upon his grandmother Antonia’s giving him some advice, as if it was a small matter to pay no regard to it, he said to her, “Remember that all things are lawful for me.” When about to murder his brother, whom he suspected of taking antidotes against poison, he said, “See then an antidote against Caesar!” And when he banished his sisters, he told them in a menacing tone, that he had not only islands at command, but likewise swords. One of pretorian rank having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, to have his leave of absence prolonged, he ordered him to be put to death; adding these words “Bleeding is necessary for one that has taken hellebore so long, and found no benefit.” It was his custom every tenth day to sign the lists of prisoners appointed for execution; and this he called “clearing his accounts.” And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he exclaimed in triumph, “I have conquered Gallograecia.”

³⁰ Non temere in quemquam nisi crebris et minutis ictibus animadverti passus est, perpetuo notoque iam praecepto: “ita feri ut se mori sentiat.” Punito per errorem nominis alio quam quem destinaverat, ipsum quoque paria meruisse

dixit. tragicum illud subinde iactabat:

Oderint, dum metuant.

Saepe in cunctos pariter senatores ut Seiani clientis, ut matris ac fratrum suorum delatores, invectus est prolatis libellis, quos crematos simulaverat, defensaque Tiberi saevitia quasi necessaria, cum tot criminantibus credendum esset. Equestrem ordinem ut scaenae harenaeque devotum assidue proscidit. Infensus turbae faventi adversus studium suum exclamavit: “utinam p. R. unam cervicem haberet!” Cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, et qui postularent, Tetrinios esse ait. Retiari tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant; cum occidi iuberentur, unus resumpta fuscina omnes victores interemit: hanc ut crudelissimam caedem et deflevit edicto et eos, qui spectare sustinuissent, execratus est.

XXX. He generally prolonged the sufferings of his victims by causing them to be inflicted by slight and frequently repeated strokes; this being his well-known and constant order: (273) “Strike so that he may feel himself die.” Having punished one person for another, by mistaking his name, he said, “he deserved it quite as much.” He had frequently in his mouth these words of the tragedian —

Oderint, dum metuant.

I scorn their hatred, if they do but fear me.

He would often inveigh against all the senators without exception, as clients of Sejanus, and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the memorials which he had pretended to burn, and excusing the cruelty of Tiberius as necessary, since it was impossible to question the veracity of such a number of accusers. He continually reproached the whole equestrian order, as devoting themselves to nothing but acting on the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Being incensed at the people’s applauding a party at the Circensian games in opposition to him, he exclaimed, “I wish the Roman people had but one neck.” When Tetrinius, the highwayman, was denounced, he said his persecutors too were all Tetrinius’s. Five Retiarii, in tunics, fighting in a company, yielded without a struggle to the same number of opponents; and being ordered to be slain, one of them taking up his lance again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation as a most cruel butchery, and cursed all those who had borne the sight of it.

³¹ Queri etiam palam de condicione temporum suorum solebat, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur; Augusti principatum clade Variana, Tiberi ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas memorabilem factum, suo oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum; atque identidem exercituum caedes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, hiatum aliquem terrae optabat

XXXI. He used also to complain aloud of the state of the times, because it was not rendered remarkable by any public (274) calamities; for, while the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus, and that of Tiberius by the fall of the theatre at Fidenae, his was likely to pass into oblivion, from an uninterrupted series of prosperity. And, at times, he wished for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, conflagrations, or an earthquake.

³² Animum quoque remittenti ludoque et epulis dedito eadem factorum dictorumque saevitia aderat. Saepe in conspectu prandentis vel comisantis seriae quaestiones per tormenta habebantur, miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat. Puteolis dedicatione pontis, quem excogitatum ab eo significavimus, cum multos e litore invitasset ad se, repente omnis praecipitavit, quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes contis remisque detrusit in mare. Romae publico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscisis atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, praecedente titulo qui causam poenae indicaret, per coetus epulantium circumduceretur. Murmillonem e ludo rudibus secum battuentem et sponte prostratum confodit ferrea sica ac more victorum cum palma discucurrit. Admota altaribus victima succinctus poparum habitu elato alte malleo cultrarium mactavit. Lautiore convivio effusus subito in cachinnos consulibus, qui iuxta cubabant, quidnam rideret blande quaerentibus: “quid,” inquit, “nisi uno meo nutu iugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse?”

XXXII. Even in the midst of his diversions, while gaming or feasting, this savage ferocity, both in his language and actions, never forsook him. Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing. A soldier, who was an adept in the art of beheading, used at such times to take off the heads of prisoners, who were brought in for that purpose. At Puteoli, at the dedication of the bridge which he planned, as already mentioned, he invited a number of people to come to him from the shore, and then suddenly, threw them headlong into the sea; thrusting down with poles and oars those who, to save themselves, had got hold of the rudders of the ships. At Rome, in a public feast,

a slave having stolen some thin plates of silver with which the couches were inlaid, he delivered him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and lead him round the guests, with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label, signifying the cause of his punishment. A gladiator who was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poniard, and then ran about with a palm branch in his hand, after the manner of those who are victorious in the games. When a victim was to be offered upon an altar, he, clad in the habit of the Popae, and holding the axe aloft for a while, at last, instead of the animal, slaughtered an officer who attended to cut up the sacrifice. And at a sumptuous entertainment, he fell suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and upon the consuls, who reclined next to him, respectfully asking him the occasion, "Nothing," replied he, "but that, upon a single nod of mine, you might both have your throats cut."

³³ Inter varios iocos, cum assistens simulacro Iovis Apellen tragoedum consulisset uter illi maior videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit conlaudans subinde vocem deprecantis quasi etiam in gemitu praedulcem. Quotiens uxoris vel amicae collum exoscularetur, addebat: "tam bona cervix simul ac iussero demetur." Quin et subinde iactabat exquisitum se vel fidiculis de Caesonia sua, cur eam tanto opere diligeret.

(275) XXXIII. Among many other jests, this was one: As he stood by the statue of Jupiter, he asked Apelles, the tragedian, which of them he thought was biggest? Upon his demurring about it, he lashed him most severely, now and then commending his voice, whilst he entreated for mercy, as being well modulated even when he was venting his grief. As often as he kissed the neck of his wife or mistress, he would say, "So beautiful a throat must be cut whenever I please;" and now and then he would threaten to put his dear Caesonia to the torture, that he might discover why he loved her so passionately.

³⁴ Nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia saevitiaque paene adversus omnis aevi hominum genus grassatus est. Statuas virorum inlustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint, vetuitque posthac viventium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni. Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis, cur enim sibi non licere dicens, quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate quam constituebat eiecerit? Sed et Vergili ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae, alterum ut

verbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat. De iuris quoque consultis, quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe iactavit se mehercule effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter eum.

XXXIV. In his behaviour towards men of almost all ages, he discovered a degree of jealousy and malignity equal to that of his cruelty and pride. He so demolished and dispersed the statues of several illustrious persons, which had been removed by Augustus, for want of room, from the court of the Capitol into the Campus Martius, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And, for the future, he forbad any statue whatever to be erected without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of suppressing Homer's poems: "For why," said he, "may not I do what Plato has done before me, who excluded him from his commonwealth?" He was likewise very near banishing the writings and the busts of Virgil and Livy from all libraries; censuring one of them as "a man of no genius and very little learning;" and the other as "a verbose and careless historian." He often talked of the lawyers as if he intended to abolish their profession. "By Hercules!" he would say, "I shall put it out of their power to answer any questions in law, otherwise than by referring to me!"

³⁵ Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen. Ptolemaeum, de quo rettuli, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit. Pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat. Erat Aesius Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem et speciem Colosseros dictus; hunc spectaculis detractum repente et in harenam deductum Thraeci et mox hoplomacho comparavit bisque victorem constringi sine mora iussit et pannis obsitum vicatim circumduci ac mulieribus ostendi, deinde iugulari. Nullus denique tam abiectae condicionis tamque extremae sortis fuit, cuius non commodis obtrectaret. Nemoensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit. Cum quodam die muneris essedario Porio post prosperam pugnam servum suum manumittenti studiosius plausum esset, ita proripuit se spectaculis, ut calcata lacinia togae praeceps per gradus iret, indignabundus et clamitans dominum gentium populum ex re levissima plus honoris gladiatori tribuentem quam consecratis principibus aut praesenti sibi.

XXXV. He took from the noblest persons in the city the ancient marks of distinction used by their families; as the collar from Torquatus; from Cincinnatus the curl of (276) hair; and from Cneius Pompey, the surname of Great, belonging to that ancient family. Ptolemy, mentioned before, whom he invited from his kingdom, and received with great honours, he suddenly put to death, for no other reason, but because he observed that upon entering the theatre, at a public exhibition, he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, by the splendour of his purple robe. As often as he met with handsome men, who had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be shaved, to make them appear ridiculous. There was one Esius Proculus, the son of a centurion of the first rank, who, for his great stature and fine proportions, was called the Colossal. Him he ordered to be dragged from his seat in the arena, and matched with a gladiator in light armour, and afterwards with another completely armed; and upon his worsting them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led clothed in rags up and down the streets of the city, and, after being exhibited in that plight to the women, to be then butchered. There was no man of so abject or mean condition, whose excellency in any kind he did not envy. The Rex Nemorensis having many years enjoyed the honour of the priesthood, he procured a still stronger antagonist to oppose him. One Porius, who fought in a chariot, having been victorious in an exhibition, and in his joy given freedom to a slave, was applauded so vehemently, that Caligula rose in such haste from his seat, that, treading upon the hem of his toga, he tumbled down the steps, full of indignation, (277) and crying out, "A people who are masters of the world, pay greater respect to a gladiator for a trifle, than to princes admitted amongst the gods, or to my own majesty here present amongst them."

³⁶ Pudicitiae neque suae neque alienae pepercit. M. Lepidum, Mnesterem pantomimum, quosdam obsides dilexisse fertur commercio mutui stupri. Valerius Catullus, consulari familia iuvenis, stupratum a se ac latera sibi contubernio eius defessa etiam vociferatus est. Super sororum incesta et notissimum prostitutae Pyrrallidis amorem non temere ulla inlustriore femina abstinuit. Quas plerumque cum maritis ad cenam vocatas praeterque pedes suos transeuntis diligenter ac lente mercantium more considerabat, etiam faciem manu adlevans, si quae pudore submitterent; quotiens deinde libuisset egressus triclinio, cum maxime placitam sevocasset, paulo post recentibus adhuc lasciviae notis reversus vel laudabat palam vel vituperabat, singula enumerans bona malave corporis atque concubitus. Quibusdam absentium maritorum nomine repudium ipse misit iussitque in acta ita referri.

XXXVI. He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of others. He is said to have been inflamed with an unnatural passion for Marcus Lepidus Mnester, an actor in pantomimes, and for certain hostages; and to have engaged with them in the practice of mutual pollution. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a consular family, bawled aloud in public that he had been exhausted by him in that abominable act. Besides his incest with his sisters, and his notorious passion for Pyrallis, the prostitute, there was hardly any lady of distinction with whom he did not make free. He used commonly to invite them with their husbands to supper, and as they passed by the couch on which he reclined at table, examine them very closely, like those who traffic in slaves; and if any one from modesty held down her face, he raised it up with his hand. Afterwards, as often as he was in the humour, he would quit the room, send for her he liked best, and in a short time return with marks of recent disorder about them. He would then commend or disparage her in the presence of the company, recounting the charms or defects of her person and behaviour in private. To some he sent a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and ordered it to be registered in the public acts.

³⁷ Nepotatus sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit, commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atque cenarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur, pretiosissima margarita aceto liquefacta sorberet, convivis ex auro panes et obsonia apponeret, aut frugi hominem esse oportere dictitans aut Caesarem. Quin et nummos non mediocris summae e fastigio basilicae Iuliae per aliquot dies sparsit in plebem. Fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum et porticum et tricliniorum laxitate magnaue etiam vitium et pomiferarum arborum varietate; quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret. In exstructionibus praetiorum atque villarum omni ratione posthabita nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur. Et iactae itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari et excisae rupes durissimi silicis et campi montibus aggere aequati et complanata fossuris montium iuga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum morae culpa capite lueretur. Ac ne singula enumerem, immensas opes totumque illud Ti. Caesaris vicies ac septies milies sestertium non toto vertente anno absumpsit.

XXXVII. In the devices of his profuse expenditure, he surpassed all the prodigals that ever lived; inventing a new kind of bath, with strange dishes and suppers, washing in precious unguents, both warm and cold, drinking pearls of immense value dissolved in vinegar, and serving up for his guests loaves and

other victuals modelled in gold; often saying, “that a man ought either to be a good economist or an emperor.” Besides, he scattered money to a prodigious amount among the people, from the top of the Julian Basilica, during several days successively. He built two ships with ten banks of oars, after the Liburnian fashion, the poops of which blazed with jewels, and the sails were of various parti-colours. They were fitted up with ample baths, galleries, and saloons, and supplied with a great variety of vines and other fruit-trees. In these he would sail in the day-time along the coast of Campania, feasting (278) amidst dancing and concerts of music. In building his palaces and villas, there was nothing he desired to effect so much, in defiance of all reason, as what was considered impossible. Accordingly, moles were formed in the deep and adverse sea, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging; and all these were to be executed with incredible speed, for the least remissness was a capital offence. Not to mention particulars, he spent enormous sums, and the whole treasures which had been amassed by Tiberius Caesar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year.

³⁸ Exhaustus igitur atque egens ad rapinas convertit animum vario et exquisitissimo calumniarum et auctionum et vectigalium genere. Negabat iure civitatem Romanam usurpare eos, quorum maiores sibi posterisque eam impetrassent, nisi si filii essent, neque enim intellegi debere “posteror” ultra hunc gradum; prolataque Divorum Iuli et Augusti diplomata ut vetera et obsoleta deflabat. Arguebat et perperam editos census, quibus postea quacumque de causa quicquam incrementi accessisset. Testamenta primipilariū, qui ab initio Tiberi principatus neque illum neque se heredem reliquissent, ut ingrata rescidit; item ceterorum ut irrita et vana, quoscumque quis diceret herede Caesare mori destinasse. Quo metu iniecto cum iam et ab ignotis inter familiares et a parentibus inter liberos palam heres nuncuparetur, derisores vocabat, quod post nuncupationem vivere perseverarent, et multis venenatas mattheas misit. Cognoscebat autem de talibus causis, taxato prius modo summae ad quem conficiendum consideret, confecto demum excitabatur. Ac ne paululum quidem morae patiens super quadraginta reos quondam ex diversis criminibus una sententia condemnavit gloriatusque est expergefata e somno Caesonia quantum egisset, dum ea meridiaret. Auctione proposita reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit ac venditavit, exquirens per se pretia et usque eo extendens, ut quidam immenso coacti quaedam emere ac bonis exuti venas sibi inciderent. Nota res est, Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante, monitum a Gaio praeconem ne praetorium virum crebro capitis motu nutantem sibi praeteriret, nec licendi finem

factum, quoad tredecim gladiatores sestertium nonagies ignorantibus addicerentur.

XXXVIII. Having therefore quite exhausted these funds, and being in want of money, he had recourse to plundering the people, by every mode of false accusation, confiscation, and taxation, that could be invented. He declared that no one had any right to the freedom of Rome, although their ancestors had acquired it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons; for that none beyond that degree ought to be considered as posterity. When the grants of the Divine Julius and Augustus were produced to him, he only said, that he was very sorry they were obsolete and out of date. He also charged all those with making false returns, who, after the taking of the census, had by any means whatever increased their property. He annulled the wills of all who had been centurions of the first rank, as testimonies of their base ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign they had not left either that prince or himself their heir. He also set aside the wills of all others, if any person only pretended to say, that they designed at their death to leave Caesar their heir. The public becoming terrified at this proceeding, he was now appointed joint-heir with their friends, and in the case of parents with their children, by persons unknown to him. Those who lived any considerable time after making such a will, he said, were only making game of him; and accordingly he sent many of them poisoned cakes. He used to try such causes himself; fixing previously the sum he proposed to raise during the sitting, and, after he had secured it, quitting the tribunal. Impatient of the least delay, he condemned by a single sentence forty (279) persons, against whom there were different charges; boasting to Caesonia when she awoke, "how much business he had dispatched while she was taking her mid-day sleep." He exposed to sale by auction, the remains of the apparatus used in the public spectacles; and exacted such biddings, and raised the prices so high, that some of the purchasers were ruined, and bled themselves to death. There is a well-known story told of Aponius Saturninus, who happening to fall asleep as he sat on a bench at the sale, Caius called out to the auctioneer, not to overlook the praetorian personage who nodded to him so often; and accordingly the salesman went on, pretending to take the nods for tokens of assent, until thirteen gladiators were knocked down to him at the sum of nine millions of sesterces, he being in total ignorance of what was doing.

³⁹ In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta et supellectilem et servos atque etiam liberos immensis pretiis vendidisset, invitatus lucro, quidquid instrumenti veteris aulae erat ab urbe repetiit, comprehensis ad deportandum meritoriis quoque vehiculis et pistrinensibus iumentis, adeo ut et

panis Romae saepe deficeret et litigatorum plerique, quod occurrere absentes ad vadimonium non possent, causa caderent. Cui instrumento distrahendo nihil non fraudis ac lenocinii adhibuit, modo avaritiae singulos increpans et quod non puderet eos locupletiores esse quam se, modo paenitentiam simulans quod principalium rerum privatis copiam faceret. Compererat provincialem locupletem ducenta sestertia numerasse vocatoribus, ut per fallaciam convivio interponeretur, nec tulerat moleste tam magno aestimari honorem cenae suae; huic postero die sedenti in auctione misit, qui nescio quid frivoli ducentis milibus traderet diceretque cenaturum apud Caesarem vocatu ipsius.

XXXIX. Having also sold in Gaul all the clothes, furniture, slaves, and even freedmen belonging to his sisters, at prodigious prices, after their condemnation, he was so much delighted with his gains, that he sent to Rome for all the furniture of the old palace; pressing for its conveyance all the carriages let to hire in the city, with the horses and mules belonging to the bakers, so that they often wanted bread at Rome; and many who had suits at law in progress, lost their causes, because they could not make their appearance in due time according to their recognizances. In the sale of this furniture, every artifice of fraud and imposition was employed. Sometimes he would rail at the bidders for being niggardly, and ask them “if they were not ashamed to be richer than he was?” at another, he would affect to be sorry that the property of princes should be passing into the hands of private persons. He had found out that a rich provincial had given two hundred thousand sesterces to his chamberlains for an underhand invitation to his table, and he was much pleased to find that honour valued at so high a rate. The day following, as the same person was sitting at the sale, he sent him some bauble, for which he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sesterces, and “that he should sup with Caesar upon his own invitation.”

⁴⁰ Vectigalia nova atque inaudita primum per publicanos, deinde, quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit, nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributi aliquid imponeret. Pro edulibus, quae tota urbe venirent, certum statumque exigebatur; pro litibus ac iudiciis ubicumque conceptis quadragesima summae, de qua litigaretur, nec sine poena, si quis composuisse vel donasse negotium convinceretur; ex gerulorum diurnis quaestibus pars octava; ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret; additumque ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico et quae meretricium quive lenocinium fecissent, nec non et matrimonia obnoxia essent.

(280) XL. He levied new taxes, and such as were never before known, at first

by the publicans, but afterwards, because their profit was enormous, by centurions and tribunes of the pretorian guards; no description of property or persons being exempted from some kind of tax or other. For all eatables brought into the city, a certain excise was exacted: for all law-suits or trials in whatever court, the fortieth part of the sum in dispute; and such as were convicted of compromising litigations, were made liable to a penalty. Out of the daily wages of the porters, he received an eighth, and from the gains of common prostitutes, what they received for one favour granted. There was a clause in the law, that all bawds who kept women for prostitution or sale, should be liable to pay, and that marriage itself should not be exempted.

⁴¹ Eius modi vectigalibus indictis neque propositis, cum per ignorantiam scripturae multa commissa fierent, tandem flagitante populo proposuit quidem legem, sed et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret. Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in Palatio constituit, districtisque et instructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus matronae ingenuique starent, misit circum fora et basilicas nomenclatores ad invitandos ad libidinem iuvenes senesque; praebita advenientibus pecunia faenebris appositique qui nomina palam subnotarent, quasi adiuvantium Caesaris reditus. Ac ne ex lusu quidem aleae compendium spernens plus mendacio atque etiam periurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proximo conlusori demandata vice sua progressus in atrium domus, cum praetereuntis duos equites R. locupletis sine mora corripere confiscarique iussisset, exultans rediit gloriansque numquam se prosperiore alea usum.

XLI. These taxes being imposed, but the act by which they were levied never submitted to public inspection, great grievances were experienced from the want of sufficient knowledge of the law. At length, on the urgent demands of the Roman people, he published the law, but it was written in a very small hand, and posted up in a corner, so that no one could make a copy of it. To leave no sort of gain untried, he opened brothels in the Palatium, with a number of cells, furnished suitably to the dignity of the place; in which married women and free-born youths were ready for the reception of visitors. He sent likewise his nomenclators about the forums and courts, to invite people of all ages, the old as well as the young, to his brothel, to come and satisfy their lusts; and he was ready to lend his customers money upon interest; clerks attending to take down their names in public, as persons who contributed to the emperor's revenue. Another method of raising money, which he thought not below his notice, was gaming; which, by the help of lying and perjury, he turned to considerable

account. Leaving once the management of his play to his partner in the game, he stepped into the court, and observing two rich Roman knights passing by, he ordered them immediately to be seized, and their estates confiscated. Then returning, in great glee, he boasted that he had never made a better throw in his life.

⁴² Filia vero nata paupertatem nec iam imperatoria modo sed et patria conquerens onera conlationes in alimonium ac dotem puellae recepit. Edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kal. Ian. ad captandas stipes, quas plenis ante eum manibus ac sinu omnis generis turba fundebat. Novissime contrectandae pecuniae cupidine incensus, saepe super immensos aureorum acervos patentissimo diffusos loco et nudis pedibus spatiatum et toto corpore aliquamdiu volutatus est.

XLII. After the birth of his daughter, complaining of his (281) poverty, and the burdens to which he was subjected, not only as an emperor, but a father, he made a general collection for her maintenance and fortune. He likewise gave public notice, that he would receive new-year's gifts on the calends of January following; and accordingly stood in the vestibule of his house, to clutch the presents which people of all ranks threw down before him by handfuls and lapfuls. At last, being seized with an invincible desire of feeling money, taking off his slippers, he repeatedly walked over great heaps of gold coin spread upon the spacious floor, and then laying himself down, rolled his whole body in gold over and over again.

⁴³ Militiam resque bellicas semel attigit neque ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam processisset, admonitus de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat, expeditionis Germanicae impetum cepit; neque distulit, sed legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis commeatu quanto numquam antea, iter ingressus est confecitque modo tam festinanter et rapide, ut praetorianae cohortes contra morem signa iumentis imponere et ita subsequi cogerentur, interdum adeo segniter delicateque, ut octaphoro veheretur atque a propin quarum urbium plebe verri sibi vias et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret.

XLIII. Only once in his life did he take an active part in military affairs, and then not from any set purpose, but during his journey to Mevania, to see the grove and river of Clitumnus . Being recommended to recruit a body of

Batavians, who attended him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany. Immediately he drew together several legions, and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and made every where new levies with the utmost rigour. Collecting supplies of all kinds, such as never had been assembled upon the like occasion, he set forward on his march, and pursued it sometimes with so much haste and precipitation, that the pretorian cohorts were obliged, contrary to custom, to pack their standards on horses or mules, and so follow him. At other times, he would march so slow and luxuriously, that he was carried in a litter by eight men; ordering the roads to be swept by the people of the neighbouring towns, and sprinkled with water to lay the dust.

⁴⁴ Postquam castra attigit, ut se acrem ac severum ducem ostenderet, legatos, qui auxilia serius ex diversis locis adduxerant, cum ignominia dimisit; at in exercitu recensendo plerisque centurionum maturis iam et nonnullis ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademit, causatus senium cuiusque et imbecillitatem; ceterorum increpita cupiditate commoda emeritae militiae ad †sescentorum† milium summam recidit. Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto, quasi universa tradita insula, magnificas Romam litteras misit, monitis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent nec nisi in aede Martis ac frequente senatu consulibus traderent.

XLIV. On arriving at the camp, in order to show himself an active general, and severe disciplinarian, he cashiered the lieutenants who came up late with the auxiliary forces from different quarters. In reviewing the army, he deprived of their companies most of the centurions of the first rank, who had now served their legal time in the wars, and some whose time would have expired in a few days; alleging against them their age and infirmity; and railing at the covetous disposition (282) of the rest of them, he reduced the bounty due to those who had served out their time to the sum of six thousand sesterces. Though he only received the submission of Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, a British king, who being driven from his native country by his father, came over to him with a small body of troops, yet, as if the whole island had been surrendered to him, he dispatched magnificent letters to Rome, ordering the bearers to proceed in their carriages directly up to the forum and the senate-house, and not to deliver the letters but to the consuls in the temple of Mars, and in the presence of a full assembly of the senators.

⁴⁵ Mox deficiente belli materia paucos de custodia Germanos traici occultique trans Rhenum iussit ac sibi post prandium quam tumultuosissime adesse hostem nuntiari. Quo facto proripuit se cum amicis et parte equitum praetorianorum in proximam silvam, truncatisque arboribus et in modum tropaeorum adornatis ad lumina reversus, eorum quidem qui secuti non essent timiditatem et ignaviam corripuit, comites autem et participes victoriae novo genere ac nomine coronarum donavit, quas distinctas solis ac lunae siderumque specie exploratorias appellavit. Rursus obsides quosdam abductos e litterario ludo clamque praemissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insecutus veluti profugos ac reprehensos in catenis reduxit; in hoc quoque mimo praeter modum intemperans. Repetita cena renuntiantis coactum agmen sic ut erant loricatos ad discumbendum adhortatus est. Monuit etiam notissimo Vergili versu— “*durarent secundisque se rebus servarent.*” Atque inter haec absentem senatum populumque gravissimo obiurgavit edicto, quod Caesare proeliante et tantis discriminibus obiecto tempestiva convivia, circum et theatra et amoenos secessus celebrarent.

XLV. Soon after this, there being no hostilities, he ordered a few Germans of his guard to be carried over and placed in concealment on the other side of the Rhine, and word to be brought him after dinner, that an enemy was advancing with great impetuosity. This being accordingly done, he immediately threw himself, with his friends, and a party of the pretorian knights, into the adjoining wood, where lopping branches from the trees, and forming trophies of them, he returned by torch-light, upbraiding those who did not follow him, with timorousness and cowardice; but he presented the companions, and sharers of his victory with crowns of a new form, and under a new name, having the sun, moon, and stars represented on them, and which he called Exploratoriae. Again, some hostages were by his order taken from the school, and privately sent off; upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the cavalry, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in fetters; proceeding to an extravagant pitch of ostentation likewise in this military comedy. Upon his again sitting down to table, it being reported to him that the troops were all reassembled, he ordered them to sit down as they were, in their armour, animating them in the words of that well-known verse of Virgil:

(283) *Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*

— Aen. 1.

Bear up, and save yourselves for better days.

In the meantime, he reprimanded the senate and people of Rome in a very severe proclamation, “For revelling and frequenting the diversions of the circus and theatre, and enjoying themselves at their villas, whilst their emperor was fighting, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers.”

⁴⁶ Postremo quasi perpetraturus bellum, directa acie in litore Oceani ac ballistis machinisque dispositis, nemine gnaro aut opinante quidnam coepturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent galeasque et sinus replerent imperavit, “spolia Oceani” vocans “Capitolio Palatioque debita,” et in indicium victoriae altissimam turrem excitavit, ex qua ut Pharo noctibus ad regendos navium cursus ignes emicarent; pronuntiatoque militi donativo centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus: “abite,” inquit, “laeti, abite locupletes.”

XLVI. At last, as if resolved to make war in earnest, he drew up his army upon the shore of the ocean, with his balistae and other engines of war, and while no one could imagine what he intended to do, on a sudden commanded them to gather up the sea shells, and fill their helmets, and the folds of their dress with them, calling them “the spoils of the ocean due to the Capitol and the Palatium.” As a monument of his success, he raised a lofty tower, upon which, as at Pharos, he ordered lights to be burnt in the night-time, for the direction of ships at sea; and then promising the soldiers a donative of a hundred denarii a man, as if he had surpassed the most eminent examples of generosity, “Go your ways,” said he, “and be merry: go, ye are rich.”

⁴⁷ Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi praeter captivos ac transfugas barbaros Galliarum quoque procerissimum quemque et, ut ipse dicebat, *axiothriambeuton*, ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ac seposuit ad pompam coegitque non tantum rutilare et summittere comam, sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre. Praecepit etiam triremis, quibus introierat Oceanum, magna ex parte itinere terrestri Romam devehī. Scripsit et procuratoribus, triumphum appararent quam minima summa, sed quantus numquam alius fuisset, quando in omnium hominum bona ius haberent.

XLVII. In making preparations for his triumph, besides the prisoners and deserters from the barbarian armies, he picked out the men of greatest stature in all Gaul, such as he said were fittest to grace a triumph, with some of the chiefs, and reserved them to appear in the procession; obliging them not only to dye their hair yellow, and let it grow long, but to learn the German language, and

assume the names commonly used in that country. He ordered likewise the gallies in which he had entered the ocean, to be conveyed to Rome a great part of the way by land, and wrote to his comptrollers in the city, “to make proper preparations for a triumph against (284) his arrival, at as small expense as possible; but on a scale such as had never been seen before, since they had full power over the property of every one.”

⁴⁸ Prius quam provincia decederet, consilium iniit nefandae atrocitatis legiones, quae post excessum Augusti seditionem olim moverant, contrucidandi, quod et patrem suum Germanicum ducem et se infantem tunc obsedissent, vixque a tam praecipiti cogitatione revocatus, inhiberi nullo modo potuit quin decimare velle perseveraret. Vocatas itaque ad contionem inermes, atque etiam gladiis depositis, equitatu armato circumdedit. Sed cum videret suspecta re plerosque dilabi ad resumenda si qua vis fieret arma, profugit contionem confestimque urbem petit, deflexa omni acerbitate in senatum, cui ad avertendos tantorum dedecorum rumores palam minabatur, querens inter cetera fraudatum se iusto triumpho, cum ipse paulo ante, ne quid de honoribus suis ageretur, etiam sub mortis poena denuntiasset.

XLVIII. Before he left the province, he formed a design of the most horrid cruelty — to massacre the legions which had mutinied upon the death of Augustus, for seizing and detaining by force his father, Germanicus, their commander, and himself, then an infant, in the camp. Though he was with great difficulty dissuaded from this rash attempt, yet neither the most urgent entreaties nor representations could prevent him from persisting in the design of decimating these legions. Accordingly, he ordered them to assemble unarmed, without so much as their swords; and then surrounded them with armed horse. But finding that many of them, suspecting that violence was intended, were making off, to arm in their own defence, he quitted the assembly as fast as he could, and immediately marched for Rome; bending now all his fury against the senate, whom he publicly threatened, to divert the general attention from the clamour excited by his disgraceful conduct. Amongst other pretexts of offence, he complained that he was defrauded of a triumph, which was justly his due, though he had just before forbidden, upon pain of death, any honour to be decreed him

⁴⁹ Aditus ergo in itinere a legatis amplissimi ordinis ut maturaret orantibus, quam maxima voce: “veniam,” inquit, “veniam, et hic mecum,” capulum gladii crebro verberans, quo cinctus erat. Edixit et reverti se, sed iis tantum qui

optarent, equestri ordini et populo; nam se neque civem neque principem senatui amplius fore. Vetuit etiam quemquam senatorum sibi occurrere. Atque omisso vel dilato triumpho ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est; intraque quartum mensem periit, ingentia facinora ausus et aliquanto maiora moliens, siquidem proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandream commigrare interempto prius utriusque ordinis electissimo quoque. Quod ne cui dubium videatur, in secretis eius reperti sunt duo libelli diverso titulo, alteri “gladius,” alteri “pugio” index erat; ambo nomina et notas continebant morti destinatorum. Inventa et arca ingens variorum venenorum plena, quibus mox a Claudio demersis infecta maria traduntur non sine piscium exitio, quos enectos aestus in proxima litora eiecit.

XLIX. In his march he was waited upon by deputies from the senatorian order, entreating him to hasten his return. He replied to them, “I will come, I will come, and this with me,” striking at the same time the hilt of his sword. He issued likewise this proclamation: “I am coming, but for those only who wish for me, the equestrian order and the people; for I shall no longer treat the senate as their fellow-citizen or prince.” He forbid any of the senators to come to meet him; and either abandoning or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation on his birthday. Within four months from this period he was slain, after he had perpetrated enormous crimes, and while he was meditating the execution, if possible, of still greater. He had entertained a design of removing to Antium, and afterwards to Alexandria; having first cut off the flower of the equestrian and senatorian orders. This is placed beyond all question, by two books which were found in his cabinet (285) under different titles; one being called the sword, and the other, the dagger. They both contained private marks, and the names of those who were devoted to death. There was also found a large chest, filled with a variety of poisons which being afterwards thrown into the sea by order of Claudius, are said to have so infected the waters, that the fish were poisoned, and cast dead by the tide upon the neighbouring shores

⁵⁰ Statura fuit eminenti, colore expallido, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro at circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cetera. Quare transeunte eo prospicere ex superiore parte aut omnino quacumque de causa capram nominare, crimosum et exitiale habebatur. Vultum vero natura horridum ac taetrum etiam ex industria efferabat componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem. Valitudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit. Puer comitali morbo vexatus, in adulescentia ita patiens laborum erat, ut tamen nonnumquam subita defectione ingredi, stare, colligere semet ac sufferre vix posset. Mentis valitudinem et ipse

senserat ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur insomnio maxime; neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat ac ne iis quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus, ut qui inter ceteras pelagi quondam speciem conloquentem secum videre visus sit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliae cubandique taedio nunc toro residens, nunc per longissimas porticus vagus invocare identidem atque expectare lucem consuevit.

L. He was tall, of a pale complexion, ill-shaped, his neck and legs very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his brows broad and knit, his hair thin, and the crown of the head bald. The other parts of his body were much covered with hair. On this account, it was reckoned a capital crime for any person to look down from above, as he was passing by, or so much as to name a goat. His countenance, which was naturally hideous and frightful, he purposely rendered more so, forming it before a mirror into the most horrible contortions. He was crazy both in body and mind, being subject, when a boy, to the falling sickness. When he arrived at the age of manhood, he endured fatigue tolerably well; but still, occasionally, he was liable to a faintness, during which he remained incapable of any effort. He was not insensible of the disorder of his mind, and sometimes had thoughts of retiring to clear his brain. It is believed that his wife Caesonia administered to him a love potion which threw him into a frenzy. What most of all disordered him, was want of sleep, for he seldom had more than three or four hours' rest in a night; and even then his sleep was not sound, but disturbed by strange dreams; fancying, among other things, that a form representing the ocean spoke to him. Being therefore often weary with lying awake so long, sometimes he sat up in his bed, at others, walked in the longest porticos about the house, and from time to time, invoked and looked out for the approach of day.

⁵¹ Non inmerito mentis valitudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem vitia, summam confidentiam et contra nimium metum. Nam qui deos tanto opere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura conivere, caput obvolvere, at vero maiore proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat. Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisus multum locorum miraculis repente a Messana noctu profugit Aetnaei verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. Adversus barbaros quoque minacissimus, cum trans Rhenum inter angustias densumque agmen iter essedo faceret, dicente quodam non mediocrem fore consternationem sicunde hostis appareat, equum ilico conscendit ac propere reversus ad pontes, ut eos

calonibus et impedimentis stipatos repperit, impatiens morae per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est. Mox etiam audita rebellione Germaniae fugam et subsidia fugae classes apparabat, uno solacio adquiescens transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas provincias, si victores Alpium iuga, ut Cimbri, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent; unde credo percussoribus eius postea consilium natum apud tumultuantes milites ementiendi, ipsum sibi manus intulisse nuntio malae pugnae perterritum.

LI. To this crazy constitution of his mind may, I think, very justly be ascribed two faults which he had, of a nature directly repugnant one to the other, namely, an excessive confidence and the most abject timidity. For he, who affected so (286) much to despise the gods, was ready to shut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his cloak at the slightest storm of thunder and lightning; and if it was violent, he got up and hid himself under his bed. In his visit to Sicily, after ridiculing many strange objects which that country affords, he ran away suddenly in the night from Messini, terrified by the smoke and rumbling at the summit of Mount Aetna. And though in words he was very valiant against the barbarians, yet upon passing a narrow defile in Germany in his light car, surrounded by a strong body of his troops, some one happening to say, "There would be no small consternation amongst us, if an enemy were to appear," he immediately mounted his horse, and rode towards the bridges in great haste; but finding them blocked up with camp-followers and baggage-waggons, he was in such a hurry, that he caused himself to be carried in men's hands over the heads of the crowd. Soon afterwards, upon hearing that the Germans were again in rebellion, he prepared to quit Rome, and equipped a fleet; comforting himself with this consideration, that if the enemy should prove victorious, and possess themselves of the heights of the Alps, as the Cimbri had done, or of the city, as the Senones formerly did, he should still have in reserve the transmarine provinces. Hence it was, I suppose, that it occurred to his assassins, to invent the story intended to pacify the troops who mutinied at his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, in a fit of terror occasioned by the news brought him of the defeat of his army.

⁵² Vestitu calciatuque et cetero habitu neque patrio neque civili, ac ne virili quidem ac denique humano semper usus est. Saepe depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas, manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit; aliquando sericatus et cycladatus; ac modo in crepidis vel coturnis, modo in speculatoria caliga, nonnumquam socco muliebri; plerumque vero aurea barba, fulmen tenens aut fuscina aut caduceum deorum insignia, atque etiam Veneris cultu

conspectus est. Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem assidue gestavit, interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum e conditorio eius.

LII. In the fashion of his clothes, shoes, and all the rest of his dress, he did not wear what was either national, or properly civic, or peculiar to the male sex, or appropriate to mere mortals. He often appeared abroad in a short coat of stout cloth, richly embroidered and blazing with jewels, in a tunic with sleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms; sometimes all in silks and (287) habited like a woman; at other times in the crepidae or buskins; sometimes in the sort of shoes used by the light-armed soldiers, or in the sock used by women, and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of distinction belonging to the gods only. Sometimes, too, he appeared in the habit of Venus. He wore very commonly the triumphal ornaments, even before his expedition, and sometimes the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, taken out of his coffin.

⁵³ Ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus, utique si perorandum in aliquem esset. Irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant, pronuntiatio quoque et vox, ut neque eodem loci prae ardore consisteret et exaudiretur a procul stantibus. Peroraturus strictum se lucubrationis suae telum minabatur, lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem “commissiones meras” componere et “harenam esse sine calce” diceret. Solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere et magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat, vel onerare sententia sua quemque vel sublevare, equestri quoque ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta.

LIII. With regard to the liberal sciences, he was little conversant in philology, but applied himself with assiduity to the study of eloquence, being indeed in point of enunciation tolerably elegant and ready; and in his perorations, when he was moved to anger, there was an abundant flow of words and periods. In speaking, his action was vehement, and his voice so strong, that he was heard at a great distance. When winding up an harangue, he threatened to draw “the sword of his lucubration,” holding a loose and smooth style in such contempt, that he said Seneca, who was then much admired, “wrote only detached essays,” and that “his language was nothing but sand without lime.” He often wrote answers to the speeches of successful orators; and employed himself in composing accusations or vindications of eminent persons, who were impeached

before the senate; and gave his vote for or against the party accused, according to his success in speaking, inviting the equestrian order, by proclamation, to hear him.

⁵⁴ Sed et aliorum generum artes studiosissime et diversissimas exercuit. Thraex et auriga, idem cantor atque saltator, battuebat pugnatoriis armis, aurigabat exstructo plurifariam circo; canendi ac saltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem spectaculis temperaret quo minus et tragoedo pronuntianti concineret et gestum histrionis quasi laudans vel corrigens palam effingeret. Nec alia de causa videtur eo die, quo periit, pervigilium indixisse quam ut initium in scaenam prodeundi licentia temporis auspicaretur. Saltabat autem nonnumquam etiam noctu; et quondam tres consulares secunda vigilia in Palatium accitos multaque et extrema metuentis super pulpitem conlocavit, deinde repente magno tibiarum et scabellorum crepitu cum palla tunicaque talari prosiluit ac desaltato cantico abiit. Atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natum nesciit.

LIV. He also zealously applied himself to the practice of several other arts of different kinds, such as fencing, charioteering, singing, and dancing. In the first of these, he practised with the weapons used in war; and drove the chariot in circuses built in several places. He was so extremely fond of singing and dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatre from singing with the tragedians, and imitating the gestures of the actors, either by way of applause or correction. A night exhibition which he had ordered the day he was slain, was thought to be intended for no other reason, than to take the opportunity afforded by the licentiousness of the season, to make his first appearance upon the stage. Sometimes, also, (288) he danced in the night. Summoning once to the Palatium, in the second watch of the night, three men of consular rank, who feared the words from the message, he placed them on the proscenium of the stage, and then suddenly came bursting out, with a loud noise of flutes and castanets, dressed in a mantle and tunic reaching down to his heels. Having danced out a song, he retired. Yet he who had acquired such dexterity in other exercises, never learnt to swim.

⁵⁵ Quorum vero studio teneretur, omnibus ad insaniam favit. Mnesterem pantomimum etiam inter spectacula osculabatur, ac si qui saltante eo vel leviter obstreperet, detrahi iussum manu sua flagellabat. Equiti R. tumultuanti per centurionem denunciavit, abiret sine mora Ostiam perferretque ad Ptolemaeum regem in Mauretaniam codicillos suos; quorum exemplum erat: "ei quem istoc misi, neque boni quicquam neque mali feceris." Thraeces quosdam Germanis

corporis custodibus praeposuit. Murmillonum armaturas recidit. Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio, venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo Columbinum appellavit; sic certe inter alia venena scriptum ab eo repertum est. Prasinae factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cenaret in stabulo assidue et maneret, agitatori Eutycho comisatione quadam in apophoretis vicies sestertium contulit. Incitato equo, cuius causa pridie circenses, ne inquietaretur, vicinia silentium per milites indicare solebat, praeter equile marmoreum et praesaepe eburneum praeterque purpurea tegumenta ac monilia e gemmis domum etiam et familiam et supellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine eius invitati acciperentur; consulatum quoque traditur destinasse.

LV. Those for whom he once conceived a regard, he favoured even to madness. He used to kiss Mnester, the pantomimic actor, publicly in the theatre; and if any person made the least noise while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged from his seat, and scourged him with his own hand. A Roman knight once making some bustle, he sent him, by a centurion, an order to depart forthwith for Ostia, and carry a letter from him to king Ptolemy in Mauritania. The letter was comprised in these words: "Do neither good nor harm to the bearer." He made some gladiators captains of his German guards. He deprived the gladiators called Mirmillones of some of their arms. One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being slightly wounded, he ordered some poison to be infused in the wound, which he thence called Columbinum. For thus it was certainly named with his own hand in a list of other poisons. He was so extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers whose colours were green, that he supped and lodged for some time constantly in the stable where their horses were kept. At a certain revel, he made a present of two millions of sesterces to one Cythicus, a driver of a chariot. The day before the Circensian games, he used to send his soldiers to enjoin silence in the (289) neighbourhood, that the repose of his horse Incitatus might not be disturbed. For this favourite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory manger, purple housings, and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a house, with a retinue of slaves, and fine furniture, for the reception of such as were invited in the horse's name to sup with him. It is even said that he intended to make him consul.

⁵⁶ Ita bacchantem atque grassantem non defuit plerisque animus adoriri. Sed una atque altera conspiratione detecta, aliis per inopiam occasionis cunctantibus, duo consilium communicaverunt perfeceruntque, non sine conscientia potentissimorum libertorum praefectorumque praetori; quod ipsi quoque etsi falso in quadam coniuratione quasi participes nominati, suspectos tamen se et

invisos sentiebant. Nam et statim seductis magnam fecit invidiam destricto gladio affirmans sponte se periturum, si et illis morte dignus videretur, nec cessavit ex eo criminari alterum alteri atque inter se omnis committere. Cum placuisset Palatinis ludis spectaculo egressum meridie adgredi, primas sibi partes Cassius Chaerea tribunus cohortis praetoriae depoposcit, quem Gaius seniore iam et mollem et effeminatum denotare omni probro consuevit et modo signum petenti “Priapum” aut “Venerem” dare, modo ex aliqua causa agenti gratias osculandam manum offerre formatam commotamque in obscaenum modum.

LVI. In this frantic and savage career, numbers had formed designs for cutting him off; but one or two conspiracies being discovered, and others postponed for want of opportunity, at last two men concerted a plan together, and accomplished their purpose; not without the privity of some of the greatest favourites amongst his freedmen, and the prefects of the pretorian guards; because, having been named, though falsely, as concerned in one conspiracy against him, they perceived that they were suspected and become objects of his hatred. For he had immediately endeavoured to render them obnoxious to the soldiery, drawing his sword, and declaring, “That he would kill himself if they thought him worthy of death;” and ever after he was continually accusing them to one another, and setting them all mutually at variance. The conspirators having resolved to fall upon him as he returned at noon from the Palatine games, Cassius Chaerea, tribune of the pretorian guards, claimed the part of making the onset. This Chaerea was now an elderly man, and had been often reproached by Caius for effeminacy. When he came for the watchword, the latter would give “Priapus,” or “Venus;” and if on any occasion he returned thanks, would offer him his hand to kiss, making with his fingers an obscene gesture.

⁵⁷ Futurae caedis multa prodigia extiterunt. Olympiae simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit, ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi. Capitolium Capuae Id. Mart. de caelo tactum est, item Romae cella Palatini atriensis. Nec defuerunt qui coniectarent altero ostento periculum a custodibus domino portendi, altero caedem rursus insignem, qualis eodem die facta quondam fuisset. Consulenti quoque de genitura sua Sulla mathematicus certissimam necem appropinquare affirmavit. Monuerunt et Fortunae Antiatinae, ut a Cassio caveret; qua causa ille Cassium Longinum Asiae tum proconsulem occidendum delegaverat, inmemor Chaeream Cassium nominari. Pridie quam periret, somniavit consistere se in caelo iuxta solium Iovis impulsumque ab eo dextri pedis pollice et in terras

praecipitatum. Prodigiorum loco habita sunt etiam, quae forte illo ipso die paulo prius acciderant. Sacrificans respersus est phoenicopteri sanguine; et pantomimus Mnester tragoediam saltavit, quam olim Neoptolemus tragoedus ludis, quibus rex Macedonum Philippus occisus est, egerat; et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo a[u]ctor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scaena abundavit. Parabatur et in noctem spectaculum, quo argumenta inferorum per Aegyptios et Aethiopas explicarentur.

LVII. His approaching fate was indicated by many prodigies. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken down and brought to Rome, suddenly burst out into such a violent fit of laughter, that, the machines employed in the work giving way, the workmen took to their heels. When this accident happened, there came up a man named Cassius, who said that he was commanded in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The Capitol at Capua was (290) struck with lightning upon the ides of March [15th March] as was also, at Rome, the apartment of the chief porter of the Palatium. Some construed the latter into a presage that the master of the place was in danger from his own guards; and the other they regarded as a sign, that an illustrious person would be cut off, as had happened before on that day. Sylla, the astrologer, being, consulted by him respecting his nativity, assured him, "That death would unavoidably and speedily befall him." The oracle of Fortune at Antium likewise forewarned him of Cassius; on which account he had given orders for putting to death Cassius Longinus, at that time proconsul of Asia, not considering that Chaerea bore also that name. The day preceding his death he dreamt that he was standing in heaven near the throne of Jupiter, who giving him a push with the great toe of his right foot, he fell headlong upon the earth. Some things which happened the very day of his death, and only a little before it, were likewise considered as ominous presages of that event. Whilst he was at sacrifice, he was bespattered with the blood of a flamingo. And Mnester, the pantomimic actor, performed in a play, which the tragedian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games in which Philip, the king of Macedon, was slain. And in the piece called Laureolus, in which the principal actor, running out in a hurry, and falling, vomited blood, several of the inferior actors vying with each other to give the best specimen of their art, made the whole stage flow with blood. A spectacle had been purposed to be performed that night, in which the fables of the infernal regions were to be represented by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere, tandem suadentibus amicis egressus est. Cum in crypta, per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scaena operas evocati praepararentur, ut eos inspiceret hortareturque restitit, ac nisi princeps gregis algere se diceret, redire ac repraesentare spectaculum voluit. Duplex dehinc fama est: alii tradunt adloquenti pueros a tergo Chaeream cervicem gladio caesim graviter percussisse praemissa voce: “hoc age!” Dehinc Cornelium Sabinum, alterum e coniuratis, tribunum ex adverso traiecissee pectus; alii Sabinum summoa per conscios centuriones turba signum more militiae petisse et Gaio “Iovem” dante Chaeream exclamasse: “accipe ratum!” Respicientique maxillam ictu discidissee. Iacentem contractisque membris clamitantem se vivere ceteri vulneribus triginta confecerunt; nam signum erat omnium: “repete!” Quidam etiam per obscaena ferrum adegerunt. Ad primum tumultum lecticari cum asseribus in auxilium accucurrerunt, mox Germani corporis custodes, ac nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam etiam senatores innoxios interemerunt.

LVIII. On the ninth of the calends of February [24th January], and about the seventh hour of the day, after hesitating whether he should rise to dinner, as his stomach was disordered by what he had eaten the day before, at last, by the advice of his friends, he came forth. In the vaulted passage through which he had to pass, were some boys of noble extraction, who had been brought from Asia to act upon the stage, waiting for him in a private corridor, and he stopped to see and speak to them; and had not the leader of the party said that he was suffering from cold, he would have gone back, and made them act immediately. Respecting what followed, (291) two different accounts are given. Some say, that, whilst he was speaking to the boys, Chaerea came behind him, and gave him a heavy blow on the neck with his sword, first crying out, “Take this:” that then a tribune, by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the conspirators, ran him through the breast. Others say, that the crowd being kept at a distance by some centurions who were in the plot, Sabinus came, according to custom, for the word, and that Caius gave him “Jupiter,” upon which Chaerea cried out, “Be it so!” and then, on his looking round, clove one of his jaws with a blow. As he lay on the ground, crying out that he was still alive, the rest dispatched him with thirty wounds. For the word agreed upon among them all was, “Strike again.” Some likewise ran their swords through his privy parts. Upon the first bustle, the litter bearers came running in with their poles to his assistance, and, immediately afterwards, his German body guards, who killed some of the assassins, and also some senators who had no concern in the affair.

⁵⁹ Vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo. Cadaver eius clam in hortos Lamianos asportatum et tumultuario rogo semiambustum levi caespite obrutum est, postea per sorores ab exilio reversas erutum et crematum sepultumque. Satis constat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos; in ea quoque domo, in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem sine aliquo terrore transactam, donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit. Perit una et uxor Caesonia gladio a centurione confossa et filia parieti inlisa.

LIX. He lived twenty-nine years, and reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. His body was carried privately into the Lamian Gardens, where it was half burnt upon a pile hastily raised, and then had some earth carelessly thrown over it. It was afterwards disinterred by his sisters, on their return from banishment, burnt to ashes, and buried. Before this was done, it is well known that the keepers of the gardens were greatly disturbed by apparitions; and that not a night passed without some terrible alarm or other in the house where he was slain, until it was destroyed by fire. His wife Caesonia was killed with him, being stabbed by a centurion; and his daughter had her brains knocked out against a wall.

⁶⁰ Conditionem temporum illorum etiam per haec aestimare quivis possit. Nam neque caede vulgata statim creditum est, fuitque suspicio ab ipso Gaio famam caedis simulatam et emissam, ut eo pacto hominum erga se mentes deprehenderet; neque coniurati cuiquam imperium destinaverunt; et senatus in asserenda libertate adeo consensit, ut consules primo non in curiam, quia Iulia vocabatur, sed in Capitolium convocarent, quidam vero sententiae loco abolendam Caesarum memoriam ac diruenda templa censuerint. Observatum autem notatumque est in primis Caesares omnes, quibus Gai praenomen fuerit, ferro perisse, iam inde ab eo, qui Cinnanis temporibus sit occisus.

LX. Of the miserable condition of those times, any person (292) may easily form an estimate from the following circumstances. When his death was made public, it was not immediately credited. People entertained a suspicion that a report of his being killed had been contrived and spread by himself, with the view of discovering how they stood affected towards him. Nor had the conspirators fixed upon any one to succeed him. The senators were so unanimous in their resolution to assert the liberty of their country, that the consuls assembled them at first not in the usual place of meeting, because it was named after Julius Caesar, but in the Capitol. Some proposed to abolish the memory of the Caesars, and level their temples with the ground. It was

particularly remarked on this occasion, that all the Caesars, who had the praenomen of Caius, died by the sword, from the Caius Caesar who was slain in the times of Cinna.

THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS

1 Patrem Claudii Caesaris Drusum, olim Decimum mox Neronem praenomine, Livia, cum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit, fuitque suspicio ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus: —

Tois eutychousi kai primaena paidia

Is Drusus in quaesturae praeturaeque honore dux Raetici, deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septemtrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit transque Rhenum fossas navi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur. Hostem etiam frequenter caesum ac penitus in intimas solitudines actum non prius destitit insequi, quam species barbarae mulieris humana amplior victorem tendere ultra sermone Latino prohibuisset. Quas ob res ovandi ius et triumphalia ornamenta percepit; ac post praeturam confestim inito consulatu atque expeditione repetita supremum diem morbo obiit in aestivis castris, quae ex eo Scelerata sunt appellata. Corpus eius per municipiorum coloniarumque primores suscipientibus obviis scribarum decuriis ad urbem devectum sepultumque est in campo Martio. Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent. Praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis via Appia decrevit et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque eius. Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi; nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus; nec dissimulasse umquam pristinum se rei p. statum, quandoque posset, restitutum. Vnde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum Augusto revocatumque ex provincia et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis ne praetermitterem rettuli, quam quia verum aut veri simile putem, cum Augustus tanto opere et vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est, et defunctum ita pro contione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, similes ei Caesares suos facerent sibi tam honestum quandoque exitum darent quam illi dedissent. Nec contentus elogium tumulo eius versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitae memoriam prosa oratione composuit. Ex Antonia minore complures quidem liberos tulit, verum tres omnino reliquit: Germanicum, Livillam, Claudium.

(295) I. Livia, having married Augustus when she was pregnant, was within three months afterwards delivered of Drusus, the father of Claudius Caesar, who had at first the praenomen of Decimus, but afterwards that of Nero; and it was suspected that he was begotten in adultery by his father-in-law. The following verse, however, was immediately in every one's mouth:

Tois eutychousi kai primaena paidia.

Nine months for common births the fates decree;
But, for the great, reduce the term to three.

This Drusus, during the time of his being quaestor and praetor, commanded in the Rhaetian and German wars, and was the first of all the Roman generals who navigated the Northern Ocean . He made likewise some prodigious trenches beyond the Rhine, which to this day are called by his name. He overthrew the enemy in several battles, and drove them far back into the depths of the desert. Nor did he desist from pursuing them, until an apparition, in the form of a barbarian woman, of more than human size, appeared to him, and, in the Latin tongue, forbid him to proceed any farther. For these achievements he had the honour of an ovation, and the triumphal ornaments. After his praetorship, he immediately entered on the office of consul, and returning again to Germany, died of disease, in the summer encampment, which thence obtained the name of "The Unlucky Camp." His corpse was carried to Rome by the principal persons of the several municipalities and colonies upon the road, being met and received by the records of each place, and buried in the Campus Martius. In honour of his (296) memory, the army erected a monument, round which the soldiers used, annually, upon a certain day, to march in solemn procession, and persons deputed from the several cities of Gaul performed religious rites. The senate likewise, among various other honours, decreed for him a triumphal arch of marble, with trophies, in the Appian Way, and gave the cognomen of Germanicus to him and his posterity. In him the civil and military virtues were equally displayed; for, besides his victories, he gained from the enemy the Spolia Opima, and frequently marked out the German chiefs in the midst of their army, and encountered them in single combat, at the utmost hazard of his life. He likewise often declared that he would, some time or other, if possible, restore the ancient government. In this account, I suppose, some have ventured to affirm that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him; and because he made no haste to comply with the order, took him off by poison. This I mention, that I may not be guilty of any omission, more than because I think it either true or probable; since Augustus loved him so much when living, that he always, in his

wills, made him joint-heir with his sons, as he once declared in the senate; and upon his decease, extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the gods “to make his Caesars like him, and to grant himself as honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him.” And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb an epitaph in verse composed by himself, he wrote likewise the history of his life in prose. He had by the younger Antonia several children, but left behind him only three, namely, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

₂ Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio Fabio Africano cons. Kal. Aug. Luguduni eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est, appellatusque Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Mox fratre maiore in Iuliam familiam adoptato Germanici cognomen assumpsit. Infans autem relictus a patre ac per omne fere pueritiae atque adulescentiae tempus variis et tenacibus morbis conflictatus est, adeo ut animo simul et corpore hebetato ne progressa quidem aetate ulli publico privatoque muneri habilis existimaretur. Diu atque etiam post tutelam receptam alieni arbitrii et sub paedagogo fuit; quem barbarum et olim superiumentarium ex industria sibi appositum, ut se quibuscumque de causis quam saevissime coaceret, ipse quodam libello conqueritur. Ob hanc eandem valitudinem et gladiatorio munere, quod simul cum fratre memoriae patris edebat, palliolatus novo more praesedit; et togae virilis die circa mediam noctem sine sollemni officio lectica in Capitolium latus est.

II. Claudius was born at Lyons, in the consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very day upon which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus. He was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus, but soon afterwards, (297) upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almost the whole of his minority, and for some time after he attained the age of manhood, was afflicted with a variety of obstinate disorders, insomuch that his mind and body being greatly impaired, he was, even after his arrival at years of maturity, never thought sufficiently qualified for any public or private employment. He was, therefore, during a long time, and even after the expiration of his minority, under the direction of a pedagogue, who, he complains in a certain memoir, “was a barbarous wretch, and formerly superintendent of the mule-drivers, who was selected for his governor, on purpose to correct him severely on every trifling occasion.” On account of this crazy constitution of body and mind, at the spectacle of gladiators, which he gave the people, jointly with his brother, in honour of his father’s memory, he

presided, muffled up in a pallium — a new fashion. When he assumed the manly habit, he was carried in a litter, at midnight, to the Capitol, without the usual ceremony.

³ Disciplinis tamen liberalibus ab aetate prima non mediocrem operam dedit ac saepe experimenta cuiusque etiam publicavit. Verum ne sic quidem quicquam dignitatis assequi aut spem de se commodiorem in posterum facere potuit. Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum incohatum; ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio. Avia Augusta pro despectissimo semper habuit, non affari nisi rarissime, non monere nisi acerbo et brevi scripto aut per internuntios solita. Soror Livilla cum audisset quandoque imperaturum, tam iniquam et tam indignam sortem p. R. palam et clare detestata est. Nam avunculus maior Augustus quid de eo in utramque partem opinatus sit, quo certius cognoscatur, capita ex ipsius epistulis posui.

III. He applied himself, however, from an early age, with great assiduity to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in each of them. But never, with all his endeavours, could he attain to any public post in the government, or afford any hope of arriving at distinction thereafter. His mother, Antonia, frequently called him “an abortion of a man, that had been only begun, but never finished, by nature.” And when she would upbraid any one with dulness, she said, “He was a greater fool than her son, Claudius.” His grandmother, Augusta, always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely spoke to him, and when she did admonish him upon any occasion, it was in writing, very briefly and severely, or by messengers. His sister, Livilla, upon hearing that he was about to be created emperor, openly and loudly expressed her indignation that the Roman people should experience a fate so severe and so much below their grandeur. To exhibit the opinion, both favourable and otherwise, entertained concerning him by Augustus, his great-uncle, I have here subjoined some extracts from the letters of that emperor.

⁴ “Collocutus sum cum Tiberio, ut mandasti, mea Livia, quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus. Consentit autem uterque nostrum, semel nobis esse statvendum, quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam si est artius, ut ita dicam, holocleros, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos et gradus producendus sit, per quos frater eius productus sit? Sin autem *elattosthai* sentimus eum et *beblaphthai kai eis ten tou somatos kai eis ten tes psyches artioteta*, praebenda materia deridendi et illum et nos non est hominibus ta

toiauta skoptein kai mykterizein eiothosin. Nam semper aestuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabimus, *me proupokeimenou hemin* posse arbitremur eum gerere honores necne. In praesentia tamen quibus de rebus consulis, curare eum ludis Martialibus triclinium sacerdotum non displicet nobis, si est passurus se ab Silvani filio homine sibi affini admoneri, ne quid faciat quod conspici et derideri possit. Spectare eum circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis; expositus enim in fronte prima spectaculorum conspicietur. In Albanum montem ire eum non placet nobis aut esse Romae Latinarum diebus. Cur enim non praeficitur urbi, si potest sequi fratrem suum in montem? Habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias, quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui, ne semper inter spem et metum fluctuemur. Licebit autem, si voles, Antoniae quoque nostrae des hanc partem epistulae huius legendam.” Rursus alteris litteris: “Tiberium adulescentem ego vero, dum to aberis, cotidie invitabo ad cenam, ne solus cenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro. Qui vellem diligentius et minus *meteoros* deligeret sibi aliquem, cuius motum et habitum et incessum imitaretur. Misellus *atychei* nam *en tois spoudaiois* ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet *he tes psyches autou eugeneia*. Item tertiis litteris: “Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantern potuisse, peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam *asaphos* loquatur, qui possit cum declamat *saphos* dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video.” Nec dubium est, quid post haec Augustus constituerit, et reliquerit eum nullo praeter auguralis sacerdotii honore impertitum ac ne heredem quidem nisi inter tertios ac paene extraneos e parte sexta nuncuparet, legato quoque non amplius quam octingentorum sestertiorum prosecutus.

IV. “I have had some conversation with Tiberius, according (298) to your desire, my dear Livia, as to what must be done with your grandson, Tiberius, at the games of Mars. We are both agreed in this, that, once for all, we ought to determine what course to take with him. For if he be really sound and, so to speak, quite right in his intellects, why should we hesitate to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him below par, and deficient both in body and mind, we must beware of giving occasion for him and ourselves to be laughed at by the world, which is ready enough to make such things the subject of mirth and derision. For we never shall be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, without settling, in the first instance, whether he be really capable of public offices or not. With regard to what you consult me about at the present moment, I am not against his superintending the feast of the priests, in the games of Mars, if he will suffer himself to be governed by his kinsman, Silanus’s son, that he may do nothing to make the people stare and laugh at him. But I do not approve of his witnessing

the Circensian games from the Pulvinar. He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre. Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban Mount, or be at Rome during the Latin festivals. For if he be capable of attending his brother to the mount, why is he not made prefect of the city? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter. In my opinion, we ought to (299) settle this affair once for all, that we may not be always in suspense between hope and fear. You may, if you think proper, give your kinsman Antonia this part of my letter to read.” In another letter, he writes as follows: “I shall invite: the youth, Tiberius, every day during your absence, to supper, that he may not sup alone with his friends Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wish the poor creature was more cautious and attentive in the choice of some one, whose manners, air, and gait might be proper for his imitation:

Atuchei panu en tois spoudaiois lian.
In things of consequence he sadly fails.

Where his mind does not run astray, he discovers a noble disposition.” In a third letter, he says, “Let me die, my dear Livia, if I am not astonished, that the declamation of your grandson, Tiberius, should please me; for how he who talks so ill, should be able to declaim so clearly and properly, I cannot imagine.” There is no doubt but Augustus, after this, came to a resolution upon the subject, and, accordingly, left him invested with no other honour than that of the Augural priesthood; naming him amongst the heirs of the third degree, who were but distantly allied to his family, for a sixth part of his estate only, with a legacy of no more than eight hundred thousand sesterces.

⁵ Tiberius patruus petenti honores consularia ornamenta detulit; sed instantius legitimos flagitanti id solum codicillis rescripsit, quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia et Sigillaria misisse ei. Tunc demum abiecta spe dignitatis ad otium concessit, modo in hortis et suburbana domo, modo in Campaniae seccssu delitescens, atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit, cum interim, quanquam hoc modo agenti, numquam aut officium hominum aut reverentia publice defuit.

V. Upon his requesting some office in the state, Tiberius granted him the honorary appendages of the consulship, and when he pressed for a legitimate appointment, the emperor wrote word back, that “he sent him forty gold pieces for his expenses, during the festivals of the Saturnalia and Sigillaria.” Upon this,

laying aside all hope of advancement, he resigned himself entirely to an indolent life; living in great privacy, one while in his gardens, or a villa which he had near the city; another while in Campania, where he passed his time in the lowest society; by which means, besides his former character of a dull, heavy fellow, he acquired that of a drunkard and gamester.

⁶ Equester ordo bis patronum cum perferendae pro se legationis elegit, semel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti umeris suis ab consulibus exposceret, iterum cum oppressum Seianum apud eosdem gratularetur; quin et spectaculis advenienti assurgere et lacernas deponere solebat. Senatus quoque, ut ad numerum sodalium Augustalium sorte ductorum extra ordinem adiceretur, censuit et mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur, dicendaeque inter consulares sententiae ius esset. Quod decretum abolitum est, excusante Tiberio imbecillitatem eius ac damnum liberalitate sua resarsurum pollicente. Qui tamen moriens et in tertiis heredibus eum ex parte tertia nuncupatum, legato etiam circa sestertium vicies prosecutus, commendavit insuper exercitibus ac senatui populoque R. inter ceteras necessitudines nominatim.

VI. Notwithstanding this sort of life, much respect was shown him both in public and private. The equestrian (300) order twice made choice of him to intercede on their behalf; once to obtain from the consuls the favour of bearing on their shoulders the corpse of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate him upon the death of Sejanus. When he entered the theatre, they used to rise, and put off their cloaks. The senate likewise decreed, that he should be added to the number of the Augustal college of priests, who were chosen by lot; and soon afterwards, when his house was burnt down, that it should be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he should have the privilege of giving his vote amongst the men of consular rank. This decree was, however, repealed; Tiberius insisting to have him excused on account of his imbecility, and promising to make good his loss at his own expense. But at his death, he named him in his will, amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate; leaving him besides a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and expressly recommending him to the armies, the senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations.

⁷ Sub Gaio demum fratris filio secundam existimationem circa initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente honores auspicatus consulatum gessit una per duos menses, evenitque ut primitus ingredienti cum fascibus Forum praetervolans aquila dexteriore umero consideret. Sortitus est et de altero consulatu in quartum

annum; praeseditque nonnumquam spectaculis in Gai vicem, adclamante populo: “Feliciter” partim “patruo imperatoris” partim “Germanici fratri!”

VII. At last, Caius, his brother’s son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavouring to gain the affections of the public by all the arts of popularity, Claudius also was admitted to public offices, and held the consulship jointly with his nephew for two months. As he was entering the Forum for the first time with the fasces, an eagle which was flying that way; alighted upon his right shoulder. A second consulship was also allotted him, to commence at the expiration of the fourth year. He sometimes presided at the public spectacles, as the representative of Caius; being always, on those occasions, complimented with the acclamations of the people, wishing him all happiness, sometimes under the title of the emperor’s uncle, and sometimes under that of Germanicus’s brother.

⁸ Nec eo minus contumeliis obnoxius vixit. Nam et si paulo serius ad praedictam cenae horam occurrisset, non nisi aegre et circuito demum triclinio recipiebatur, et quotiens post cibum addormisceret, quod ei fere accidebat, olearum aut palmularum ossibus incessebatur, interdum ferula flagrove velut per ludum excitabatur a copreis. Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induci, ut repente exergefactus faciem sibimet confricaret

VIII. Still he was subjected to many slights. If at any time he came in late to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time before he could get a place at table. When he indulged himself with sleep after eating, which was a common practice with him, the company used to throw olive-stones and dates at him. And the buffoons who attended would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a whip. Sometimes they would put slippers upon his hands; as he lay snoring, that he might, upon awaking, rub his face with them.

⁹ Sed ne discriminibus quidem caruit. Primum in ipso consulatu, quod Neronis et Drusi fratrum Caesaris statuas segnius locandas ponendasque curasset, paene honore summotus est; deinde extraneo vel etiam domesticorum aliquo deferente assidue varieque inquietatus. Cum vero detecta esset Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio, missus in Germaniam inter legatos ad gratulandum etiam vitae periculum adiit, indignante ac fremente Gaio patrum potissimum ad se missum quasi ad puerum regendum, adeo ut non defuerint, qui traderent praecipitatum quoque in flumen, sic ut vestitus advenerat. Atque ex eo numquam non in senatu novissimus consularium sententiam dixit, ignominiae causa post omnis interrogatus. Etiam cognitio falsi testamenti recepta est, in quo et ipse signaverat.

Postremo sestertium octogies pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere, ad eas rei familiaris angustias decedit, ut cum obligatam aerario fidem liberare non posset, in vacuum lege praedictoria venalis pependerit sub edicto praefectorum.

IX. He was not only exposed to contempt, but sometimes likewise to considerable danger: first, in his consulship; for, having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statues of Caius's brothers, Nero and Drusus, he was very near being deprived of his office; and afterwards he was continually harassed with informations against him by one or other, sometimes even by his own domestics. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gaetulicus was discovered, being sent with some other deputies into Germany, to congratulate the emperor upon the occasion, he was in danger of his life; Caius being greatly enraged, and loudly complaining, that his uncle was sent to him, as if he was a boy who wanted a governor. Some even say, that he was thrown into a river, in his travelling dress. From this period, he voted in the senate always the last of the members of consular rank; being called upon after the rest, on purpose to disgrace him. A charge for the forgery of a will was also allowed to be prosecuted, though he had only signed it as a witness. At last, being obliged to pay eight millions of sesterces on entering upon a new office of priesthood, he was reduced to such straits in his private affairs, that in order to discharge his bond to the treasury, he was under the necessity of exposing to sale his whole estate, by an order of the prefects.

¹⁰ Per haec ac talia maxima aetatis parte transacta quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. Exclusus inter ceteros ab insidiatoribus Gai, cum quasi secretum eo desiderante turbam submoverent, in diaetam, cui nomen est Hermaeum, recesserat; neque multo post rumore caedis exterritus prorepsit ad solarium proximum interque praetenta foribus uela se abdidit. Latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles, animadversis pedibus, studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, adgnovit extractumque et prae metu ad genua sibi accidit imperatorem salutavit. Hinc ad alios commilitones fluctuantis nec quicquam adhuc quam frementis perduxit. Ab his lecticae impositus et, quia sui diffugerant vicissim succollantibus in castra delatus est tristis ac trepidus, miserante obvia turba quasi ad poenam raperetur insons. Receptus intra uallum inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia. Nam consules cum senatu et cohortibus urbanis forum Capitoliumque occupaverant asserturi communem libertatem; accitusque et ipse per tr. pl. in curiam ad suadenda quae viderentur, vi se et necessitate teneri respondit. Verum postero die et senatu segniore in exequendis conatibus per taedium ac dissensionem diversa

censentium et multitudine, quae circumstabat, unum rectorem iam et nominatim exposcente, armatos pro contione iurare in nomen suum passus est promisitque singulis quina dena sestertia, primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus.

X. Having spent the greater part of his life under these and the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age, by a very surprising turn of fortune. Being, as well as the rest, prevented from approaching Caius by the conspirators, who dispersed the crowd, under the pretext of his desiring to be private, he retired into an apartment called the *Hermæum*; and soon afterwards, terrified by the report of Caius being slain, he crept into an adjoining balcony, where he hid himself behind the hangings of (302) the door. A common soldier, who happened to pass that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, pulled him out; when immediately recognizing him, he threw himself in a great fright at his feet, and saluted him by the title of emperor. He then conducted him to his fellow-soldiers, who were all in a great rage, and irresolute what they should do. They put him into a litter, and as the slaves of the palace had all fled, took their turns in carrying him on their shoulders, and brought him into the camp, sad and trembling; the people who met him lamenting his situation, as if the poor innocent was being carried to execution. Being received within the ramparts, he continued all night with the sentries on guard, recovered somewhat from his fright, but in no great hopes of the succession. For the consuls, with the senate and civic troops, had possessed themselves of the Forum and Capitol, with the determination to assert the public liberty; and he being sent for likewise, by a tribune of the people, to the senate-house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs, returned answer, "I am under constraint, and cannot possibly come." The day afterwards, the senate being dilatory in their proceedings, and worn out by divisions amongst themselves, while the people who surrounded the senate-house shouted that they would have one master, naming Claudius, he suffered the soldiers assembled under arms to swear allegiance to him, promising them fifteen thousand sesterces a man; he being the first of the Caesars who purchased the submission of the soldiers with money.

¹¹ Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando rei p. statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere. Omnium itaque factorum dictorumque in eo veniam et oblivionem in perpetuum sanxit ac praestitit, tribunis modo ac centurionibus paucis e coniuratorum in Gaium numero interemptis, exempli simul causa et quod suam quoque caedem depoposcisse

cognoverat. Conversus hinc ad officia pietatis ius iurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum. Aviae Liviae diuinos honores et circensi pompa currum elephantorum Augustino similem decernenda curavit; parentibus inferias publicas, et hoc amplius patri circenses annuos natali die, matri carpentum, quo per circum duceretur, et cognomen Augustae ab viva recusatum. At in fratris memoriam per omnem occasionem celebratam comoediam quoque Graecam Neapolitano certamine docuit ac de sententia iudicum coronavit. Ne Marcum quidem Antonium inhonoratum ac sine grata mentione transmisit, testatus quondam per edictum, tanto impensius petere se ut natalem patris Drusi celebrarent, quod idem esset et aui sui Antoni. Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum, peregit. Gai quoque etsi acta omnia rescidit, diem tamen necis, quamvis exordium principatus sui, vetuit inter festos referri.

XI. Having thus established himself in power, his first object was to abolish all remembrance of the two preceding days, in which a revolution in the state had been canvassed. Accordingly, he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time; and this he faithfully observed, with the exception only of putting to death a few tribunes and centurions concerned in the conspiracy against Caius, both as an example, and because he understood that they had also planned his own death. He now turned (303) his thoughts towards paying respect to the memory of his relations. His most solemn and usual oath was, "By Augustus." He prevailed upon the senate to decree divine honours to his grandmother Livia, with a chariot in the Circensian procession drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Augustus; and public offerings to the shades of his parents. Besides which, he instituted Circensian games for his father, to be celebrated every year, upon his birth-day, and, for his mother, a chariot to be drawn through the circus; with the title of Augusta, which had been refused by his grandmother. To the memory of his brother, to which, upon all occasions, he showed a great regard, he gave a Greek comedy, to be exhibited in the public diversions at Naples, and awarded the crown for it, according to the sentence of the judges in that solemnity. Nor did he omit to make honourable and grateful mention of Mark Antony; declaring by a proclamation, "That he the more earnestly insisted upon the observation of his father Drusus's birth-day, because it was likewise that of his grandfather Antony." He completed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre, which had formerly been decreed by the senate in honour of Tiberius, but which had been neglected. And though he cancelled all the acts of Caius, yet he forbade the day of his assassination, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the

empire, to be reckoned amongst the festivals.

¹² At in semet augendo parcus atque civilis praenomine Imperatoris abstinuit, nimios honores recusavit, sponsalia filiae natalemque geniti nepotis silentio ac tantum domestica religione transegit. Neminem exulum nisi ex senatus auctoritate restituit. ut sibi in curiam praefectum praetori tribunosque militum secum inducere liceret utque rata essent quae procuratores sui in iudicando statuerent, precario exegit. Ius nundinarum in privata praedia a consulibus petit. Cognitionibus magistratuum ut unus e consiliariis frequenter interfuit; eosdem spectacula edentis surgens et ipse cum cetera turba voce ac manu veneratus est. Tribunis plebis adeuntibus se pro tribunali excusavit, quod propter angustias non posset audire eos nisi stantes. Quare in brevi spatio tantum amoris fauorisque collegit, ut cum profectum eum Ostiam perisse ex insidiis nuntiatum esset, magna consternatione populus et militem quasi proditorem et senatum quasi parricidam diris execrationibus incessere non ante destiterit, quam unus atque alter et mox plures a magistratibus in rostra producti saluum et appropinquare confirmarent.

XII. But with regard to his own aggrandisement, he was sparing and modest, declining the title of emperor, and refusing all excessive honours. He celebrated the marriage of his daughter and the birth-day of a grandson with great privacy, at home. He recalled none of those who had been banished, without a decree of the senate: and requested of them permission for the prefect of the military tribunes and pretorian guards to attend him in the senate-house; and (304) also that they would be pleased to bestow upon his procurators judicial authority in the provinces . He asked of the consuls likewise the privilege of holding fairs upon his private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they gave public spectacles, he would rise up with the rest of the spectators, and salute them both by words and gestures. When the tribunes of the people came to him while he was on the tribunal, he excused himself, because, on account of the crowd, he could not hear them unless they stood. In a short time, by this conduct, he wrought himself so much into the favour and affection of the public, that when, upon his going to Ostia, a report was spread in the city that he had been way-laid and slain, the people never ceased cursing the soldiers for traitors, and the senate as parricides, until one or two persons, and presently after several others, were brought by the magistrates upon the rostra, who assured them that he was alive, and not far from the city, on his way home.

¹³ Nec tamen expers insidiarum usque quaque permansit, sed et a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello infestatus est. E plebe homo nocte media iuxta cubiculum eius cum pugione deprehensus est; reperti et equestris ordinis duo in publico cum dolone ac venatorio cultro praestolantes, alter ut egressum theatro, alter ut sacrificantem apud Martis aedem adoreretur. Conspirauerunt autem ad res novas Gallus Asinius et Statilius Corvinus, Pollionis ac Messalae oratorum nepotes, assumptis compluribus libertis ipsius atque seruis. Bellum civile movit Furius Camillus Scribonianus Delmatiae legatus; verum intra quintum diem oppressus est legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere casu quodam ac diuinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa conuelli moverique potuerunt.

XIII. Conspiracies, however, were formed against him, not only by individuals separately, but by a faction; and at last his government was disturbed with a civil war. A low fellow was found with a poniard about him, near his chamber, at midnight. Two men of the equestrian order were discovered waiting for him in the streets, armed with a tuck and a huntsman's dagger; one of them intending to attack him as he came out of the theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Gallus Asinius and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, formed a conspiracy against him, in which they engaged many of his freedmen and slaves. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, broke into rebellion, but was reduced in (305) the space of five days; the legions which he had seduced from their oath of fidelity relinquishing their purpose, upon an alarm occasioned by ill omens. For when orders were given them to march, to meet their new emperor, the eagles could not be decorated, nor the standards pulled out of the ground, whether it was by accident, or a divine interposition.

¹⁴ Consulatus super pristinum quattuor gessit; ex quibus duos primos iunctim, sequentis per interuallum quarto quemque anno, semenstrem novissimum, bimenstris ceteros, tertium autem novo circa principem exemplo in locum demortui suffectus. Ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus, nonnumquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis. Nec semper praescripta legum secutus duritiam lenitatemue multarum ex bono et aequo, perinde ut adficeretur, moderatus est; nam et iis, qui apud privatos iudices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones et in maiore fraude convictos legitimam poenam supergressus ad bestias condemnavit.

XIV. Besides his former consulship, he held the office afterwards four times; the first two successively, but the following, after an interval of four years each; the last for six months, the others for two; and the third, upon his being chosen in the room of a consul who died; which had never been done by any of the emperors before him. Whether he was consul or out of office, he constantly attended the courts for the administration of justice, even upon such days as were solemnly observed as days of rejoicing in his family, or by his friends; and sometimes upon the public festivals of ancient institution. Nor did he always adhere strictly to the letter of the laws, but overruled the rigour or lenity of many of their enactments, according to his sentiments of justice and equity. For where persons lost their suits by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due, before the judges of private causes, he granted them the indulgence of a second trial. And with regard to such as were convicted of any great delinquency, he even exceeded the punishment appointed by law, and condemned them to be exposed to wild beasts.

¹⁵ In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspectus et sagax, interdum inconsultus ac praeceps, nonnumquam friuolus amentique similis. Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret, eum, qui dissimulata vacatione quam beneficio liberorum habebat responderat, ut cupidum iudicandi dimisit; alium interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite negantemque cognitionis rem sed ordinari iuris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam aequus iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset. Feminam non agnoscentem filium suum dubia utrimque argumentorum fide ad confessionem compulit indicto matrimonio iuvenis. Absentibus secundum praesentes facillime dabat, nullo dilectu culpane quis an aliqua necessitate cessasset. Proclamante quodam praecidendas falsario manus, carnificem statim acciri cum machaera mensaque lanionia flagitavit. Peregrinitatis reum orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret, quasi aequitatem integram ostentans, mutare habitum saepius et prout accusaretur defendereturque, iussit. De quodam etiam negotio ita ex tabella pronuntiasse creditur, secundum eos se sentire, qui vera proposuissent. Propter quae usque eo eviluit, ut passim ac propalam contemptui esset. Excusans quidam testem e provincia ab eo vocatum negavit praesto esse posse dissimulata diu causa; ac post longas demum interrogationes: "Mortuus est," inquit, "puto, licuit." Alius gratias agens quod reum defendi pateretur, adiecit: "Et tamen fieri solet." Illud quoque a maioribus natu audiebam, adeo causidicos patientia eius solitos abuti, ut discedentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso detinerent. Ac ne cui haec mira sint,

litigatori Graeculo vox in altercatione excidit: *kai su geron ei kai moros*. Equitem quidem Romanum obscaenitatis in feminas reum, sed falso et ab impotentibus inimicis conficto crimine, satis constat, cum scorta meritoria citari adversus se et audiri pro testimonio videret, graphium et libellos, quos tenebat in manu, ita cum magna stultitiae et saevitiae exprobratione iecisse in faciem eius, ut genam non leviter perstrinxerit.

XV. But in hearing and determining causes, he exhibited a strange inconsistency of temper, being at one time circumspect and sagacious, at another inconsiderate and rash, and sometimes frivolous, and like one out of his mind. In correcting the roll of judges, he struck off the name of one who, concealing the privilege his children gave him to be excused from serving, had answered to his name, as too eager for the office. Another who was summoned before him in a cause of his own, but alleged that the affair did not properly come under the (306) emperor's cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he ordered to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and show in a case of his own, how equitable a judge he would prove in that of other persons. A woman refusing to acknowledge her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by ordering her to marry the young man. He was much inclined to determine causes in favour of the parties who appeared, against those who did not, without inquiring whether their absence was occasioned by their own fault, or by real necessity. On proclamation of a man's being convicted of forgery, and that he ought to have his hand cut off, he insisted that an executioner should be immediately sent for, with a Spanish sword and a block. A person being prosecuted for falsely assuming the freedom of Rome, and a frivolous dispute arising between the advocates in the cause, whether he ought to make his appearance in the Roman or Grecian dress, to show his impartiality, he commanded him to change his clothes several times according to the character he assumed in the accusation or defence. An anecdote is related of him, and believed to be true, that, in a particular cause, he delivered his sentence in writing thus: "I am in favour of those who have spoken the truth." By this he so much forfeited the good opinion of the world, that he was everywhere and openly despised. A person making an excuse for the non-appearance of a witness whom he had sent for from the provinces, declared it was impossible for him to appear, concealing the reason for some time: at last, after several interrogatories were put to him on the subject, he answered, "The man is dead;" to which Claudius replied, "I think that is a sufficient excuse." Another thanking him for suffering a person who was prosecuted to make his defence by counsel, added, "And yet it is no more than what is usual." I have likewise heard some old men

say, that the advocates used to abuse his patience so grossly, that they would not only (307) call him back, as he was quitting the tribunal, but would seize him by the lap of his coat, and sometimes catch him by the heels, to make him stay. That such behaviour, however strange, is not incredible, will appear from this anecdote. Some obscure Greek, who was a litigant, had an altercation with him, in which he called out, "You are an old fool." It is certain that a Roman knight, who was prosecuted by an impotent device of his enemies on a false charge of abominable obscenity with women, observing that common strumpets were summoned against him and allowed to give evidence, upbraided Claudius in very harsh and severe terms with his folly and cruelty, and threw his style, and some books which he had in his hands, in his face, with such violence as to wound him severely in the cheek.

¹⁶ Gessit et censuram intermissam diu post Plancum Paulumque censores, sed hanc quoque inaequabiliter varioque et animo et eventu. Recognitione equitum iuvenem probri plenum, sed quem pater probatissimum sibi affirmabat, sine ignominia dimisit, habere dicens censorem suum; alium corruptelis adulteriisque famosum nihil amplius quam monuit, ut aut parcius aetatulae indulgeret aut certe cautius; addiditque: "quare enim ego scio, quam amicam habeas?" Et cum orantibus familiaribus dempsisset cuidam appositam notam: "litura tamen," inquit, "extet." Splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo iudicum erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumque quis posset, ac sine patrono rationem vitae passus est reddere. Notavitque multos, et quosdam inopinantis et ex causa novi generis, quod se inscio ac sine commeatu Italia excessissent; quendam vero et quod comes regis in provincia fuisset, referens, maiorum temporibus Rabirio Postumo Ptolemaeum Alexandriam crediti servandi causa secuto crimen maiestatis apud iudices motum. Plures notare conatus, magna inquisitorum neglegentia sed suo maiore dedecore, innoxios fere repperit, quibuscumque caelibatum aut orbitatem aut egestatem obiceret, maritos, patres, opulentos se probantibus; eo quidem, qui sibimet vim ferro intulisse arguebatur, inlaesum corpus veste deposita ostentante. Fuerunt et illa in censura eius notabilia, quod essedum argenteum sumptuose fabricatum ac venale ad Sigillaria redimi concidique coram imperavit; quodque uno die XX edicta proposuit, inter quae duo, quorum altero admonebat, ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur; altero, nihil aequae facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum.

XVI. He likewise assumed the censorship, which had been discontinued since

the time that Paulus and Plancus had jointly held it. But this also he administered very unequally, and with a strange variety of humour and conduct. In his review of the knights, he passed over, without any mark of disgrace, a profligate young man, only because his father spoke of him in the highest terms; “for,” said he, “his father is his proper censor.” Another, who was infamous for debauching youths and for adultery, he only admonished “to indulge his youthful inclinations more sparingly, or at least more cautiously;” adding, “why must I know what mistress you keep?” When, at the request of his friends, he had taken off a mark of infamy which he had set upon one knight’s name, he said, “Let the blot, however, remain.” He not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of the freedom of Rome, an illustrious man of the highest provincial rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language. Nor in this review did he suffer any one to give an account of his conduct by an advocate, but obliged each man to speak for himself in the best way he could. He disgraced many, and some that little expected it, and for a reason entirely new, namely, for going out of Italy without his license; (308) and one likewise, for having in his province been the familiar companion of a king; observing, that, in former times, Rabirius Posthumus had been prosecuted for treason, although he only went after Ptolemy to Alexandria for the purpose of securing payment of a debt . Having tried to brand with disgrace several others, he, to his own greater shame, found them generally innocent, through the negligence of the persons employed to inquire into their characters; those whom he charged with living in celibacy, with want of children, or estate, proving themselves to be husbands, parents, and in affluent circumstances. One of the knights who was charged with stabbing himself, laid his bosom bare, to show that there was not the least mark of violence upon his body. The following incidents were remarkable in his censorship. He ordered a car, plated with silver, and of very sumptuous workmanship, which was exposed for sale in the Sigillaria, to be purchased, and broken in pieces before his eyes. He published twenty proclamations in one day, in one of which he advised the people, “Since the vintage was very plentiful, to have their casks well secured at the bung with pitch:” and in another, he told them, “that nothing would sooner cure the bite of a viper, than the sap of the yew-tree.”

¹⁷ Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit eamque modicam. Cum decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus leviolem maiestati principali titulum arbitrareretur velletque iusti triumpho decus, unde adquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque temptatam ulli post Diuum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas. Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret,

vehementi circio bis paene demersus est, prope Liguriam iuxtaque Stoechadas insulas. Quare a Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto inde transmisit ac sine ullo proelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit triumphavitque maximo apparatu. Ad cuius spectaculum commeare in urbem non solum praesidibus provinciarum permisit, verum etiam exulibus quibusdam; atque inter hostilia spolia naualem coronam fastigio Palatinae domus iuxta civicam fixit, traieci et quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Currum eius Messalina uxor carpento secuta est; secuti et triumphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed ceteri pedibus et in praetexta, M. Crassus Frugi equo phalerato et in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteraverat.

XVII. He undertook only one expedition, and that was of short duration. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, he considered as beneath the imperial dignity, and was therefore resolved to have the honour of a real triumph. For this purpose, he selected Britain, which had never been attempted by any one since Julius Caesar, and was then chafing (309) with rage, because the Romans would not give up some deserters. Accordingly, he set sail from Ostia, but was twice very near being wrecked by the boisterous wind called Circius, upon the coast of Liguria, and near the islands called Stoechades . Having marched by land from Marseilles to Gessoriacum, he thence passed over to Britain, and part of the island submitting to him, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed, he returned to Rome in less than six months from the time of his departure, and triumphed in the most solemn manner; to witness which, he not only (310) gave leave to governors of provinces to come to Rome, but even to some of the exiles. Among the spoils taken from the enemy, he fixed upon the pediment of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown, in token of his having passed, and, as it were, conquered the Ocean, and had it suspended near the civic crown which was there before. Messalina, his wife, followed his chariot in a covered litter . Those who had attained the honour of triumphal ornaments in the same war, rode behind; the rest followed on foot, wearing the robe with the broad stripes. Crassus Frugi was mounted upon a horse richly caparisoned, in a robe embroidered with palm leaves, because this was the second time of his obtaining that honour.

¹⁸ Urbis annonaeque curam sollicitissime semper egit. Cum Aemiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit ac positus ante se cum pecunia fiscis ad subveniendum hortatus est, repraesentans

pro opera dignam cuique mercedem.

XVIII. He paid particular attention to the care of the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire happening in the Aemiliana, which lasted some time, he passed two nights in the Diribitorium, and the soldiers and gladiators not being in sufficient numbers to extinguish it, he caused the magistrates to summon the people out of all the streets in the city, to their assistance. Placing bags of money before him, he encouraged them to do their utmost, declaring, that he would reward every one on the spot, according to their exertions.

¹⁹Artiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turba conviciisque et simul fragminibus panis ita infestatus, ut aegre nec nisi postico euadere in Palatium valuerit, nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam tempore hiberno commeatus. Nam et negotiatoribus certa lucra proposuit suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset, et naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro condicione cuiusque: civi vacationem legis Papiae Poppaeae, Latino ius Quiritium, feminis ius IIII liberorum; quae constituta hodieque servantur.

XIX. During a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by bad crops for several successive years, he was stopped in the middle of the Forum by the mob, who so abused him, at the same time pelting him with fragments of bread, that he had some (311) difficulty in escaping into the palace by a back door. He therefore used all possible means to bring provisions to the city, even in the winter. He proposed to the merchants a sure profit, by indemnifying them against any loss that might befall them by storms at sea; and granted great privileges to those who built ships for that traffic. To a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the Papia-Poppaeian law; to one who had only the privilege of Latium, the freedom of the city; and to women the rights which by law belonged to those who had four children: which enactments are in force to this day.

²⁰Opera magna potius necessaria quam multa perfecit, sed uel praecipua: ductum aquarum a Gaio incohatum, item emissarium Fucini lacus portumque Ostiensem, quanquam sciret ex iis alterum ab Augusto precantibus assidue Marsis negatum, alterum a Diuo Iulio saepius destinatum ac propter difficultatem omissum. Claudiae aquae gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caeruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudigno nomen est, simulque riuum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit diuisitque in plurimos et ornatissimos lacus.

Fucinum adgressus est non minus compendii spe quam gloriae, cum quidam privato sumptu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi siccati agri concederentur. Per tria autem passuum milia partim effosso monte partim exciso canalem absoluit aegre et post undecim annos, quamvis continuis XXX hominum milibus sine intermissione operantibus. Portum Ostiae extruxit circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio et ad introitum profundo iam solo mole obiecta; quam quo stabilius fundaret, navem ante demersit, qua magnus obeliscus ex Aegypto fverat aduectus, congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrem in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent.

XX. He completed some important public works, which, though not numerous, were very useful. The principal were an aqueduct, which had been begun by Caius; an emissary for the discharge of the waters of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia; although he knew that Augustus had refused to comply with the repeated application of the Marsians for one of these; and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Caesar, but as often abandoned on account of the difficulty of its execution. He brought to the city the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water, one of which is called Caeruleus, and the other Curtius and Albulinus, as likewise the river of the New Anio, in a stone canal; and distributed them into many magnificent reservoirs. The canal from the Fucine lake was undertaken as much for the sake of profit, as for the honour of the enterprise; for there were parties who offered to drain it at their own expense, on condition of their having a grant of the land laid dry. With great difficulty he completed a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by tunnelling, a mountain; thirty thousand men being constantly employed in the work for eleven years. He formed the harbour at Ostia, by carrying out circular piers on the right and on the left, with (312) a mole protecting, in deep water, the entrance of the port. To secure the foundation of this mole, he sunk the vessel in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt; and built upon piles a very lofty tower, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, on which lights were burnt to direct mariners in the night.

²¹ Congiaria populo saepius distribuit. Spectacula quoque complura et magnifica edidit, non usitata modo ac solitis locis, sed et commenticia et ex antiquitate repetita, et ubi praeterea nemo ante eum. Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restitverat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset perque mediam caueam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset. Fecit et saeculares, quasi anticipatos ab Augusto nec legitimo tempori reservatos, quamvis ipse in historiis

suis prodat, intermissos eos Augustum multo post diligentissime annorum ratione subducta in ordinem redegisse. Quare vox praeconis irrisa est inuitantis more sollemni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset, cum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur. Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit, nonnumquam interiecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero maximo marmoreis carceribus auratisque metis, quae utraque et tofina ac lignea antea fverant, exculpto propria senatoribus constituit loca promiscue spectare solitis; ac super quadrigarum certamina Troiae lusum exhibuit et Africanas, conficiente turma equitum praetorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsoque praefecto; praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Gladiatoria munera plurifariam ac multiplicia exhibuit: anniversarium in castris praetorianis sine venatione apparatuque, iustum atque legitimum in Saepthis; ibidem extraordinarium et breve dierumque paucorum, quodque appellare coepit “sportulam,” quia primum daturus edixerat, velut ad subitam condictamque cenulam inuitare se populum. Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret ac saepe hortando rogandoque ad hilaritatem homines provocaret, dominos identidem appellans, immixtis interdum frigidis et arcessitis iocis; qualis est ut cum Palumbum postulantibus daturum se promisit, si captus esset. Illud plane quantumvis salubriter et in tempore: cum essedario, pro quo quattuor filii deprecabantur, magno omnium fauore indulsisset rudem, tabulam ilico misit admonens populum, quanto opere liberos suscipere deberet, quos videret et gladiatori praesidio gratiaeque esse. Edidit et in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam et deditionem Britanniae regum praeseditque paludatus. Quin et emissurus Fucinum lacum naumachiam ante commisit. Sed cum proclamantibus naumachiariis: “Have imperator, morituri te salutant!” Respondisset: “Aut non,” neque post hanc vocem quasi venia data quisquam dimicare vellet, diu cunctatus an omnes igni ferroque absumeret, tandem e sede sua prosiluit ac per ambitum lacus non sine foeda vacillatione discurrens partim minando partim adhortando ad pugnam compulit. Hoc spectaculo classis Sicula et Rhodia concurrerunt, duodenarum triremium singulae, exciente bucina Tritone argenteo, qui e medio lacu per machinam emerserat.

XXI. He often distributed largesses of corn and money among the people, and entertained them with a great variety of public magnificent spectacles, not only such as were usual, and in the accustomed places, but some of new invention,

and others revived from ancient models, and exhibited in places where nothing of the kind had been ever before attempted. In the games which he presented at the dedication of Pompey's theatre, which had been burnt down, and was rebuilt by him, he presided upon a tribunal erected for him in the orchestra; having first paid his devotions, in the temple above, and then coming down through the centre of the circle, while all the people kept their seats in profound silence . He likewise (313) exhibited the secular games, giving out that Augustus had anticipated the regular period; though he himself says in his history, "That they had been omitted before the age of Augustus, who had calculated the years with great exactness, and again brought them to their regular period." The crier was therefore ridiculed, when he invited people in the usual form, "to games which no person had ever before seen, nor ever would again;" when many were still living who had already seen them; and some of the performers who had formerly acted in them, were now again brought upon the stage. He likewise frequently celebrated the Circensian games in the Vatican, sometimes exhibiting a hunt of wild beasts, after every five courses. He embellished the Circus Maximus with marble barriers, and gilded goals, which before were of common stone and wood, and assigned proper places for the senators, who were used to sit promiscuously with the other spectators. Besides the chariot-races, he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were encountered by a troop of pretorian knights, with their tribunes, and even the prefect at the head of them; besides Thessalian horse, who drive fierce bulls round the circus, leap upon their backs when they have exhausted their fury, and drag them by the horns to the ground. He gave exhibitions of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds; one yearly on the anniversary of his accession in the pretorian camp, but without any hunting, or the usual apparatus; another in the Septa as usual; and in the same place, another out of the common way, and of a few days' continuance only, which he called Sportula; because when he was going to present it, he informed the people by proclamation, "that he invited them to a late supper, got up in haste, and without ceremony." Nor did he lend himself to any kind of public diversion with more freedom and hilarity; insomuch that he would hold out his left hand, and (314) joined by the common people, count upon his fingers aloud the gold pieces presented to those who came off conquerors. He would earnestly invite the company to be merry; sometimes calling them his "masters," with a mixture of insipid, far-fetched jests. Thus, when the people called for Palumbus, he said, "He would give them one when he could catch it." The following was well-intended, and well-timed; having, amidst great applause, spared a gladiator, on the intercession of his four sons, he sent a billet immediately round the theatre, to remind the people, "how much it

behaved them to get children, since they had before them an example how useful they had been in procuring favour and security for a gladiator.” He likewise represented in the Campus Martius, the assault and sacking of a town, and the surrender of the British kings, presiding in his general’s cloak. Immediately before he drew off the waters from the Fucine lake, he exhibited upon it a naval fight. But the combatants on board the fleets crying out, “Health attend you, noble emperor! We, who are about to peril our lives, salute you;” and he replying, “Health attend you too,” they all refused to fight, as if by that response he had meant to excuse them. Upon this, he hesitated for a time, whether he should not destroy them all with fire and sword. At last, leaping from his seat, and running along the shore of the lake with tottering steps, the result of his foul excesses, he, partly by fair words, and partly by threats, persuaded them to engage. This spectacle represented an engagement between the fleets of Sicily and Rhodes; consisting each of twelve ships of war, of three banks of oars. The signal for the encounter was given by a silver Triton, raised by machinery from the middle of the lake.

²² Quaedam circa caerimonias civilemque et militarem morem, item circa omnium ordinum statum domi forisque aut correxit aut exoleta revocavit aut etiam noua instituit. In cooptandis per collegia sacerdotibus neminem nisi iuratus nominavit; observavitque sedulo, ut quotiens terra in urbe movisset, ferias advocata contione praetor indiceret, utque dira aue in Capitolio visa obsecratio haberetur, eamque ipse iure maximi pontificis pro rostris populo praeiret summotaque operariorum seruorumque turba.

XXII. With regard to religious ceremonies, the administration of affairs both civil and military, and the condition of all orders of the people at home and abroad, some practices he corrected, others which had been laid aside he revived; and some regulations he introduced which were entirely new. In appointing new priests for the several colleges, he made no appointments without being sworn. When an earthquake (315) happened in the city, he never failed to summon the people together by the praetor, and appoint holidays for sacred rites. And upon the sight of any ominous bird in the City or Capitol, he issued an order for a supplication, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high priest, after an exhortation from the rostra, he recited in the presence of the people, who repeated them after him; all workmen and slaves being first ordered to withdraw.

²³ Rerum actum diuisum antea in hibernos aestiuosque menses coniunxit. Iuris

dictionem de fidei commissis quotannis et tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam in perpetuum atque etiam per provincias potestatibus demandavit. Capiti Papiae Poppaeae legis a Tiberio Caesare, quasi sexagenarii generare non possent, addito obrogavit. Sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a consulibus darentur, utque ii, quibus a magistratibus provinciae interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia summoventur. Ipse quosdam novo exemplo relegavit, ut ultra lapidem tertium vetaret egredi ab urbe. De maiore negotio acturus in curia medius inter consulum sellas tribunicio subsellio sedebat. Commeatus a senatu peti solitos benefici sui fecit.

XXIII. The courts of judicature, whose sittings had been formerly divided between the summer and winter months, he ordered, for the dispatch of business, to sit the whole year round. The jurisdiction in matters of trust, which used to be granted annually by special commission to certain magistrates, and in the city only, he made permanent, and extended to the provincial judges likewise. He altered a clause added by Tiberius to the Papia-Poppaeian law, which inferred that men of sixty years of age were incapable of begetting children. He ordered that, out of the ordinary course of proceeding, orphans might have guardians appointed them by the consuls; and that those who were banished from any province by the chief magistrate, should be debarred from coming into the City, or any part of Italy. He inflicted on certain persons a new sort of banishment, by forbidding them to depart further than three miles from Rome. When any affair of importance came before the senate, he used to sit between the two consuls upon the seats of the tribunes. He reserved to himself the power of granting license to travel out of Italy, which before had belonged to the senate.

²⁴ Ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulisit. Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus equestrem quoque ademit. Latum clauum, quamvis initio affirmasset non lecturum se senatorem nisi civis R. abnepotem, etiam libertini filio tribuit, sed sub condicione si prius ab equite R. adoptatus esset; ac sic quoque reprehensionem uerens, et Appium Caecum censorem, generis sui proauctorem, libertinorum filios in senatum adlegisse docuit, ignarus temporibus Appi et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos, qui manu emitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos. Collegio quaestorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorium munus iniunxit detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia curam aerari Saturni reddidit, quam medio tempore praetores aut, uti nunc, praetura functi sustinverant. Triumphalia ornamenta Silano, filiae suae sponso, nondum puberi dedit, maioribus vero natu tam multis tamque facile, ut epistula communi legionum nomine extiterit petentium, ut legatis consularibus simul cum exercitu

et triumphalia darentur, ne causam belli quoquo modo quaerent. Aulo Plautio etiam ovationem decrevit ingressoque urbem obviam progressus et in Capitolium eunti et inde rursus revertenti latus texit. Gabinio Secundo Cauchis gente Germanica superatis cognomen Cauchius usurpare concessit.

XXIV. He likewise granted the consular ornaments to his Ducenarian procurators. From those who declined the senatorian dignity, he took away the equestrian. Although he had in the beginning of his reign declared, that he would admit no man into the senate who was not the great-grandson of a Roman citizen, yet he gave the “broad hem” to the son of a freedman, on condition that he should be adopted by a Roman knight. Being afraid, however, of incurring censure by such an act, he informed the public, that his ancestor Appius Caecus, the censor, had elected the sons of freedmen into (316) the senate; for he was ignorant, it seems, that in the times of Appius, and a long while afterwards, persons manumitted were not called freedmen, but only their sons who were free-born. Instead of the expense which the college of quaestors was obliged to incur in paving the high-ways, he ordered them to give the people an exhibition of gladiators; and relieving them of the provinces of Ostia and [Cisalpine] Gaul, he reinstated them in the charge of the treasury, which, since it was taken from them, had been managed by the praetors, or those who had formerly filled that office. He gave the triumphal ornaments to Silanus, who was betrothed to his daughter, though he was under age; and in other cases, he bestowed them on so many, and with so little reserve, that there is extant a letter unanimously addressed to him by all the legions, begging him “to grant his consular lieutenants the triumphal ornaments at the time of their appointment to commands, in order to prevent their seeking occasion to engage in unnecessary wars.” He decreed to Aulus Plautius the honour of an ovation, going to meet him at his entering the city, and walking with him in the procession to the Capitol, and back, in which he took the left side, giving him the post of honour. He allowed Gabinius Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chauci, a German tribe, to assume the cognomen of Chaucius.

²⁵ Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret; stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod vocatur “supra numerum,” quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur. Milites domus senatorias salutandi causa ingredi etiam patrum decreto prohibuit. Libertinos, qui se pro equitibus R. agerent, publicavit, ingratos et de quibus patroni quererentur revocavit in servitutem advocatisque eorum negavit se adversus libertos ipsorum ius dicturum. Cum quidam aegra et adfecta mancipia in insulam Aesculapi

taedio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in dicionem domini, si conualuissent; quod si quis necare quem mallet quam exponere, caedis crimine teneri. Viatores ne per Italiae oppida nisi aut pedibus aut sella aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto. Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit. Peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina dum taxat gentilicia. Civitatem R. usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit. provincias Achaiam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit, Rhodiis ob paenitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Iliensibus quasi Romanae gentis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit recitata vetere epistula Graeca senatus populique R. Seleuco regi amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes praestitisset. Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit. Germanorum legatis in orchestra sedere permisit, simplicitate eorum et fiducia commotus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animaduertissent Parthos et Armenios sedentis in senatu, ad eadem loca sponte transierant, nihilo deteriore virtutem aut condicionem suam praedicantes. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam penitus abolevit; contra sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est, templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum ut ex aerario pop. R. reficeretur, auctor fuit. Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere fetialium praefatione adhibita. Sed et haec et cetera totumque adeo ex parte magna principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administravit, talis ubique plerumque, qualem esse eum aut expediret illis aut liberet.

XXV. His military organization of the equestrian order was this. After having the command of a cohort, they were promoted to a wing of auxiliary horse, and subsequently received the commission of tribune of a legion. He raised a body of militia, who were called Supernumeraries, who, though they were a sort of soldiers, and kept in reserve, yet received pay. He procured an act of the senate to prohibit all soldiers from attending senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freedmen who presumed to take upon themselves the equestrian rank. Such of them as were ungrateful to their patrons, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their former condition of (317) slavery; and declared to their advocates, that he would always give judgment against the freedmen, in any suit at law which the masters might happen to have with them. Some persons having exposed their sick slaves, in a languishing condition, on the island of Aesculapius, because of the

tediousness of their cure; he declared all who were so exposed perfectly free, never more to return, if they should recover, to their former servitude; and that if any one chose to kill at once, rather than expose, a slave, he should be liable for murder. He published a proclamation, forbidding all travellers to pass through the towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot, or in a litter or chair . He quartered a cohort of soldiers at Puteoli, and another at Ostia, to be in readiness against any accidents from fire. He prohibited foreigners from adopting Roman names, especially those which belonged to families . Those who falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome, he beheaded on the Esquiline. He gave up to the senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had transferred to his own administration. He deprived the Lycians of their liberties, as a punishment for their fatal dissensions; but restored to the Rhodians their freedom, upon their repenting of their former misdemeanors. He exonerated for ever the people of Ilium from the payment of taxes, as being the founders of the Roman race; reciting upon the occasion a letter in Greek, (318) from the senate and people of Rome to king Seleucus, on which they promised him their friendship and alliance, provided that he would grant their kinsmen the Iliensians immunity from all burdens. He banished from Rome all the Jews, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus . He allowed the ambassadors of the Germans to sit at the public spectacles in the seats assigned to the senators, being induced to grant them favours by their frank and honourable conduct. For, having been seated in the rows of benches which were common to the people, on observing the Parthian and Armenian ambassadors sitting among the senators, they took upon themselves to cross over into the same seats, as being, they said, no way inferior to the others, in point either, of merit or rank. The religious rites of the Druids, solemnized with such horrid cruelties, which had only been forbidden the citizens of Rome during the reign of Augustus, he utterly abolished among the Gauls . On the other hand, he attempted (319) to transfer the Eleusinian mysteries from Attica to Rome . He likewise ordered the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which was old and in a ruinous condition, to be repaired at the expense of the Roman people. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the forum, with the sacrifice of a sow, and the form of words used by the heralds in former times. But in these and other things, and indeed the greater part of his administration, he was directed not so much by his own judgment, as by the influence of his wives and freedmen; for the most part acting in conformity to what their interests or fancies dictated.

²⁶ Sponsas admodum adulescens duas habuit: Aemiliam Lepidam Augusti proneptem, item Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes eius Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit, posteriorem ipso die, qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valitudine amisit. Uxores deinde duxit Plautiam Vrgulanillam triumphali et mox Aeliam Paetina consulari patre. Cum utraque diuortium fecit, sed cum Paetina ex levibus offensis, cum Vrgulanilla ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem. Post has Valeriam Messalinam, Barbati Messalae consobrini sui filiam, in matrimonium accepit. Quam cum comperisset super cetera flagitia atque dedecora C. Silio etiam nupsisse dote inter auspices consignata, supplicio adfecit confirmavitque pro contione apud praetorianos, quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent, permansurum se in caelibatu, ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum confodi manibus ipsorum. Nec durare valuit quin de condicionibus continuo tractaret, etiam de Paetinae, quam olim exegerat, deque Lolliae Paulinae, quae C. Caesari nupta fuerat. Verum inlecebris Agrippinae, Germanici fratris sui filiae, per ius osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu qui censerent, cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi rei p. maxime interesset, dandamque ceteris veniam talium coniugiorum, quae ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die confecit nuptias, non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam et altero primipilari, cuius nuptiarum officium et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.

XXVI. He was twice married at a very early age, first to Aemilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Augustus, and afterwards to Livia Medullina, who had the cognomen of Camilla, and was descended from the old dictator Camillus. The former he divorced while still a virgin, because her parents had incurred the displeasure of Augustus; and he lost the latter by sickness on the day fixed for their nuptials. He next married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had enjoyed the honour of a triumph; and soon afterwards, Aelia Paetina, the daughter of a man of consular rank. But he divorced them both; Paetina, upon some trifling causes of disgust; and Urgulanilla, for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murder. After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Barbatus Messala, his cousin. But finding that, besides her other shameful debaucheries, she had even gone so far as to marry in his own absence Caius Silius, the settlement of her dower being formally signed, in the presence of the augurs, he put her to death. When summoning his pretorians to his presence, he made to them this declaration: "As I have been so unhappy in my unions, I am resolved to continue in future unmarried; and if I should not, I give you leave to

stab me.” He was, however, unable to persist in this resolution; for he began immediately to think of another wife; and even of taking back Paetina, whom he had formerly divorced: he thought also of Lolliia Paulina, who had been married to Caius Caesar. But being ensnared by the arts of Agrippina, (320) the daughter of his brother Germanicus, who took advantage of the kisses and endearments which their near relationship admitted, to inflame his desires, he got some one to propose at the next meeting of the senate, that they should oblige the emperor to marry Agrippina, as a measure highly conducive to the public interest; and that in future liberty should be given for such marriages, which until that time had been considered incestuous. In less than twenty-four hours after this, he married her . No person was found, however, to follow the example, excepting one freedman, and a centurion of the first rank, at the solemnization of whose nuptials both he and Agrippina attended.

²⁷ Liberos ex tribus uxoribus tulit: ex Vrgulanilla Drusum et Claudiam, ex Paetina Antoniam, ex Messalina Octaviam et quem primo Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit. Drusum prope iam puberem amisit piro per lusum in sublime iactato et hiatu oris excepto strangulatum, cum ei ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset. Quo magis miror fuisse qui traderent fraude a Seiano necatum. Claudiam ex liberto suo Botere conceptam, quamvis ante quintum mensem diuortii natam aliquae coeptam, exponi tamen ad matris ianuam et nudam iussit abici. Antoniam Cn. Pompeio Magno, deinde Fausto Sullae, nobilissimis iuvenibus, Octaviam Neroni priuigno suo collocavit, Silano ante desponsam. Britannicum vicesimo imperii die inque secundo consulatu, natum sibi paruulum etiam tum, et militi pro contione manibus suis gestans et plebi per spectacula gremio aut ante se retinens assidue commendabat faustisque ominibus cum adclamantium turba prosequabatur. E generis Neronem adoptavit, Pompeium atque Silanum non recusavit modo, sed et interemit.

XXVII. He had children by three of his wives: by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia; by Paetina, Antonia; and by Messalina, Octavia, and also a son, whom at first he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannicus. He lost Drusus at Pompeii, when he was very young; he being choked with a pear, which in his play he tossed into the air, and caught in his mouth. Only a few days before, he had betrothed him to one of Sejanus’s daughters; and I am therefore surprised that some authors should say he lost his life by the treachery of Sejanus. Claudia, who was, in truth, the daughter of Boter his freedman, though she was born five months before his divorce, he ordered to be thrown naked at her mother’s door. He married Antonia to Cneius Pompey the Great, and afterwards to Faustus

Sylla, both youths of very noble parentage; Octavia to his step-son Nero, after she had been contracted to Silanus. Britannicus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his second consulship. He often earnestly commended him to the soldiers, holding him in his arms before their ranks; and would likewise show him to the people in the theatre, setting him upon his lap, or holding him out whilst he was still very young; and was sure to receive their acclamations, and good wishes on his behalf. Of his (321) sons-in-law, he adopted Nero. He not only dismissed from his favour both Pompey and Silanus, but put them to death.

²⁸ Libertorum praecipue suspexit Posiden spadonem, quem etiam Britannico triumpho inter militares viros hasta pura donavit; nec minus Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit, trium reginarum maritum; et Harpocran, cui lectica per urbem vehendi spectaculaque publice edendi ius tribuit; ac super hos Polybium ab studiis, qui saepe inter duos consules ambulabat; sed ante omnis Narcissum ab epistulis et Pallantem a rationibus, quos decreto quoque senatus non praemiis modo ingentibus, sed et quaestoriis praetoriisque ornamentis honorari libens passus est; tantum praeterea acquirere et rapere, ut querente eo quondam de fisci exiguitate non absurde dictum sit, abundaturum, si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.

XXVIII. Amongst his freedmen, the greatest favourite was the eunuch Posides, whom, in his British triumph, he presented with the pointless spear, classing him among the military men. Next to him, if not equal, in favour was Felix, whom he not only preferred to commands both of cohorts and troops, but to the government of the province of Judaea; and he became, in consequence of his elevation, the husband of three queens. Another favourite was Harpocras, to whom he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter within the city, and of holding public spectacles for the entertainment of the people. In this class was likewise Polybius, who assisted him in his studies, and had often the honour of walking between the two consuls. But above all others, Narcissus, his secretary, and Pallas, the comptroller of his accounts, were in high favour with him. He not only allowed them to receive, by decree of the senate, immense presents, but also to be decorated with the quaestorian and praetorian ensigns of honour. So much did he indulge them in amassing wealth, and plundering the public, that, upon his complaining, once, of the lowness of his exchequer, some one said, with great reason, that "It would be full enough, if those two freedmen of his would but take him into partnership with them."

²⁹ His, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non principem, sed ministrum egit, compendio cuiusque horum vel etiam studio aut libidine honores exercitus impunitates supplicia largitus est, et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus. Ac ne singillatim minora quoque enumerem, revocatas liberalitates eius, iudicia rescissa, suppositos aut etiam palam immutatos datorum officiorum codicillos: Appium Silanum consocerum suum Iuliasque, alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici filiam, crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data occidit, item Cn. Pompeium maioris filiae virum et L. Silanum minoris sponsum. Ex quibus Pompeius in concubitu dilecti adolescentuli confossus est, Silanus abdicare se praetura ante IIII. Kal. Ian. Morique initio anni coactus die ipso Claudii et Agrippinae nuptiarum. In quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites R. tanta facilitate animaduertit, ut, cum de nece consularis viri renuntiante centurione factum esse quod imperasset, negaret quicquam se imperasse, nihilo minus rem comprobaret, affirmantibus libertis officio milites functos, quod ad ultionem imperatoris ultro procucurrissent. Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus, quasi de industria simularentur ad auertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur.

XXIX. Being entirely governed by these freedmen, and, as I have already said, by his wives, he was a tool to others, rather than a prince. He distributed offices, or the command of armies, pardoned or punished, according as it suited their interests, (322) their passions, or their caprice; and for the most part, without knowing, or being sensible of what he did. Not to enter into minute details relative to the revocation of grants, the reversal of judicial decisions, obtaining his signature to fictitious appointments, or the bare-faced alteration of them after signing; he put to death Appius Silanus, the father of his son-in-law, and the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any positive proof of the crimes with which they were charged, or so much as permitting them to make any defence. He also cut off Cneius Pompey, the husband of his eldest daughter; and Lucius Silanus, who was betrothed to the younger Pompey, was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a favourite paramour. Silanus was obliged to quit the office of praetor upon the fourth of the calends of January [29th Dec.], and to kill himself on new year's day following, the very same on which Claudius and Agrippina were married. He condemned to death five and thirty senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, with so little attention to what he did, that when a centurion brought him word of the execution of a man of consular rank, who was one of the number, and told him

that he had executed his order, he declared, “he had ordered no such thing, but that he approved of it;” because his freedmen, it seems, had said, that the soldiers did nothing more than their duty, in dispatching the emperor’s enemies without waiting for a warrant. But it is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the marriage of Messalina with the adulterous Silius, should actually sign the writings relative to her dowry; induced, as it is pretended, by the design of diverting from himself and transferring upon another the danger which some omens seemed to threaten him.

³⁰ Auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei, verum stanti uel sedenti ac praecipue quiescenti, nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat et specie canitueque pulchra, opimis ceruicibus; ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant: risus indecens, ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus, praeterea linguae titubantia caputque cum semper tum in quantulocumque actu vel maxime tremulum.

XXX. Either standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, he had a majestic and graceful appearance; for he was tall, but not slender. His grey looks became him well, and he had a full neck. But his knees were feeble, and failed him in walking, so that his gait was ungainly, both when he assumed state, and when he was taking diversion. He was outrageous in his laughter, and still more so in his wrath, for then he foamed at the mouth, and discharged from his nostrils. He also stammered in his speech, and had a tremulous motion (323) of the head at all times, but particularly when he was engaged in any business, however trifling.

³¹ Valitudine sicut olim graui, ita princeps prospera usus est excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.

XXXI. Though his health was very infirm during the former part of his life, yet, after he became emperor, he enjoyed a good state of health, except only that he was subject to a pain of the stomach. In a fit of this complaint, he said he had thoughts of killing himself.

³² Convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua ac fere patentissimis locis, ut plerumque sesceni simul discumberent. Convivatus est et super emissarium Fucini lacus ac paene summersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset. Adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes uescerentur. Convivae, qui pridie scyphum

aureum subripuisse existimabatur, revocato in diem posterum calicem fictilem apposuit. Dicitur etiam meditatus edictum, quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi, cum periclitatum quendam prae pudore ex continentia repperisset.

XXXII. He gave entertainments as frequent as they were splendid, and generally when there was such ample room, that very often six hundred guests sat down together. At a feast he gave on the banks of the canal for draining the Fucine Lake, he narrowly escaped being drowned, the water at its discharge rushing out with such violence, that it overflowed the conduit. At supper he had always his own children, with those of several of the nobility, who, according to an ancient custom, sat at the feet of the couches. One of his guests having been suspected of purloining a golden cup, he invited him again the next day, but served him with a porcelain jug. It is said, too, that he intended to publish an edict, "allowing to all people the liberty of giving vent at table to any distension occasioned by flatulence," upon hearing of a person whose modesty, when under restraint, had nearly cost him his life.

³³ Cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus, cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro ictusque nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis aede Saliis apparabatur, deserto tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes unaque decubuit. Nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens, et ut statim supino ac per somnum hianti pinna in os inderetur ad exonerandum stomachum. Somni brevissimi erat. Nam ante mediam noctem plerumque vigilabat, ut tamen interdum nonnumquam in iure dicendo obdormisceret vixque ab advocatis de industria vocem augentibus excitaretur. Libidinis in feminas profusissimae, marum omnino experts. Aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit, solitus etiam in gestatione ludere, ita essedo alueoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur.

XXXIII. He was always ready to eat and drink at any time or in any place. One day, as he was hearing causes in the Forum of Augustus, he smelt the dinner which was preparing for the Salii, in the temple of Mars adjoining, whereupon he quitted (324) the tribunal, and went to partake of the feast with the priests. He scarcely ever left the table until he had thoroughly crammed himself and drank to intoxication; and then he would immediately fall asleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open. While in this condition, a feather was put down his throat, to make him throw up the contents of his stomach. Upon composing himself to rest, his sleep was short, and he usually awoke before midnight; but he would

sometimes sleep in the daytime, and that, even, when he was upon the tribunal; so that the advocates often found it difficult to wake him, though they raised their voices for that purpose. He set no bounds to his libidinous intercourse with women, but never betrayed any unnatural desires for the other sex. He was fond of gaming, and published a book upon the subject. He even used to play as he rode in his chariot, having the tables so fitted, that the game was not disturbed by the motion of the carriage.

³⁴ saevum et sanguinarium natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. Tormenta quaestionum poenasque parricidarum repraesentabat exigebatque coram. Cum spectare antiqui moris supplicium Tiburi concupisset et deligatis ad palum noxiis carnifex deesset, accitum ab urbe vesperam usque opperiri perseveravit. Quocumque gladiatorio munere, vel suo vel alieno, etiam forte prolapsos iugulari iubebat, maxime retiarios, ut expirantium facies videret. Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidisset, cultellos sibi paruulos ex utroque ferro in usum fieri sine mora iussit. Bestiaris meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet et meridie dimisso ad prandium populo persederet praeterque destinatos etiam levi subitaque de causa quosdam committeret, de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero, si automatum vel pegma vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset. Induxit et unum ex nomenculatoribus suis, sic ut erat togatus.

XXXIV. His cruel and sanguinary disposition was exhibited upon great as well as trifling occasions. When any person was to be put to the torture, or criminal punished for parricide, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed in his own presence. When he was at Tibur, being desirous of seeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, some were immediately bound to a stake for the purpose; but there being no executioner to be had at the place, he sent for one from Rome, and waited for his coming until night. In any exhibition of gladiators, presented either by himself or others, if any of the combatants chanced to fall, he ordered them to be butchered, especially the Retiarii, that he might see their faces in the agonies of death. Two gladiators happening to kill each other, he immediately ordered some little knives to be made of their swords for his own use. He took great pleasure in seeing men engage with wild beasts, and the combatants who appeared on the stage at noon. He would therefore come to the theatre by break of day, and at noon, dismissing the people to dinner, continued sitting himself; and besides those who were devoted to that sanguinary fate, he would match others with the beasts, upon slight or sudden occasions; as, for instance, the carpenters and their

(326) assistants, and people of that sort, if a machine, or any piece of work in which they had been employed about the theatre did not answer the purpose for which it had been intended. To this desperate kind of encounter he forced one of his nomenclators, even encumbered as he was by wearing the toga.

³⁵ Sed nihil aequè quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. Primis imperii diebus quanquam, ut diximus, iactator civilitatis, neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent militesque vice ministrorum fungerentur, neque aegrum quemquam visitavit nisi explorato prius cubiculo culcitisque et stragulis praetemptatis et excussis. Reliquo autem tempore salutatoribus scrutatores semper apposuit, et quidem omnibus et acerbissimos. Sero enim ac vix remisit, ne feminae praetextatique pueri et puellae contrectarentur et ne cuius comiti aut librario calamariae et graphiariae thecae adimerentur. Motu civili cum eum Camillus, non dubitans etiam citra bellum posse terreri, contumeliosa et minaci et contumaci epistula cedere imperio iuberet vitamque otiosam in privata re agere, dubitavit adhibitis principibus viris an optemperaret.

XXXV. But the characteristics most predominant in him were fear and distrust. In the beginning of his reign, though he much affected a modest and humble appearance, as has been already observed, yet he durst not venture himself at an entertainment without being attended by a guard of spearmen, and made soldiers wait upon him at table instead of servants. He never visited a sick person, until the chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined. At other times, all persons who came to pay their court to him were strictly searched by officers appointed for that purpose; nor was it until after a long time, and with much difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to excuse women, boys, and girls from such rude handling, or suffer their attendants or writing-masters to retain their cases for pens and styles. When Camillus formed his plot against him, not doubting but his timidity might be worked upon without a war, he wrote to him a scurrilous, petulant, and threatening letter, desiring him to resign the government, and betake himself to a life of privacy. Upon receiving this requisition, he had some thoughts of complying with it, and summoned together the principal men of the city, to consult with them on the subject.

³⁶ Quasdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium temptaverit. Quodam, ut supra rettuli, cum ferro circa sacrificantem se deprehenso, senatum per praecones propere convocavit lacrimisque et vociferatione miseratus est condicionem suam, cui nihil tuti usquam esset, ac diu publico abstinuit. Messalinae quoque amorem flagrantissimum non tam

indignitate contumeliarum quam periculi metu abiecit, cum adultero Silio adquiri imperium credidisset; quo tempore foedum in modum trepidus ad castra confugit, nihil tota via quam essetne sibi saluum imperium requirens.

XXXVI. Having heard some loose reports of conspiracies formed against him, he was so much alarmed, that he thought of immediately abdicating the government. And when, as I have before related, a man armed with a dagger was discovered near him while he was sacrificing, he instantly ordered the heralds to convoke the senate, and with tears and dismal exclamations, lamented that such was his condition, that he was safe no where; and for a long time afterwards he abstained from appearing in public. He smothered his ardent love for Messalina, not so much on account of her infamous conduct, as from apprehension of danger; believing that she aspired to share with Silius, her partner in adultery, the imperial dignity. (326) Upon this occasion he ran in a great fright, and a very shameful manner, to the camp, asking all the way he went, “if the empire were indeed safely his?”

³⁷ Nulla adeo suspicio, nullus auctor tam levis exitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo iniecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur. Vnus ex litigatoribus seducto in salutatione affirmavit, vidisse se per quietem occidi eum a quodam; dein paulo post, quasi percussorem agnosceret, libellum tradentem adversarium suum demonstravit: confestimque is pro deprenso ad poenam raptus est. Pari modo oppressum ferunt Appium Silanum: quem cum Messalina et Narcissus conspirassent perdere, diuisis partibus alter ante lucem similis attonito patroni cubiculum inrupit, affirmans somniasse se uim ei ab Appio inlatam; altera in admirationem formata sibi quoque eandem speciem aliquot iam noctibus obversari rettulit; nec multo post ex composito inrumpere Appius nuntiat, cui pridie ad id temporis ut adesset praeceptum erat, quasi plane repraesentaretur somnii fides, arcessi statim ac mori iussus est. Nec dubitavit postero die Claudius ordinem rei gestae perferre ad senatum ac liberto gratias agere, quod pro salute sua etiam dormiens excubaret

XXXVII. No suspicion was too trifling, no person on whom it rested too contemptible, to throw him into a panic, and induce him to take precautions for his safety, and meditate revenge. A man engaged in a litigation before his tribunal, having saluted him, drew him aside, and told him he had dreamt that he saw him murdered; and shortly afterwards, when his adversary came to deliver his plea to the emperor, the plaintiff, pretending to have discovered the murderer, pointed to him as the man he had seen in his dream; whereupon, as if he had

been taken in the act, he was hurried away to execution. We are informed, that Appius Silanus was got rid of in the same manner, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus, in which they had their several parts assigned them. Narcissus therefore burst into his lord's chamber before daylight, apparently in great fright, and told him that he had dreamt that Appius Silanus had murdered him. The empress, upon this, affecting great surprise, declared she had the like dream for several nights successively. Presently afterwards, word was brought, as it had been agreed on, that Appius was come, he having, indeed, received orders the preceding day to be there at that time; and, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture, he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death. The day following, Claudius related the whole affair to the senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freedmen for watching over him even in his sleep

³⁸ Irae atque iracundiae conscius sibi, utramque excusavit edicto distinxitque, pollicitus alteram quidem brevem et innoxiam, alteram non iniustam fore. Ostiensibus, quia sibi subeunti Tiberim scaphas obviam non miserint, graviter correptis eaque cum invidia, ut in ordinem se coactum conscriberet, repente tantum non satis facientis modo veniam dedit. Quosdam in publico parum tempestive adeuntis manu sua reppulit. Item scribam quaestorium itemque praetura functum senatorem inauditos et innoxios relegavit, quod ille adversus privatum se intemperantius affuisset, hic in aedilitate inquilinos praediorum suorum contra vetitum cocta vendentes multasset vilicumque intervenientem flagellasset. Qua de causa etiam coercionem popinarum aedilibus ademit. Ac ne stultitiam quidem suam reticuit simulatamque a se ex industria sub Gaio, quod aliter euasurus perventurusque ad susceptam stationem non fuerit, quibusdam oratiunculis testatus est; nec tamen persuasit, cum intra breve tempus liber editus sit, cui index erat *moron epanastasis*, argumentum autem stultitiam neminem fingere.

XXXVIII. Sensible of his being subject to passion and resentment, he excused himself in both instances by a proclamation, assuring the public that "the former should be short and harmless, and the latter never without good cause." After severely reprimanding the people of Ostia for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, in terms which might expose them to the public resentment, he wrote to Rome that he had been treated as a private person; yet immediately afterwards he pardoned them, and that in a way which had the appearance of making them (327) satisfaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people who addressed him unseasonably in

public, he pushed away with his own hand. He likewise banished a person who had been secretary to a quaestor, and even a senator who had filled the office of praetor, without a hearing, and although they were innocent; the former only because he had treated him with rudeness while he was in a private station, and the other, because in his aedileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling cooked victuals contrary to law, and ordered his steward, who interfered, to be whipped. On this account, likewise, he took from the aediles the jurisdiction they had over cooks'-shops. He did not scruple to speak of his own absurdities, and declared in some short speeches which he published, that he had only feigned imbecility in the reign of Caius, because otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have escaped and arrived at the station he had then attained. He could not, however, gain credit for this assertion; for a short time afterwards, a book was published under the title of *Moron anastasis*, "The Resurrection of Fools," the design of which was to show "that nobody ever counterfeited folly."

³⁹ Inter cetera in eo mirati sunt homines et oblivionem et inconsiderantiam, vel ut Graece dicam, *meteorian* et *ablepsian*. Occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, cur domina non veniret requisivit. Multos ex iis, quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die et in consilium et ad aleae lusum admoneri iussit et, quasi morarentur, ut somniculosos per nuntium increpuit. Ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem, non cessavit omni oratione filiam et alumnam et in gremio suo natam atque educatam praedicare. Adsciturus in nomen Neronem, quasi parum reprehenderetur, quod adulto iam filio priuignum adoptaret, identidem divulgavit neminem umquam per adoptionem familiae Claudiae insertum.

XXXIX. Amongst other things, people admired in him his indifference and unconcern; or, to express it in Greek, his *meteorion* and *ablepsia*. Placing himself at table a little after Messalina's death, he enquired, "Why the empress did not come?" Many of those whom he had condemned to death, he ordered the day after to be invited to his table, and to game with him, and sent to reprimand them as sluggish fellows for not making greater haste. When he was meditating his incestuous marriage with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her, "My daughter, my nursling, born and brought up upon my lap." And when he was going to adopt Nero, as if there was little cause for censure in his adopting a son-in-law, when he had a son of his own arrived at years of maturity; he continually gave out in public, "that no one had ever been admitted by adoption into the Claudian family."

⁴⁰ Sermonis vero rerumque tantam saepe negligentiam ostendit, ut nec quis nec inter quos, quoque tempore ac loco uerba faceret, scire aut cogitare existimaretur. Cum de laniis ac vinariis ageretur, exclamavit in curia: “rogo vos, quis potest sine offula vivere?” Descripsitque abundantiam veterum tabernarum, unde solitus esset uinum olim et ipse petere. De quaesturae quodam candidato inter causas suffragationis suae posuit, quod pater eius frigidam aegro sibi tempestive dedisset. Inducta teste in senatu: “haec,” inquit, “matris meae liberta et ornatrix fuit, sed me patronum semper existimavit; hoc ideo dixi, quod quidam sunt adhuc in domo mea, qui me patronum non putant.” Sed et pro tribunali Ostiensibus quiddam publice orantibus cum excanduisset, nihil habere se vociferatus est, quare eos demereatur; si quem alium, et se liberum esse. Nam illa eius cotidiana et plane omnium horarum et momentorum erant: “quid, ego tibi Telegenius videor?” et: *lalei kai me thiggane*, multaque talia etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

XL. He frequently appeared so careless in what he said, and so inattentive to circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected who he himself was, or amongst whom, or at (328) what time, or in what place, he spoke. In a debate in the senate relative to the butchers and vintners, he cried out, “I ask you, who can live without a bit of meat?” And mentioned the great plenty of old taverns, from which he himself used formerly to have his wine. Among other reasons for his supporting a certain person who was candidate for the quaestorship, he gave this: “His father,” said he, “once gave me, very seasonably, a draught of cold water when I was sick.” Upon his bringing a woman as a witness in some cause before the senate, he said, “This woman was my mother’s freedwoman and dresser, but she always considered me as her master; and this I say, because there are some still in my family that do not look upon me as such.” The people of Ostia addressing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and said, “There is no reason why I should oblige you: if any one else is free to act as he pleases, surely I am.” The following expressions he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and seasons: “What! do you take me for a Theogonius?” And in Greek *lalei kai mae thingane*, “Speak, but do not touch me;” besides many other familiar sentences, below the dignity of a private person, much more of an emperor, who was not deficient either in eloquence or learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences.

⁴¹ Historiam in adulescentia hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio vero Flauo etiam adiuuante, scribere adgressus est. Et cum primum frequenti auditorio

commisisset, aegre perlegit refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. Nam cum initio recitationis defractis compluribus subsellis obesitate cuiusdam risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex interuallo subinde facti reminisceretur cachinnosque revocaret. In principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. Initium autem sumpsit historiae post caedem Caesaris dictatoris, sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora coepitque a pace civili, cum sentiret neque libere neque uere sibi de superioribus tradendi potestatem relictam, correptus saepe et a matre et ab avia. Prioris materiae duo volumina, posterioris unum et quadraginta reliquit. Composuit et “de vita sua” octo volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter; item “Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asini Galli libros” satis eruditam. novas etiam commentus est litteras tres ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum.

XLI. By the encouragement of Titus Livius, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavius, he attempted at an early age the composition of a history; and having called together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment upon it, he read it over with much difficulty, and frequently interrupting himself. For after he had begun, a great laugh was raised amongst the company, by the breaking of several benches from the weight of a very fat man; and even when order was restored, he could not forbear bursting out into violent fits of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident. After he became emperor, likewise, he wrote several things (329) which he was careful to have recited to his friends by a reader. He commenced his history from the death of the dictator Caesar; but afterwards he took a later period, and began at the conclusion of the civil wars; because he found he could not speak with freedom, and a due regard to truth, concerning the former period, having been often taken to task both by his mother and grandmother. Of the earlier history he left only two books, but of the latter, one and forty. He compiled likewise the “History of his Own Life,” in eight books, full of absurdities, but in no bad style; also, “A Defence of Cicero against the Books of Asinius Gallus,” which exhibited a considerable degree of learning. He besides invented three new letters, and added them to the former alphabet, as highly necessary. He published a book to recommend them while he was yet only a private person; but on his elevation to imperial power he had little difficulty in introducing them into common use; and these letters are still extant in a variety of books, registers, and inscriptions upon buildings.

⁴² Nec minore cura Graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus. Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti: “cum utroque,” inquit, “sermone nostro sis paratus”; et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, gratam sibi provinciam ait communium studiorum commercio; ac saepe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit. Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus. Quotiens quidem hostem vel insidiatorem ultus esset, excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti non temere aliud dedit quam: —

Andr’ epamynasthai, ote tis proteros chalepaine.

Denique et Graecas scripsit historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniacon octo. Quarum causa veteri Alexandriae Musio additum ex ipsius nomine novum; institutumque ut quotannis in altero Tyrrhenicon libri, in altero Carchedoniacon diebus statutis velut in auditorio recitarentur toti a singulis per vices.

XLII. He applied himself with no less attention to the study of Grecian literature, asserting upon all occasions his love of that language, and its surpassing excellency. A stranger once holding a discourse both in Greek and Latin, he addressed him thus; “Since you are skilled in both our tongues.” And recommending Achaia to the favour of the senate, he said, “I have a particular attachment to that province, on account of our common studies.” In the senate he often made long replies to ambassadors in that language. On the tribunal he frequently quoted the verses of Homer. When at any time he had taken vengeance on an enemy or a conspirator, he scarcely ever gave to the tribune on guard, who, (330) according to custom, came for the word, any other than this.

Andr’ epamynasthai, ote tis proteros chalepaine.

’Tis time to strike when wrong demands the blow.

To conclude, he wrote some histories likewise in Greek, namely, twenty books on Tuscan affairs, and eight on the Carthaginian; in consequence of which, another museum was founded at Alexandria, in addition to the old one, and called after his name; and it was ordered, that, upon certain days in every year, his Tuscan history should be read over in one of these, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in a school; each history being read through by persons who took it in turn.

⁴³ Sub exitu vitae signa quaedam nec obscura paenitentis de matrimonio

Agrippinae deque Neronis adoptione dederat, siquidem commemorantibus libertis ac laudantibus cognitionem, qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnarat, sibi quoque in fatis esse iactavit omnia impudica, sed non impunita matrimonia; et subinde obvium sibi Britannicum artius complexus hortatus est, ut cresceret rationemque a se omnium factorum acciperet; Graeca insuper voce prosecutus: *ho trosas iasetai*. Cumque impubi teneroque adhuc, quando statura permetteret, togam dare destinasset, adiecit: “Ut tandem populus R. verum Caesarem habeat.”

XLIII. Towards the close of his life, he gave some manifest indications that he repented of his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freedmen noticing with approbation his having condemned, the day before, a woman accused of adultery, he remarked, “It has been my misfortune to have wives who have been unfaithful to my bed; but they did not escape punishment.” Often, when he happened to meet Britannicus, he would embrace him tenderly, and express a desire “that he might grow apace,” and receive from him an account of all his actions: using the Greek phrase, “o trosas kai iasetai, — He who has wounded will also heal.” And intending to give him the manly habit, while he was yet under age and a tender youth, because his stature would allow of it, he added, “I do so, that the Roman people may at last have a real Caesar.”

⁴⁴ Non multoque post testamentum etiam conscripsit ac signis omnium magistratuum obsignavit. Prius igitur quam ultra progrederetur, praeventus est ab Agrippina, quam praeter haec conscientia quoque nec minus delatores multorum criminum arguebant. Et veneno quidem occisum convenit; ubi autem et per quem dato, discrepat. Quidam tradunt epulanti in arce cum sacerdotibus per Halotum spadonem praegustatorem; alii domestico convivio per ipsam Agrippinam, quae boletum medicatum auidissimo ciborum talium optulerat. Etiam de subsequenteribus diversa fama est. Multi statim hausto veneno obmutuisse aiunt excruciatumque doloribus nocte tota defecisse prope lucem. Nonnulli inter initia consopitum, deinde cibo afflvente euomuisse omnia, repetitumque toxico, incertum pultine addito, cum velut exhaustum refici cibo oporteret, an immisso per clystera[m], ut quasi abundantia laboranti etiam hoc genere egestionis subveniretur.

XLIV. Soon afterwards he made his will, and had it signed by all the magistrates as witnesses. But he was prevented from proceeding further by Agrippina, accused by her own guilty conscience, as well as by informers, of a variety of crimes. It is agreed that he was taken off by poison; but where, and by

whom administered, remains in uncertainty. Some authors say that it was given him as he was feasting with the priests in the Capitol, by the eunuch Halotus, his taster. Others say (331) by Agrippina, at his own table, in mushrooms, a dish of which he was very fond . The accounts of what followed likewise differ. Some relate that he instantly became speechless, was racked with pain through the night, and died about day-break; others, that at first he fell into a sound sleep, and afterwards, his food rising, he threw up the whole; but had another dose given him; whether in water-gruel, under pretence of refreshment after his exhaustion, or in a clyster, as if designed to relieve his bowels, is likewise uncertain.

⁴⁵ Mors eius celata est, donec circa successorem omnia ordinarentur. Itaque et quasi pro aegro adhuc vota suscepta sunt et inducti per simulationem comoedi, qui velut desiderantem oblectarent. Excessit III. Id. Octob. Asinio Marcello Acilio Auiola coss. sexagesimo quarto aetatis, imperii quarto decimo anno, funeratusque est sollemni principum pompa et in numerum deorum relatus; quem honorem a Nerone destitutum abolitumque recepit mox per Vespasianum.

XLV. His death was kept secret until everything was settled relative to his successor. Accordingly, vows were made for his recovery, and comedians were called to amuse him, as it was pretended, by his own desire. He died upon the third of the ides of October [13th October], in the consulship of Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Auiola, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign . His funeral was celebrated with the customary imperial pomp, and he was ranked amongst the gods. This honour was taken from him by Nero, but restored by Vespasian.

⁴⁶ Praesagia mortis eius praecipua fuerunt: exortus crinitae stellae, quam cometen vocant, tactumque de caelo monumentum Drusi patris, et quod eodem anno ex omnium magistratuum genere plerique mortem obierant. Sed nec ipse ignorasse aut dissimulasse ultima vitae suae tempora videtur, aliquot quidem argumentis. Nam et cum consules designaret, neminem ultra mensem quo obiit designavit, et in senatu, cui novissime interfuit, multum ad concordiam liberos suos cohortatus, utriusque aetatem suppliciter patribus commendavit, et in ultima cognitione pro tribunali accessisse ad finem mortalitatis, quanquam abominantibus qui audiebant, semel atque iterum pronuntiavit.

XLVI. The chief presages of his death were, the appearance of a comet, his father Drusus's monument being struck by lightning, and the death of most of

the magistrates of all ranks that year. It appears from several circumstances, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it. For when he nominated the consuls, he appointed no one to fill the office beyond the month in which he died. At the last assembly of the senate in which he made his appearance, he earnestly exhorted his two sons to unity with each other, and with earnest entreaties commended to the fathers the care of their tender years. And in the last cause he heard from the tribunal, he repeatedly declared in open court, "That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortal existence;" whilst all who heard it shrunk at hearing these ominous words.

THE LIFE OF NERO

1 Ex gente Domitia duae familiae claruerunt, Calvinorum et Aenobarborum. Aenobarbi auctorem originis itemque cognominis habent L. Domitium, cui rure quondam revertenti iuvenes gemini augustiore forma ex occurso imperasse traduntur, nuntiaret senatui ac populo victoriam, de qua incertum adhuc erat; atque in fidem maiestatis adeo permulsisse malas, ut e nigro rutilum aerique similem capillum redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris eius, ac magna pars rutila barba fuerunt. Functi autem consulatibus septem, triumpho censuraque duplici et inter patricios adlecti perseveraverunt omnes in eodem cognomine. Ac ne praenomina quidem ulla praeterquam Gnaei et Luci usurparunt, eaque ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes per singulas. Nam primum secundumque ac tertium Ahenobarborum Lucios, sequentis rursus tres ex ordine Gnaeos accepimus, reliquos non nisi vicissim tum Lucos tum Gnaeos. Pluris e familia cognosci referre arbitror, quo facilius appareat ita degenerasse a suorum virtutibus Nero, ut tamen vitia cuiusque quasi tradita et ingentia rettulerit.

(337) I. Two celebrated families, the Calvini and Aenobarbi, sprung from the race of the Domitii. The Aenobarbi derive both their extraction and their cognomen from one Lucius Domitius, of whom we have this tradition: — As he was returning out of the country to Rome, he was met by two young men of a most august appearance, who desired him to announce to the senate and people a victory, of which no certain intelligence had yet reached the city. To prove that they were more than mortals, they stroked his cheeks, and thus changed his hair, which was black, to a bright colour, resembling that of brass; which mark of distinction descended to his posterity, for they had generally red beards. This family had the honour of seven consulships, one triumph, and two censorships; and being admitted into the patrician order, they continued the use of the same cognomen, with no other praenomina than those of Cneius and Lucius. These, however, they assumed with singular irregularity; three persons in succession sometimes adhering to one of them, and then they were changed alternately. For the first, second, and third of the Aenobarbi had the praenomen of Lucius, and again the three following, successively, that of Cneius, while those who came after were called, by turns, one, Lucius, and the other, Cneius. It appears to me proper to give a short account of several of the family, to show that Nero so far degenerated from the noble qualities of his ancestors, that he retained only their vices; as if those alone had been transmitted to him by his descent.

² Ut igitur paulo altius repetam, atavus eius Cn. Domitius in tribunatu pontificibus offensior, quod alium quam se in patris sui locum cooptassent, ius sacerdotum subrogandorum a collegiis ad populum transtulit, at in consulatu Allobrogibus Arvernisque superatis elephanto per provinciam vectus est turba militum quasi inter sollemnia triumphi prosequente. In hunc dixit Licinius Crassus orator non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam habret, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset. Huius filius praetor C. Caesarem abeuntem consulatu, quem adversus auspicia legesque gessisse existimabatur, ad disquisitionem senatus vocavit; mox consul imperatorem ab exercitibus Gallicis retrahere temptavit successorque ei per factionem nominatus principio civilis belli ad Corfinium captus est. Unde dimissus Massiliensis obsidione laborantis cum adventu suo confirmasset, repente destituit acieque demum Pharsalica occubuit; vir neque satis constans et ingenio truci in desperatione rerum mortem timore appetitam ita expavit, ut haustum venenum paenitentia evomuerit medicumque manumiserit, quod sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperassent. Consultante autem Cn. Pompeio de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus solus censuit hostium numero habendos.

II. To begin, therefore, at a remote period, his great-grandfather's grandfather, Cneius Domitius, when he was tribune of the people, being offended with the high priests for electing another than himself in the room of his father, obtained the (338) transfer of the right of election from the colleges of the priests to the people. In his consulship, having conquered the Allobroges and the Arverni, he made a progress through the province, mounted upon an elephant, with a body of soldiers attending him, in a sort of triumphal pomp. Of this person the orator Licinius Crassus said, "It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of iron, and a heart of lead." His son, during his praetorship, proposed that Cneius Caesar, upon the expiration of his consulship, should be called to account before the senate for his administration of that office, which was supposed to be contrary both to the omens and the laws. Afterwards, when he was consul himself, he tried to deprive Cneius of the command of the army, and having been, by intrigue and cabal, appointed his successor, he was made prisoner at Corsinium, in the beginning of the civil war. Being set at liberty, he went to Marseilles, which was then besieged; where having, by his presence, animated the people to hold out, he suddenly deserted them, and at last was slain in the battle of Pharsalia. He was a man of little constancy, and of a sullen temper. In despair of his fortunes, he had recourse to poison, but was so terrified at the thoughts of death, that, immediately repenting, he took a vomit to throw it up again, and gave freedom to his physician for having, with great prudence and

wisdom, given him only a gentle dose of the poison. When Cneius Pompey was consulting with his friends in what manner he should conduct himself towards those who were neuter and took no part in the contest, he was the only one who proposed that they should be treated as enemies.

³ Reliquit filium omnibus gentis soae procul dubio praeferendum. Is inter conscios Caesarianae necis quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia, cum ad Cassium Brutumque se propinqua sibi cognatione iunctos contulisset, post utriusque interitum classem olim commissam retinuit, auxit etiam, nec nisi partibus ubique profligatis M. Antonio sponte et ingentis meriti loco tradidit. Solusque omnium ex iis, qui pari lege damnati erant, restitutus in patriam amplissimos honores percucurrit, ac subinde redintegrata dissensione civili, eidem Antonio legatus, delatam sibi summam imperii ab iis, quos Cleopatrae pudebat, neque suscipere neque recusare fidenter propter subitam valitudinem ausus, transiit ad Augustum et in diebus paucis obiit, nonnulla et ipse infamia aspersus. Nam Antonius eum desiderio amicae Serviliae Naidis transfugisse iactavit.

III. He left a son, who was, without doubt, the best of the family. By the Pedian law, he was condemned, although innocent, amongst others who were concerned in the death of Caesar . Upon this, he went over to Brutus and Cassius, his near relations; and, after their death, not only kept together the fleet, the command of which had been given him some time before, but even increased it. At last, when the party had everywhere been defeated, he voluntarily surrendered it to (339) Mark Antony; considering it as a piece of service for which the latter owed him no small obligations. Of all those who were condemned by the law above-mentioned, he was the only man who was restored to his country, and filled the highest offices. When the civil war again broke out, he was appointed lieutenant under the same Antony, and offered the chief command by those who were ashamed of Cleopatra; but not daring, on account of a sudden indisposition with which he was seized, either to accept or refuse it, he went over to Augustus, and died a few days after, not without an aspersion cast upon his memory. For Antony gave out, that he was induced to change sides by his impatience to be with his mistress, Servilia Nais.

⁴ Ex hoc Domitius nascitur, quem emptorem familiae pecuniaeque in testamento Augusti fuisse mox vulgo notatum est, non minus aurigandi arte in adulescentia clarus quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello. Verum arrogans, profusus, immitis censorem L. Plancum via sibi decedere

aedilis coegit; praeturae consulatusque honore equites R. matronasque ad agendum mimum produxit in scaenam. Venationes et in Circo et in omnibus urbis regionibus dedit munus etiam gladiatorium, sed tanta saevitia, ut necesse fuerit Augusto quam frustra monitum edicto coercere.

IV. This Cneius had a son, named Domitius, who was afterwards well known as the nominal purchaser of the family property left by Augustus's will; and no less famous in his youth for his dexterity in chariot-driving, than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great arrogance, prodigality, and cruelty. When he was aedile, he obliged Lucius Plancus, the censor, to give him the way; and in his praetorship, and consulship, he made Roman knights and married women act on the stage. He gave hunts of wild beasts, both in the Circus and in all the wards of the city; as also a show of gladiators; but with such barbarity, that Augustus, after privately reprimanding him, to no purpose, was obliged to restrain him by a public edict.

⁵ Ex Antonia maiore patrem Neronis procreavit omni parte vitae detestabilem, siquidem comes ad Orientem C. Caesaris iuvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potare quantum iubebatur recusaret, dimissus e cohorte amicorum nihilo modetius vixit; sed et in viae Appiae vico repente puerum citatis iumentis haud ignarus obtrivit et Romae medio Foro cuidam equiti Romano liberius iurganti oculum eruit; perfidiae vero tantae, ut non modo argentarios pretiis rerum coemptarum, sed et in praetura mercede palmarum aurigarios fraudaverit, notatus ob haec et sororis ioco, querentibus dominis factionum repraesentanda praemia in posterum sanxit. Maiestatis quoque et adulteriorum incestique cum sorore Lepida sub excessu Tiberi reus, mutatione temporum evasit decessitque Pyrgis morbo aquae intercutis, sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina Germanico genita.

V. By the elder Antonia he had Nero's father, a man of execrable character in every part of his life. During his attendance upon Caius Caesar in the East, he killed a freedman of his own, for refusing to drink as much as he ordered him. Being dismissed for this from Caesar's society, he did not mend his habits; for, in a village upon the Appian road, he suddenly whipped his horses, and drove his chariot, on purpose, (340) over a poor boy, crushing him to pieces. At Rome, he struck out the eye of a Roman knight in the Forum, only for some free language in a dispute between them. He was likewise so fraudulent, that he not only cheated some silversmiths of the price of goods he had bought of them, but, during his praetorship, defrauded the owners of chariots in the Circensian games

of the prizes due to them for their victory. His sister, jeering him for the complaints made by the leaders of the several parties, he agreed to sanction a law, "That, for the future, the prizes should be immediately paid." A little before the death of Tiberius, he was prosecuted for treason, adulteries, and incest with his sister Lepida, but escaped in the timely change of affairs, and died of a dropsy, at Pyrgi; leaving behind him his son, Nero, whom he had by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus

⁶ Nero natus est Anti post VIII. mensem quam Tiberius excessit, XVIII. Kal. Ian. tantum quod exoriente sole, paene ut radiis prius quam terra contingeretur. De genitura eius statim multa et formidulosa multis coniectantibus praesagio fuit etiam Domiti patris vox, inter gratulationes amicorum negantis quicquam ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse. Eiusdem futurae infelicitates signum evidens die lustrico exstitit; nam C. Caesar, rogante sorore ut infanti quod vellet nomen daret, intuens Claudium paruum suum, a quo mox principe Nero adoptatus est, eius se dixit dare, neque ipse serio sed per iocum et aspernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulae erat. Trimulus patrem amisit; cuius ex parte tertia heres, ne hanc quidem integram cepit correptis per coheredem gaium universis bonis. Et subinde matre etiam relegata paene inops atque egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus est sub duobus paedagogis saltatore atque tonsore. Verum Claudio imperium adepto non solum paternas opes recipiavit, sed et Crispi Passini vitrici sui hereditate ditatus est. Gratia quidem et potentia revocatae restituaeque matris usque eo floruit, ut emanaret in vulgus missos a Messalina uxore Claudii, Qui eum meridianem, quasi Britannici aemulum, strangularent. Additum fabulae eosdem dracone e pulvino se proferente conterritos refugisse. Quae fabula exorta est deprensus in lecto eius circum cervicalia serpentis exuviis; quas tamen aureae armillae ex voluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gestavit aliquamdiu ac taedio tandem maternaeque memoriae abiecit rursusque extremis suis rebus frusra requisivit.

VI. Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, upon the eighteenth of the calends of January [15th December], just as the sun rose, so that its beams touched him before they could well reach the earth. While many fearful conjectures, in respect to his future fortune, were formed by different persons, from the circumstances of his nativity, a saying of his father, Domitius, was regarded as an ill presage, who told his friends who were congratulating him upon the occasion, "That nothing but what was detestable, and pernicious to the public, could ever be produced of him and Agrippina." Another manifest prognostic of his future infelicity occurred upon his lustration day . For Caius

Caesar being requested by his sister to give the child what name he thought proper — looking at his uncle, Claudius, who (341) afterwards, when emperor, adopted Nero, he gave his: and this not seriously, but only in jest; Agrippina treating it with contempt, because Claudius at that time was a mere laughing-stock at the palace. He lost his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his estate; of which he never got possession, the whole being seized by his co-heir, Caius. His mother being soon after banished, he lived with his aunt Lepida, in a very necessitous condition, under the care of two tutors, a dancing-master and a barber. After Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father's estate, but was enriched with the additional inheritance of that of his step-father, Crispus Passienus. Upon his mother's recall from banishment, he was advanced to such favour, through Nero's powerful interest with the emperor, that it was reported, assassins were employed by Messalina, Claudius's wife, to strangle him, as Britannicus's rival, whilst he was taking his noon-day repose. In addition to the story, it was said that they were frightened by a serpent, which crept from under his cushion, and ran away. The tale was occasioned by finding on his couch, near the pillow, the skin of a snake, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a bracelet of gold. This amulet, at last, he laid aside, from aversion to her memory; but he sought for it again, in vain, in the time of his extremity.

7 Tener adhuc necdum matura pueritia circensibus ludis Troiam constantissime favorabiliterque lusit. Undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus. Ferunt Senecam proxima nocte visum sibi per quietem C. Caesari praecipere, et fidem somnio Nero brevi fecit prodita immanitate naturae quibus primum potuit experimentis. Namque Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem Ahenobarbum ex consuetudine salutasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est. Amitam autem Lepidam ream testimoni coram afflixit gratificans matri, a qua rea premebatur. Deductus in Forum tiro populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit indictaque decursione praetorianis scutum sua manu praetulit; exin patri gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Graece verba fecit. Auspicatus est et iuris dictionem praefectus urbi sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis non tralaticias, ut assolet, et brevis, sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus, quamvis interdictum a Claudio esset. Nec multo post duxit uxorem Octaviam ediditque pro Claudi salute circenses et venationem.

VII. When he was yet a mere boy, before he arrived at the age of puberty,

during the celebration of the Circensian games, he performed his part in the Trojan play with a degree of firmness which gained him great applause. In the eleventh year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and placed under the tuition of Annaeus Seneca, who had been made a senator. It is said, that Seneca dreamt the night after, that he was giving a lesson to Caius Caesar . Nero soon verified his dream, betraying the cruelty of his disposition in every way he could. For he attempted to persuade his father that his brother, Britannicus, was nothing but a changeling, because the latter had (342) saluted him, notwithstanding his adoption, by the name of Aenobarbus, as usual. When his aunt, Lepida, was brought to trial, he appeared in court as a witness against her, to gratify his mother, who persecuted the accused. On his introduction into the Forum, at the age of manhood, he gave a largess to the people and a donative to the soldiers: for the pretorian cohorts, he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and marched at the head of them with a shield in his hand; after which he went to return thanks to his father in the senate. Before Claudius, likewise, at the time he was consul, he made a speech for the Bolognese, in Latin, and for the Rhodians and people of Ilium, in Greek. He had the jurisdiction of praefect of the city, for the first time, during the Latin festival; during which the most celebrated advocates brought before him, not short and trifling causes, as is usual in that case, but trials of importance, notwithstanding they had instructions from Claudius himself to the contrary. Soon afterwards, he married Octavia, and exhibited the Circensian games, and hunting of wild beasts, in honour of Claudius.

⁸ Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad excubitores, cum ob totius diei diritatem non aliud auspicandi tempus accommodatius videretur; proque Palati gradibus imperator consalutatus lectica in castra et inde raptim appellatis militibus in curiam delatus est discessitque iam vesperi, ex immensis, quibus cumulabatur, honoribus tantum patris patriae nomine recusato propter aetatem.

VIII. He was seventeen years of age at the death of that prince, and as soon as that event was made public, he went out to the cohort on guard between the hours of six and seven; for the omens were so disastrous, that no earlier time of the day was judged proper. On the steps before the palace gate, he was unanimously saluted by the soldiers as their emperor, and then carried in a litter to the camp; thence, after making a short speech to the troops, into the senate-house, where he continued until the evening; of all the immense honours which were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of FATHER OF HIS

COUNTRY, on account of his youth.

⁹ Orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit et consecravit. Memoriae Domiti patris honores maximos habuit. Matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit. Primo etiam imperii die signum excubanti tribuno dedit “optimam matrem” ac deinceps eiusdem saepe lectica per publicum simul vectus est. Antium coloniam deduxit ascriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilariis; ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.

IX. He began his reign with an ostentation of dutiful regard to the memory of Claudius, whom he buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, pronouncing the funeral oration himself, and then had him enrolled amongst the gods. He paid likewise the highest honours to the memory of his father Domitius. He left the management of affairs, both public and private, to his mother. The word which he gave the first day of his reign to the tribune on guard, was, “The (343) Best of Mothers,” and afterwards he frequently appeared with her in the streets of Rome in her litter. He settled a colony at Antium, in which he placed the veteran soldiers belonging to the guards; and obliged several of the richest centurions of the first rank to transfer their residence to that place; where he likewise made a noble harbour at a prodigious expense.

¹⁰ Atque ut certiore adhuc indolem ostenderet, ex Augusti praescripto imperatorum se professus, neque liberalitatis neque clementiae, ne comitatus quidem ex hibendae ullam occasionem omisit. Graviores vectigalia aut abolevit aut minuit. Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit. Divisis populo viritim quadringenis nummis senatorum nobilissimo cuique, sed a re familiari destituto annua salaria et quibusdam quingena constituit item praetorianis cohortibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum. Et cum de supplicio cuiusdam capite damnati ut ex more subscriberet admoneretur: “quam vellem,” inquit, “nescire litteras”. Omnes ordines subinde ac memoriter salutavit. Agenti senatui gratias respondit: “Cum meruero”. Ad campestres exercitationes suas admisit et plebem declamavitque saepius publicae; recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatrum, tanta universorum laetitia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.

X. To establish still further his character, he declared, “that he designed to govern according to the model of Augustus;” and omitted no opportunity of showing his generosity, clemency, and complaisance. The more burthensome

taxes he either entirely took off, or diminished. The rewards appointed for informers by the Papian law, he reduced to a fourth part, and distributed to the people four hundred sesterces a man. To the noblest of the senators who were much reduced in their circumstances, he granted annual allowances, in some cases as much as five hundred thousand sesterces; and to the pretorian cohorts a monthly allowance of corn gratis. When called upon to subscribe the sentence, according to custom, of a criminal condemned to die, "I wish," said he, "I had never learnt to read and write." He continually saluted people of the several orders by name, without a prompter. When the senate returned him their thanks for his good government, he replied to them, "It will be time enough to do so when I shall have deserved it." He admitted the common people to see him perform his exercises in the Campus Martius. He frequently declaimed in public, and recited verses of his own composing, not only at home, but in the theatre; so much to the joy of all the people, that public prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account; and the verses which had been publicly read, were, after being written in gold letters, consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

¹¹ Spectaculorum plurima et varia genera edidit: iuvenales, circenses, scaenicos ludos, gladiatorium munus. Iuvenalibus senes quoque consulares anusque matronas recepit ad lusum. Circensibus loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit commisitque etiam camelorum quadrigas. Ludis, quos pro aeternitate imperii susceptos appellari "maximos" voluit, ex utroque ordine et sexu plerique ludicras partes sustinuerunt; notissimus eques R. elephanto supersidens per catadromum decucurrit; inducta Afrani togata, quae Incendium inscribitur, concessumque ut scaenici ardentis domus supellectilem diriperent ac sibi haberent; sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies: singula cotidie milia avium cuiusque generis, multiplex penus, tesserae frumentariae, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmae, margaritae, tabulae pictae, mancipia, iumenta atque etiam mansuetae ferae, novissimae naves, insulae, agri.

(344) XI. He presented the people with a great number and variety of spectacles, as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage-plays, and an exhibition of gladiators. In the Juvenal, he even admitted senators and aged matrons to perform parts. In the Circensian games, he assigned the equestrian order seats apart from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn each by four camels. In the games which he instituted for the eternal duration of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called Maximi, many of the senatorian and equestrian order, of both sexes, performed. A distinguished Roman knight descended on the stage by a rope, mounted on an elephant. A Roman play,

likewise, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage. It was entitled, "The Fire;" and in it the performers were allowed to carry off, and to keep to themselves, the furniture of the house, which, as the plot of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre. Every day during the solemnity, many thousand articles of all descriptions were thrown amongst the people to scramble for; such as fowls of different kinds, tickets for corn, clothes, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, wild beasts that had been tamed; at last, ships, lots of houses, and lands, were offered as prizes in a lottery.

¹² Hos ludos spectavit e proscaeni fastigio. Munere, quod in amphitheatro ligneo regione Martii campi intra anni spatium fabricato dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem. Exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores sescentosque equites Romanos et quosdam fortunae atque existimationis integrae, ex isdem ordinibus confectores quoque ferarum et varia harenae ministeria. Exhibuit et naumachiam marina aqua innantibus beluis; item pyrrichas quasdam e numero epheborum, quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanae singulis optulit. Inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt; Icarus primo statim conatu iuxta cubiculum eius decidit ipsumque cruore respersit. Nam perraro praesidere, ceterum accubans, parvis primum foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaptato spectare consueverat.

3. Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, musicum gymnicum equestre, quod appellavit Neronia; dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui quoque et equiti oleum praebuit. Magistros toto certamini praeposuit consulares sorte, sede praetorum. Deinde in orchestram senatumque descendit et orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit, citharae autem a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit ferrique ad Augusti statuum iussit. Gymnico, quod in Saepis edebat, inter buthysiae apparatus barbam primam posuit conditamque in auream pyxidem et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam Capitolio consecravit. Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines Vestales, quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

XII. These games he beheld from the front of the proscenium. In the show of gladiators, which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, built within a year in the district of the Campus Martius, he ordered that none should be slain, not even the condemned criminals employed in the combats. He secured four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, amongst whom were some of unbroken fortunes and unblemished reputation, to act as gladiators. From the

same orders, he engaged persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services in the theatre. He presented the public with the representation of a naval fight, upon sea-water, with huge fishes swimming in it; as also with the Pyrrhic dance, performed by certain youths, to each of whom, after the performance was over, he granted the freedom of Rome. During this diversion, a bull covered Pasiphae, concealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed. Icarus, upon his first attempt to fly, fell on the stage close to (345) the emperor's pavilion, and bespattered him with blood. For he very seldom presided in the games, but used to view them reclining on a couch, at first through some narrow apertures, but afterwards with the Podium quite open. He was the first who instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several exercises of music, wrestling, and horse- racing, to be performed at Rome every five years, and which he called Neronia. Upon the dedication of his bath and gymnasium, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oil. He appointed as judges of the trial men of consular rank, chosen by lot, who sat with the praetors. At this time he went down into the orchestra amongst the senators, and received the crown for the best performance in Latin prose and verse, for which several persons of the greatest merit contended, but they unanimously yielded to him. The crown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise awarded to him by the judges, he devoutly saluted it, and ordered it to be carried to the statue of Augustus. In the gymnastic exercises, which he presented in the Septa, while they were preparing the great sacrifice of an ox, he shaved his beard for the first time, and putting it up in a casket of gold studded with pearls of great price, consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. He invited the Vestal Virgins to see the (346) wrestlers perform, because, at Olympia, the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of witnessing that exhibition.

¹³ Non immerito inter spectacula ad eo edita et Tiridatis in urbem introitum rettulerim. Quem Armeniae regem magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum, cum destinato per edictum die ostensurus populo propter nubilum distulisset, produxit quo opportunissime potuit, dispositis circa Fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud rostra triumphantis habitu inter signa militaria atque vexilla. Et primo per devexum pulpitem subeuntem admisit ad genua adlevatumque dextra exosculatus est, dein precanti tiara deducta diadema inposuit, verba supplicis interpretata praetorio viro multitudini pronuntiante; perductum inde in theatrum ac rursus supplicantem iuxta se latere dextro conlocavit. Ob quae imperator consalutatus, laurea in Capitolium lata, Ianum geminum clausit, tamquam nullo residuo bello.

XIII. Amongst the spectacles presented by him, the solemn entrance of Tiridates into the city deserves to be mentioned. This personage, who was king of Armenia, he invited to Rome by very liberal promises. But being prevented by unfavourable weather from showing him to the people upon the day fixed by proclamation, he took the first opportunity which occurred; several cohorts being drawn up under arms, about the temples in the forum, while he was seated on a curule chair on the rostra, in a triumphal dress, amidst the military standards and ensigns. Upon Tiridates advancing towards him, on a stage made shelving for the purpose, he permitted him to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right hand, and kissed him. The emperor then, at the king's request, took the turban from his head, and replaced it by a crown, whilst a person of pretorian rank proclaimed in Latin the words in which the prince addressed the emperor as a suppliant. After this ceremony, the king was conducted to the theatre, where, after renewing his obeisance, Nero seated him on his right hand. Being then greeted by universal acclamation with the title of Emperor, and sending his laurel crown to the Capitol, Nero shut the temple of the two-faced Janus, as though there now existed no war throughout the Roman empire.

¹⁴ Consulatus quattuor gessit: primum bimenstrem, secundum et novissimum semenstres, tertium quadrimenstrem; medios duos continuavit, reliquos inter annua spatia variavit.

XIV. He filled the consulship four times : the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four; the two intermediate ones he held successively, but the others after an interval of some years between them.

¹⁵ In iuris dictione postulatoribus nisi sequenti die ac per libellos non temere respondit. Cognoscendi morem eum tenuit, ut continuis actionibus omissis singillatim quaeque per vices ageret. Quotiens autem ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quicquam neque propalam deliberabat, sed et conscriptas ab uno quoque sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset perinde atque pluribus idem videretur pronuntiabat.

2. In curiam libertinorum filios diu non admisit; admissis a prioribus principibus honores denegavit. Candidatos, qui supra numerum essent, in solacium dilationis ac morae legionibus praeposuit. Consulatum in senos plerumque menses dedit. Defunctoque circa Kal. Ian. altero e consulibus neminem substituit improbens exemplum vetus Canini Rebili uno die consulis. Triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit nec utique de causa militari. De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas praeterito quaestoris

officio per consulem plerumque recitabat.

XV. In the administration of justice, he scarcely ever gave his decision on the pleadings before the next day, and then in writing. His manner of hearing causes was not to allow any adjournment, but to dispatch them in order as they stood. When he withdrew to consult his assessors, he did not debate the matter openly with them; but silently and privately reading over their opinions, which they gave separately in writing, (347) he pronounced sentence from the tribunal according to his own view of the case, as if it was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sons of freedmen into the senate; and those who had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all public offices. To supernumerary candidates he gave command in the legions, to comfort them under the delay of their hopes. The consulship he commonly conferred for six months; and one of the two consuls dying a little before the first of January, he substituted no one in his place; disliking what had been formerly done for Caninius Rebilus on such an occasion, who was consul for one day only. He allowed the triumphal honours only to those who were of quaestorian rank, and to some of the equestrian order; and bestowed them without regard to military service. And instead of the quaestors, whose office it properly was, he frequently ordered that the addresses, which he sent to the senate on certain occasions, should be read by the consuls.

¹⁶ Formam aedificiorum urbis novam excogitavit et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumptu suo extruxit. Destinarat etiam Ostia tenus moenia promovere atque inde fossa mare veteri urbi inducere.

2. Multa sub eo et animadversa severe et coercita nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus; publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae; interdictum ne quid in propinis cocti praeter legumina aut holera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonii genus proponeretur; afflictis suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae; vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per iocum ius erat; pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatae.

XVI. He devised a new style of building in the city, ordering piazzas to be erected before all houses, both in the streets and detached, to give facilities from their terraces, in case of fire, for preventing it from spreading; and these he built at his own expense. He likewise designed to extend the city walls as far as Ostia, and bring the sea from thence by a canal into the old city. Many severe

regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumptuary law was enacted. Public suppers were limited to the Sportulae; and victualling-houses restrained from selling any dressed victuals, except pulse and herbs, whereas before they sold all kinds of meat. He likewise inflicted punishments on the Christians, a sort of people who held a new and impious superstition. (348) He forbade the revels of the charioteers, who had long assumed a licence to stroll about, and established for themselves a kind of prescriptive right to cheat and thieve, making a jest of it. The partisans of the rival theatrical performers were banished, as well as the actors themselves.

¹⁷ *Adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur; cautum ut testamentis primae duae cerae testatorum modo nomine inscripto vacuae signaturis ostenderentur, ac ne qui alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi ascriberet; item ut litigatores pro patrociniis certam iustamque mercedem, pro subsellis nullam omnino darent praebente aerario gratuita; utque rerum actu ab aerario causae ad Forum ac recipiatores transferrentur et ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.*

XVII. To prevent forgery, a method was then first invented, of having writings bored, run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise provided that in wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to those who were to sign them as witnesses; and that no one who wrote a will for another, should insert any legacy for himself. It was likewise ordained that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the court, which was to be gratuitous, the charges for it being paid out of the public treasury; that causes, the cognizance of which before belonged to the judges of the exchequer, should be transferred to the forum, and the ordinary tribunals; and that all appeals from the judges should be made to the senate.

¹⁸ *Augendi propagandique imperii neque voluntate ulla neque spe motus umquam, etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit, nec nisi verecundia, ne obtrectare parentis gloriae videretur, destitit. Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium defuncto Cottio in provinciae formam redegit.*

XVIII. He never entertained the least ambition or hope of augmenting and extending the frontiers of the empire. On the contrary, he had thoughts of withdrawing the troops from Britain, and was only restrained from so doing by

the fear of appearing to detract from the glory of his father . All (349) that he did was to reduce the kingdom of Pontus, which was ceded to him by Polemon, and also the Alps, upon the death of Cottius, into the form of a province.

¹⁹ Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit, Alexandrinam et Achaicam; sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit turbatus religione simul ac periculo. Nam cum circumitis templis in aede Vestae resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhaesit, dein tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset. In Achaia Isthmum perfodere adgressus praetorianos pro contione ad incohandum opus cohortatus est tubaeque signo dato primus rastello humum effodit et corbulae congestam umeris extulit. Parabat et ad Caspiae portas expeditionem conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalanga appellabat.

3. Haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non mediocri laude digna in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus eius, de quibus dehinc dicam.

XIX. Twice only he undertook any foreign expeditions, one to Alexandria, and the other to Achaia; but he abandoned the prosecution of the former on the very day fixed for his departure, by being deterred both by ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage. For while he was making the circuit of the temples, having seated himself in that of Vesta, when he attempted to rise, the skirt of his robe stuck fast; and he was instantly seized with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see a yard before him. In Achaia, he attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus; and, having made a speech encouraging his pretorians to set about the work, on a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations for an expedition to the Pass of the Caspian mountains; forming a new legion out of his late levies in Italy, of men all six feet high, which he called the phalanx of Alexander the Great. These transactions, in part unexceptionable, and in part highly commendable, I have brought into one view, in order to separate them from the scandalous and criminal part of his conduct, of which I shall now give an account.

²⁰ Inter ceteras disciplinas pueritiae tempore imbutus et musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnum citharoedum vigentem tunc praeter alios arcessiit diebusque continuis post cenam canenti in multam noctem assidens paulatim et ipse meditari exercerique coepit neque eorum quicquam omittere, quae generis eius artifices vel conservandae vocis causa vel augendae factitarent;

sed et plumbeam chartam supinus pectore sustinere et clystere vomituque purgari et abstinere pomis cibisque officientibus; donec blandiente profectu, quamquam exiguae vocis et fuscae, prodire in scaenam concupiit, subinde inter familiares Graecum proverbium iactans occultae musicae nullum esse respectum. Et prodit Neapoli primum ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomen. Ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies; sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balineis in theatrum transiit mediaque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus, si paulum subbibisset, aliquid se sufferti tinnituum Graeco sermone promisit. Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit. Neque eo segnius adolescentulos equestris ordinis et quinque amplius milia e plebe robustissimae iuventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones plausuum genera condiscerent — bombos et imbrices et testas vocabant — operamque navarent cantanti sibi, insignes pinguissima coma et excellentissimo cultu, puris ac sine anulo laevis, quorum duces quadringena milia sestertia merebant.

XX. Among the other liberal arts which he was taught in his youth, he was instructed in music; and immediately after (350) his advancement to the empire, he sent for Terpnus, a performer upon the harp, who flourished at that time with the highest reputation. Sitting with him for several days following, as he sang and played after supper, until late at night, he began by degrees to practise upon the instrument himself. Nor did he omit any of those expedients which artists in music adopt, for the preservation and improvement of their voices. He would lie upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his stomach and bowels by vomits and clysters, and forbear the eating of fruits, or food prejudicial to the voice. Encouraged by his proficiency, though his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear, he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently repeating amongst his friends a Greek proverb to this effect: “that no one had any regard for music which they never heard.” Accordingly, he made his first public appearance at Naples; and although the theatre quivered with the sudden shock of an earthquake, he did not desist, until he had finished the piece of music he had begun. He played and sung in the same place several times, and for several days together; taking only now and then a little respite to refresh his voice. Impatient of retirement, it was his custom to go from the bath to the theatre; and after dining in the orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people, he promised them in Greek, “that after he had drank a little, he would give them a tune which would make their ears tingle.” Being highly pleased with the songs

that were sung in his praise by some Alexandrians belonging to the fleet just arrived at Naples, he sent for more of the like singers from Alexandria. At the same time, he chose young men of the equestrian order, and above five thousand robust young fellows from the common people, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause, called bombi, imbrices, and testae, which they were to practise in his favour, whenever he performed. They were (351) divided into several parties, and were remarkable for their fine heads of hair, and were extremely well dressed, with rings upon their left hands. The leaders of these bands had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them.

²¹ Cum magni aestimaret cantare etiam Romae, Neroneum agona ante praestitutam diem revocavit flagitantibusque cunctis caelestem vocem respondit quidem in hortis se copiam volentibus facturum, sed adiuvanti vulgi preces etiam statione militum, quae tunc excubabat, repraesentaturum se pollicitus estlibens; ac sine mora nomen suum in albo profitentium citharoedorum iussit ascribi sorticulaque in urnam cum ceteris demissa intravit ordine suo, simul praefecti praetorii citharam sustinentes, post tribuni militum iuxtaque amicorum intimi. Utque constitit, peracto principio, Niobam se cantaturum per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit et in horam fere decimam perseveravit coronamque eam et reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentemque distulit, ut saepius canendi occasio esset. Quod cum tardum videretur, non cessavit identidem se publicare. Dubitavit etiam an privatis spectaculis operam inter scaenios daret quodam praetorum sestertium decies offerente. Tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus heroum deorumque, item heroidum ac dearum, personis effectis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. Inter cetera cantavit Canacen parturientem, Oresten matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatam, Herculem insanum. In qua fabula fama est tiruculum militem positum ad custodiam aditus, cum eum ornari ac vinciri catenis, sicut argumentum postulabat, videret, accurrisse ferendae opis gratia

XXI. At Rome also, being extremely proud of his singing, he ordered the games called Neronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. All now becoming importunate to hear “his heavenly voice,” he informed them, “that he would gratify those who desired it at the gardens.” But the soldiers then on guard seconding the voice of the people, he promised to comply with their request immediately, and with all his heart. He instantly ordered his name to be entered upon the list of musicians who proposed to contend, and having thrown his lot into the urn among the rest, took his turn, and entered, attended by the prefects of the pretorian cohorts bearing his harp, and followed by the military

tribunes, and several of his intimate friends. After he had taken his station, and made the usual prelude, he commanded Cluvius Rufus, a man of consular rank, to proclaim in the theatre, that he intended to sing the story of Niobe. This he accordingly did, and continued it until nearly ten o'clock, but deferred the disposal of the crown, and the remaining part of the solemnity, until the next year; that he might have more frequent opportunities of performing. But that being too long, he could not refrain from often appearing as a public performer during the interval. He made no scruple of exhibiting on the stage, even in the spectacles presented to the people by private persons, and was offered by one of the praetors, no less than a million of sesterces for his services. He likewise sang tragedies in a mask; the visors of the heroes and gods, as also of the heroines and goddesses, being formed into a resemblance of his own face, and that of any woman he was in love with. Amongst the rest, he sung "Canace in Labour," "Orestes the Murderer of his Mother," "Oedipus (352) Blinded," and "Hercules Mad." In the last tragedy, it is said that a young sentinel, posted at the entrance of the stage, seeing him in a prison dress and bound with fetters, as the fable of the play required, ran to his assistance.

²² Equorum studio vel praecipue ab ineunte aetate flagravimusque illi sermo, quanquam vetaretur, de circensibus erat; et quondam tractum prasinum agitorem inter condiscipulos querens, obiurgante paedagogo, de Hectore se loqui ementitus est. Sed cum inter initia imperii eburneis quadrigis cotidie in abaco luderet, ad omnis etiam minimos circenses e secessu commeabat, primo clam, deinde propalam, ut nemini dubium esset eo die utique affuturum. Neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliari; quare spectaculum multiplicatis missibus in serum protrahebatur, ne dominis quidem iam factionum dignantibus nisi ad totius diei cursum greges ducere. Mox et ipse aurigare atque etiam spectari saepius voluit positoque in hortis inter servitia et sordidam plebem rudimento universorum se oculis in Circo Maximo praebuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam unde magistratus solent. Nec contentus harum artium experimenta Romae dedisse, Achaïam, ut diximus, petit hinc maxime motus. Instituerant civitates, apud quas musici agones edi solent, omnes citharoedorum coronas ad ipsum mittere. Eas adeo grate recipiebat, ut legatos, qui pertulissent, non modo primos admitteret, sed etiam familiaribus epulis interponeret. A quibusdam ex his rogatus ut cantaret super cenam, expectusque effusius, solos scire audire Graecos solosque se et studiis suis dignos ait. Nec profectione dilata, ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Cassii cantare auspicatus certamina deinceps obiit omnia.

XXII. He had from his childhood an extravagant passion for horses; and his constant talk was of the Circensian races, notwithstanding it was prohibited him. Lamenting once, among his fellow-pupils, the case of a charioteer of the green party, who was dragged round the circus at the tail of his chariot, and being reprimanded by his tutor for it, he pretended that he was talking of Hector. In the beginning of his reign, he used to amuse himself daily with chariots drawn by four horses, made of ivory, upon a table. He attended at all the lesser exhibitions in the circus, at first privately, but at last openly; so that nobody ever doubted of his presence on any particular day. Nor did he conceal his desire to have the number of the prizes doubled; so that the races being increased accordingly, the diversion continued until a late hour; the leaders of parties refusing now to bring out their companies for any time less than the whole day. Upon this, he took a fancy for driving the chariot himself, and that even publicly. Having made his first experiment in the gardens, amidst crowds of slaves and other rabble, he at length performed in the view of all the people, in the Circus Maximus, whilst one of his freedmen dropped the napkin in the place where the magistrates used to give the signal. Not satisfied with exhibiting various specimens of his skill in those arts at Rome, he went over to Achaia, as has been already said, principally for this purpose. The several cities, in which solemn trials of musical skill used to be publicly held, had resolved to send him the crowns belonging to those who bore away the prize. These he accepted so graciously, that he not only gave the deputies who brought them an immediate audience, but even invited them to his table. Being requested by some of them to sing at supper, and prodigiously applauded, he said, "the Greeks were the only people who has an ear for music, and were the only good judges of him and his attainments." Without delay he commenced his journey, and on his arrival at Cassiope, (352) exhibited his first musical performance before the altar of Jupiter Cassius.

²³ Nam et quae diversissimorum temporum sunt, cogi in unum annum, quibusdam etiam iteratis, iussit et Olympiae quoque praeter consuetudinem musicum agona commisit. Ac ne quid circa haec occupatum avocaret detineretve, cum praesentia eius urticas res egere a liberto Helio admoneretur, rescripsit his verbis: "*Quamvis nunc tuum consilium sit et votum celeriter reverti me, tamen suadere et optare potius debes, ut Nerone dignus revertar.*" Cantante eo ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum est. Itaque et enixae quaedam in spectaculis dicuntur et multi taedio audiendi laudandique clausis oppidorum portis aut furtim desiluisse de muro aut morte simulata funere elati. Quam autem trepide anxieque certaverit, quanta adversariorum aemulatione, quo metu iudicum, vix credi potest. Adversarios, quasi plane condicionis eiusdem,

observare, captare, infamare secreto, nonnumquam ex occurso maledictis incessere ac, si arte praecellerent, conrumpere etiam solebat. Iudices autem prius quam inciperet reverentissime adloquebatur, omnia se facienda fecisse, sed eventum in manu esse Fortunae; illos ut sapientis et doctos viros fortuita debere excludere; atque, ut auderet hortantibus, aequiore animo recorderbat, ac ne sic quidem sine sollicitudine, taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam pro tristitia et malignitate arguens suspectosque sibi dicens.

XXIII. He afterwards appeared at the celebration of all public games in Greece: for such as fell in different years, he brought within the compass of one, and some he ordered to be celebrated a second time in the same year. At Olympia, likewise, contrary to custom, he appointed a public performance in music: and that he might meet with no interruption in this employment, when he was informed by his freedman Helius, that affairs at Rome required his presence, he wrote to him in these words: "Though now all your hopes and wishes are for my speedy return, yet you ought rather to advise and hope that I may come back with a character worthy of Nero." During the time of his musical performance, nobody was allowed to stir out of the theatre upon any account, however necessary; insomuch, that it is said some women with child were delivered there. Many of the spectators being quite wearied with hearing and applauding him, because the town gates were shut, slipped privately over the walls; or counterfeiting themselves dead, were carried out for their funeral. With what extreme anxiety he engaged in these contests, with what keen desire to bear away the prize, and with how much awe of the judges, is scarcely to be believed. As if his adversaries had been on a level with himself, he would watch them narrowly, defame them privately, and sometimes, upon meeting them, rail at them in very scurrilous language; or bribe them, if they were better performers than himself. He always addressed the judges with the most profound reverence before he began, telling them, "he had done all things that were necessary, by way of preparation, but that the issue of the approaching trial was in the hand of fortune; and that they, as wise and skilful men, ought to exclude from their judgment things merely accidental." Upon their encouraging him to have a good heart, he went off with more assurance, but not entirely free from anxiety; interpreting the silence and modesty of some of them into sourness and ill-nature, and saying that he was suspicious of them.

²⁴ In certando vero ita legi oboediebat, ut numquam exscreare ausus sudorem quoque frontis brachio detegeret; atque etiam in tragico quodam actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumpsisset, pavidus et metuens ne ob delictum

certamine summo veretur, non aliter confirmatus est quam adiurante hypocrita non animadversum id inter exultationes succlamationesque populi. Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat; qua de causa et praeconio ubique contendit. Ac ne cuius alterius hieronicarum memoria aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti et unco trahi abique in latrinas omnium statuas et imagines imperavit. Aurigavit quoque plurifariam, Olympiis vero etiam decemiugem, quamvis id ipsum in rege Mithradate carmine quodam suo reprehendisset; sed excussus curru ac rursus repositus, cum perdurare non posset, destitit ante decursum; neque eo setius coronatus est. Decedens deinde provinciam universam libertate donavit simulque iudices civitate Romana et pecunia grandi. Quae beneficia e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipse voce pronuntiavit.

XXIV. In these contests, he adhered so strictly to the rules, (354) that he never durst spit, nor wipe the sweat from his forehead in any other way than with his sleeve. Having, in the performance of a tragedy, dropped his sceptre, and not quickly recovering it, he was in a great fright, lest he should be set aside for the miscarriage, and could not regain his assurance, until an actor who stood by swore he was certain it had not been observed in the midst of the acclamations and exultations of the people. When the prize was adjudged to him, he always proclaimed it himself; and even entered the lists with the heralds. That no memory or the least monument might remain of any other victor in the sacred Grecian games, he ordered all their statues and pictures to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the common sewers. He drove the chariot with various numbers of horses, and at the Olympic games with no fewer than ten; though, in a poem of his, he had reflected upon Mithridates for that innovation. Being thrown out of his chariot, he was again replaced, but could not retain his seat, and was obliged to give up, before he reached the goal, but was crowned notwithstanding. On his departure, he declared the whole province a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the freedom of Rome, with large sums of money. All these favours he proclaimed himself with his own voice, from the middle of the Stadium, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games.

²⁵ Reversus e Graecia Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam; sed et Romam eo curru, quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde coronamque capite gerens Olympiacam, dextra manu Pythiam, praeunte pompa ceterarumcum titulis, ubi et quos cantionum quove fabularum argumento

vicisset; sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumphi eius clamitantibus. Dehinc diruto Circi Maximi arcu per Velabrum Forumque Palatium et Apollinem petit. Incedenti passim victimae caesae sparso per vias identidem croco ingestaeque aves ac lemnisci et bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit, item statuas suas citharoedico habitu, qua nota etiam nummum percussit. Ac post haec tantum a remittendo laxandoque studio, ut conservandae vocis gratia neque milites umquam, nisi abens aut alio verba pronuntiante, appellaret neque quicquam serio iocove egerit, nisi astante phonasco, qui moneret parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret; multisque vel amicitiam suam optulerit vel simultatem indixerit, prout quisque se magis parciusve laudasset.

XXV. On his return from Greece, arriving at Naples, because he had commenced his career as a public performer in that city, he made his entrance in a chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the city-wall, according to the practice of those who were victorious in the sacred Grecian games. In the same manner he entered Antium, Alba, and Rome. He made his entry into the city riding in the same chariot in which Augustus had triumphed, in a purple tunic, and a cloak embroidered with golden stars, having on his head the crown won at Olympia, and in his right hand that which was given him at the Parthian games: the rest being carried in a procession before him, with inscriptions denoting the places where they had been won, from whom, and in what plays or musical performances; whilst a train followed him with loud acclamations, crying out, that “they (355) were the emperor’s attendants, and the soldiers of his triumph.” Having then caused an arch of the Circus Maximus to be taken down, he passed through the breach, as also through the Velabrum and the forum, to the Palatine hill and the temple of Apollo. Everywhere as he marched along, victims were slain, whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, chaplets, and sweetmeats scattered abroad. He suspended the sacred crowns in his chamber, about his beds, and caused statues of himself to be erected in the attire of a harper, and had his likeness stamped upon the coin in the same dress. After this period, he was so far from abating any thing of his application to music, that, for the preservation of his voice, he never addressed the soldiers but by messages, or with some person to deliver his speeches for him, when he thought fit to make his appearance amongst them. Nor did he ever do any thing either in jest or earnest, without a voice-master standing by him to caution him against overstraining his vocal organs, and to apply a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. He offered his friendship, or avowed (356) open enmity to many, according as they were lavish or sparing in giving him their applause.

²⁶ Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, credulitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte et velut iuvenili errore exercuit, sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret naturae illa vitia, non aetatis esse. Post crepusculum statim adrepto pilleo vel galero popinas inibat circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus nec sine perniciē tamen, siquidem redeuntis a cena verberare ac repugnantes vunerare cloacisque demergere assuerat, tenebras etiam effingere et expilare. Quintana domi constituta ubi partae et ad licitationem dividendae praedae pretium absumeretur. Ac saepe in eius modi rixis oculorum et vitae periculum adiit, a quodam latriclavio, cuius uxorem adtrectaverat, prope ad necem caesus. Quare numquam postea publico se illud horae sine tribunis commisit et occulte subsequentibus. Interdiu quoque clam gestoraria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat. Et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.

XXVI. Petulancy, lewdness, luxury, avarice, and cruelty, he practised at first with reserve and in private, as if prompted to them only by the folly of youth; but, even then, the world was of opinion that they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age. After it was dark, he used to enter the taverns disguised in a cap or a wig, and ramble about the streets in sport, which was not void of mischief. He used to beat those he met coming home from supper; and, if they made any resistance, would wound them, and throw them into the common sewer. He broke open and robbed shops; establishing an auction at home for selling his booty. In the scuffles which took place on those occasions, he often ran the hazard of losing his eyes, and even his life; being beaten almost to death by a senator, for handling his wife indecently. After this adventure, he never again ventured abroad at that time of night, without some tribunes following him at a little distance. In the day-time he would be carried to the theatre incognito in a litter, placing himself upon the upper part of the proscenium, where he not only witnessed the quarrels which arose on account of the performances, but also encouraged them. When they came to blows, and stones and pieces of broken benches began to fly about, he threw them plentifully amongst the people, and once even broke a praetor's head.

²⁷ Paulatim vero invalescentibus vitiis iocularia et latebras omisit nullaue dissimulandi cura ad maiora palam erupit. Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protraherebat, refotus saepius calidis piscinis ac tempore aestivo navatis; cenitabatque nonnumquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa vel Martio campo

vel Circo Maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria. Quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baianum sinum praeternavigaret, dispositae per litora et ripas diversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganea et matronarum institorio copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. Indicebat et familiaribus cenas, quorum uni mitellita quadragies sestertium constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.

XXVII. His vices gaining strength by degrees, he laid aside his jocular amusements, and all disguise; breaking out into enormous crimes, without the least attempt to conceal them. His revels were prolonged from mid-day to midnight, while he was frequently refreshed by warm baths, and, in the summer time, by such as were cooled with snow. He often supped in public, in the Naumachia, with the sluices shut, or in the Campus Martius, or the Circus Maximus, being waited upon at table by common prostitutes of the town, and Syrian strumpets and glee-girls. As often as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted through the gulf of Baiae, booths furnished as brothels and eating-houses, were erected along the shore and river banks; before which stood matrons, who, like bawds and hostesses, allured him to land. It was also his custom to invite (357) himself to supper with his friends; at one of which was expended no less than four millions of sesterces in chaplets, and at another something more in roses.

²⁸ Super ingenuorum paedagogia et nuptarum concubinatus Vestali virgini Rubriae vim intulit. Acten libertam paulum afuit quin iusto sibi matrimonio coniungeret, summissis consularibus viris qui regio genere ortam peierarent. Puerum Sporum exsectis testibus etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus cum dote et flammeo per sollemnia nuptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se pro uxore habuit; exstatque cuiusdam non inscitus iocus bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sporum, Augustarum ornamentis excultum lecticaque vectum, et circa conventus mercatusque Graeciae ac mox Romae circa Sigillaria comitatus est identidem exosculans. Nam matris concubitus appetisse et ab obtrectatoribus eius, ne ferox atque impotens mulier et hoc genere gratiae praevaleret, deterritum nemo dubitavit, utique postquam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinae simillimam, inter concbinas recepit. Olim etiam quotiens lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinum incestu ac maculis vestis proditum affirmant.

XXVIII. Besides the abuse of free-born lads, and the debauch of married women, he committed a rape upon Rubria, a Vestal Virgin. He was upon the

point of marrying Acte, his freedwoman, having suborned some men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. He gelded the boy Sporus, and endeavoured to transform him into a woman. He even went so far as to marry him, with all the usual formalities of a marriage settlement, the rose-coloured nuptial veil, and a numerous company at the wedding. When the ceremony was over, he had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him as his wife. It was jocularly observed by some person, "that it would have been well for mankind, had such a wife fallen to the lot of his father Domitius." This Sporus he carried about with him in a litter round the solemn assemblies and fairs of Greece, and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed in the rich attire of an empress; kissing him from time to time as they rode together. That he entertained an incestuous passion for his mother, but was deterred by her enemies, for fear that this haughty and overbearing woman should, by her compliance, get him entirely into her power, and govern in every thing, was universally believed; especially after he had introduced amongst his concubines a strumpet, who was reported to have a strong resemblance to Agrippina. Even before that, so they say, whenever he rode in a litter with his mother, he had incestuous relations with her, which were betrayed by the stains on his clothing.

²⁹ Suam quidem pudicitiam usque adeo prostituit, ut contaminatis paene omnibus membris novissime quasi genus lusus excogitaret, quo ferae pelle contactus emitteretur e cavea virorumque ac feminarum ad stipitem deligatorum inguina invaderet et, cum affatim desaevisset, conficeretur a Doryphoro liberto; cui etiam, sicut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupsit, voces quoque et heulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus. Ex nonnullis comperi persuasissimum habuisse eum neminem hominem pudicum aut ulla corporis parte purum esse, verum plerosque dissimulare vitium et callide optegere; ideoque professis apud se obscaenitatem cetera quoque concessisse delicta.

XXIX. He prostituted his own chastity to such a degree, that (358) after he had defiled every part of his person with some unnatural pollution, he at last invented an extraordinary kind of diversion; which was, to be let out of a den in the arena, covered with the skin of a wild beast, and then assail with violence the private parts both of men and women, while they were bound to stakes. After he had vented his furious passion upon them, he finished the play in the embraces of his freedman Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same way that Sporus had been married to himself; imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are ravished. I have been informed from numerous sources, that he firmly believed, no man in the world to be chaste, or any part of his

person undefiled; but that most men concealed that vice, and were cunning enough to keep it secret. To those, therefore, who frankly owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgave all other crimes.

³⁰ Divitiarum et pecuniae fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem, sordidos ac deparcos esse quibus impensarum ratio constaret, praelautos vereque magnificos, qui abuterentur ac perderent. Laudabat mirabaturque avunculum Gaium nullo magis nomine, quam quod ingentis a Tiberio relictas opes in brevi spatio prodegisset. Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum milia diurna erogavit, abeuntique super sestertium milies contulit. Menecraten citharoedum et Spiculum murmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibusque donavit. Cercopithecum Panerodem faeneratorem et urbanis rusticisque praediis locupletatum prope regio extulitfunere. Nullam vestem bis induit. Quadringenis in punctum sestertiis aleam lusit. Piscatus est rete aurato et purpura coccoque funibus nexis. Numquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatis mulionibus, armillata phalerataque Mazacum turba atque cursorum.

XXX. He thought there was no other use of riches and money than to squander them away profusely; regarding all those as sordid wretches who kept their expenses within due bounds; and extolling those as truly noble and generous souls, who lavished away and wasted all they possessed. He praised and admired his uncle Caius, upon no account more, than for squandering in a short time the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly, he was himself extravagant and profuse, beyond all bounds. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible; and at his departure, presented him with upwards of a million . He likewise bestowed upon Menecrates the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of men who had received the honour of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Panerotes with estates both in town and country; and gave him a funeral, in pomp and magnificence little inferior to that of princes. He never wore the same garment twice. He (359) has been known to stake four hundred thousand sesterces on a throw of the dice. It was his custom to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of purple and scarlet. It is said, that he never travelled with less than a thousand baggage-carts; the mules being all shod with silver, and the drivers dressed in scarlet jackets of the finest Canusian cloth, with a numerous train of footmen, and troops of Mazacans, with bracelets on their arms, and mounted upon horses in splendid trappings.

³¹ Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque auream nominavit. De cuius spatio atque cultu suffecerit haec rettulisse. Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo colossus CXX pedum staret ipsius effigie; tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar, circumsaepum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. In ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distincta gemmis unionumque conchis erant; cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur; balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis. Eius modi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse. Praeterea incohabat piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum contectam porticibusque conclusam, quo quidquid totis Baiis calidarum aquarum esset converteretur; fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis per centum sexaginta milia, latitudinis, qua contrariae quinquereemes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia quod ubique esset custodiae in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos non nisi ad opus damnari praeceperat. Ad hunc impendiorum furorem, super fiduciam imperii, etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est ex indicio equitis R. pro comperto pollicentis thesauros antiquissimae gazae, quos Dido regina fugiens Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis specubus abditos ac posse erui parvula molientium opera.

XXXI. In nothing was he more prodigal than in his buildings. He completed his palace by continuing it from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill, calling the building at first only "The Passage," but, after it was burnt down and rebuilt, "The Golden House." Of its dimensions and furniture, it may be sufficient to say thus much: the porch was so high that there stood in it a colossal statue of himself a hundred and twenty feet in height; and the space included in it was so ample, that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a lake like a sea, surrounded with buildings which had the appearance of a city. Within its area were corn fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, containing a vast number of animals of various kinds, both wild and tame. In other parts it was entirely overlaid with gold, and adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The supper rooms were vaulted, and compartments of the ceilings, inlaid with ivory, were made to revolve, and scatter flowers; while they contained pipes which (360) shed unguents upon the guests. The chief banqueting room was circular, and revolved

perpetually, night and day, in imitation of the motion of the celestial bodies. The baths were supplied with water from the sea and the Albula. Upon the dedication of this magnificent house after it was finished, all he said in approval of it was, "that he had now a dwelling fit for a man." He commenced making a pond for the reception of all the hot streams from Baiae, which he designed to have continued from Misenum to the Avernian lake, in a conduit, enclosed in galleries; and also a canal from Avernum to Ostia, that ships might pass from one to the other, without a sea voyage. The length of the proposed canal was one hundred and sixty miles; and it was intended to be of breadth sufficient to permit ships with five banks of oars to pass each other. For the execution of these designs, he ordered all prisoners, in every part of the empire, to be brought to Italy; and that even those who were convicted of the most heinous crimes, in lieu of any other sentence, should be condemned to work at them. He was encouraged to all this wild and enormous profusion, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but by the sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure, which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought with her to Africa. This, a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good grounds, was still hid there in some deep caverns, and might with a little labour be recovered.

³² Verum ut spes fefellit, destitutus atque ita iam exhaustus et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset, calumniis rapinisque intendit animum. Ante omnia instituit, ut e libertorum defunctorum bonis pro semisse dextans ei cogeretur, qui sine probabili causa eo nomine essent, quo fuissent ullae familiae quas ipse contingeret deinde, ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent, ac ne impune esset studiosis iuris, qui scripsissent vel dictassent ea tunc ut lege maiestatis facta dictaque omnia, quibus modo delator non deesset, tenerentur. Revocavit et praemia coronarum, quae umquam sibi civitates in certaminibus detulissent. Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summisissetque qui nundinarum die pauculas unicas venderet, praeclusit cunctos negotiatores. Quin etiam inter canendum animadversum matronam in spectaculis vetita purpura cultam demonstrasse procuratoribus suis dicitur detractamque ilico non veste modo sed et bonis exuit. Nulli delegavit officium ut non adiaceret: "Scis quid mihi opus sit, " et: "Hoc agamus, ne quis quicquam habeat." Ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit simulacraque ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit, in iis Penatium deorum, quae mox Galba restituit.

XXXII. But being disappointed in his expectations of this resource, and reduced to such difficulties, for want of money, that he was obliged to defer

paying his troops, and the rewards due to the veterans; he resolved upon supplying his necessities by means of false accusations and plunder. In the first place, he ordered, that if any freedman, without sufficient reason, bore the name of the family to which he belonged; the half, instead of three fourths, of his estate should be brought into the exchequer at his decease: also that the estates of all such persons as had not in their wills been mindful of their prince, should be confiscated; and that the lawyers who had drawn or dictated such wills, should be liable to a fine. He ordained likewise, that all words and actions, upon which any informer could ground a prosecution, should be deemed treason. He demanded an equivalent for the crowns which the cities of (361) Greece had at any time offered him in the solemn games. Having forbid any one to use the colours of amethyst and Tyrian purple, he privately sent a person to sell a few ounces of them upon the day of the Nundinae, and then shut up all the merchants' shops, on the pretext that his edict had been violated. It is said, that, as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in the purple which he had prohibited, he pointed her out to his procurators; upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her clothes, but her property. He never nominated a person to any office without saying to him, "You know what I want; and let us take care that nobody has any thing he can call his own." At last he rifled many temples of the rich offerings with which they were stored, and melted down all the gold and silver statues, and amongst them those of the penates, which Galba afterwards restored.

³³ Parricidia et caedes a Claudio exorsus est, cuius necis etsi non auctor, at conscius fuit, neque dissimulanter, ut qui boletos, in quo cibi genere venenum is acceperat, quasi deorum cibum posthac proverbio Graeco conlaudare sit solitus. Certe omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum insectatus est, modo stultitiae, modo saevitise arguens; nam et morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur multaque decreta et constituta, ut insipientis atque deliri, pro irritis habuit; denique bustum eius consaepiri nisi humili levique maceria neglexit. Britannicum non minus aemulatione vocis, quae illi iucundior suppetebat, quam metu ne quandoque apud hominum gratiam paterna memoria praevaleret, veneno adgressus est. Quod acceptum a quadam Lucusta, venenariorum indice, cum opinione tardius cederet ventre modo Britannici moto, accersitam mulierem sua manu verberavit arguens pro veneno remedium dedisse, excusantique minus datum ad occultandam facinoris invidiam: "Sane" inquit, "legem Iuliam timeo," coegitque se coram in cubiculo quam posset velocissimum ac praesentaneum coquere. Deinde in haedo expertus, postquam is quinque horas protraxit, iterum ac saepius recoctum porcello obiecit; quo statim

exanimato inferri in triclinium darique cenanti secum Britannico imperavit. Et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere. Lucustae pro navata opera impunitatem praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit.

XXXIII. He began the practice of parricide and murder with Claudius himself; for although he was not the contriver of his death, he was privy to the plot. Nor did he make any secret of it; but used afterwards to commend, in a Greek proverb, mushrooms as food fit for the gods, because Claudius had been poisoned with them. He traduced his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner; one while charging him with folly, another while with cruelty. For he used to say by way of jest, that he had ceased morari amongst men, pronouncing the first syllable long; and treated as null many of his decrees and ordinances, as made by a doting old blockhead. He enclosed the place where his body was burnt with only a low wall of rough masonry. He attempted to poison (362) Britannicus, as much out of envy because he had a sweeter voice, as from apprehension of what might ensue from the respect which the people entertained for his father's memory. He employed for this purpose a woman named Locusta, who had been a witness against some persons guilty of like practices. But the poison she gave him, working more slowly than he expected, and only causing a purge, he sent for the woman, and beat her with his own hand, charging her with administering an antidote instead of poison; and upon her alleging in excuse, that she had given Britannicus but a gentle mixture in order to prevent suspicion, "Think you," said he, "that I am afraid of the Julian law;" and obliged her to prepare, in his own chamber and before his eyes, as quick and strong a dose as possible. This he tried upon a kid: but the animal lingering for five hours before it expired, he ordered her to go to work again; and when she had done, he gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he commanded the potion to be brought into the eating- room and given to Britannicus, while he was at supper with him. The prince had no sooner tasted it than he sunk on the floor, Nero meanwhile, pretending to the guests, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness, to which, he said, he was subject. He buried him the following day, in a mean and hurried way, during violent storms of rain. He gave Locusta a pardon, and rewarded her with a great estate in land, placing some disciples with her, to be instructed in her trade.

³⁴ Matrem facta dictaque sua exquirentem acerbius et corrigentem hactenus primo gravabatur, ut invidia identidem oneraret quasi cessurus imperio

Rhodumque abiturus, mox et honore omni et potestate privavit abductaque militum et Germanorum statione contubernio quoque ac Palatio expulit; neque in divexanda quicquam pensi habuit, summissis qui et Romae morantem litibus et in secessu quiescentem per convicia et iocos terra marique praetervehentes inquietarent. Verum minis eius ac violentia territus perdere statuit; et cum ter veneno temptasset sentiretque antidotis praemunitam, lacunaria, quae noctu super dormientem laxata machina deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per conscios parum celato solutilem navem, cuius vel naufragio vel camarae ruina periret, commentus est atque ita reconciliatione simulata iucundissimis litteris Baias evocavit ad sollemnia Quinquatruum simul celebranda; datoque negotio trierarchis, qui liburnicam qua advecta erat velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium repetentique Baulos in locum corrupti navigii machinosum illud optulit, hilare prosecutus atque in digressu papillas quoque exosculatus. Reliquum temporis cum magna trepidatione vigilavit opperiens coeptorum exitum. Sed ut diversa omnia nandoque evasisse eam comperit, inops consilii L. Agermum libertum eius salvam et incolumem cum gaudio nuntiantem, abiecto clam iuxta pugione ut percussorem sibi subornatum arripi constringique iussit, matrem occidi, quasi deprehensum crimen voluntaria morte vitasset. Adduntur his atrociora nec incertis auctoribus: ad visendum interfectae cadaver accurrisse, contrectasse membra, alia vituperasse, sitique interim oborta bibisse. Neque tamen conscientiam sceleris, quamquam et militum et senatus populi gratulationibus confirmarentur, aut statim aut umquam postea ferre potuit, saepe confessus exagitari se materna specie verberibusque Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus. Quin et facto per Magos sacro evocare Manes et exorare temptavit. Peregrinatione quidem Graeciae et Eleusinis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est. Iunxit parricido matris amitae necem. Quam cum ex duritie alvi cubantem visitaret, et illa tractans lanuginem eius, ut assolet, iam grandis natu per blanditias forte dixisset: "Simul hac excepero, mori volo," conversus ad proximos confestim se positurum velu irridens ait, praecepitque medicis ut largius purgarent aegram; necdum defunctae bona invasit suppresso testamento, ne quid abscederet.

XXXIV. His mother being used to make strict inquiry into what he said or did, and to reprimand him with the freedom of a parent, he was so much offended, that he endeavoured to expose her to public resentment, by frequently pretending a resolution to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes. Soon afterwards, he deprived her of all honour and power, took from her the guard of Roman and German soldiers, banished her from the palace and from his society, and persecuted her in every way he could contrive; employing persons to harass her

when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirement from town with the most scurrilous and abusive language, following her about by land and sea. But being terrified with her menaces and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction, and thrice attempted it by poison. Finding, however, (363) that she had previously secured herself by antidotes, he contrived machinery, by which the floor over her bed-chamber might be made to fall upon her while she was asleep in the night. This design miscarrying likewise, through the little caution used by those who were in the secret, his next stratagem was to construct a ship which could be easily shivered, in hopes of destroying her either by drowning, or by the deck above her cabin crushing her in its fall. Accordingly, under colour of a pretended reconciliation, he wrote her an extremely affectionate letter, inviting her to Baiae, to celebrate with him the festival of Minerva. He had given private orders to the captains of the galleys which were to attend her, to shatter to pieces the ship in which she had come, by falling foul of it, but in such manner that it might appear to be done accidentally. He prolonged the entertainment, for the more convenient opportunity of executing the plot in the night; and at her return for Bauli, instead of the old ship which had conveyed her to Baiae, he offered that which he had contrived for her destruction. He attended her to the vessel in a very cheerful mood, and, at parting with her, kissed her breasts; after which he sat up very late in the night, waiting with great anxiety to learn the issue of his project. But receiving information that every thing had fallen out contrary to his wish, and that she had saved herself by swimming, — not knowing what course to take, upon her freedman, Lucius Agerinus bringing word, with great joy, that she was safe and well, he privately dropped a poniard by him. He then commanded the freedman to be seized and put in chains, under pretence of his having been employed by his mother to assassinate him; at the same time ordering her to be put to death, and giving out, that, to avoid punishment for her intended crime, she had laid violent hands upon herself. Other circumstances, still more horrible, are related on good authority; as that he went to view her corpse, and handling her limbs, pointed out some blemishes, and commended other points; and that, growing thirsty during the survey, he called for drink. Yet he was never afterwards able to bear the stings of his own conscience for this atrocious act, although encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate, and people. He frequently affirmed that he was haunted by his mother's ghost, and persecuted with the whips (364) and burning torches of the Furies. Nay, he attempted by magical rites to bring up her ghost from below, and soften her rage against him. When he was in Greece, he durst not attend the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, at the initiation of which, impious and wicked persons are warned by the voice of the herald from approaching the rites

. Besides the murder of his mother, he had been guilty of that of his aunt; for, being obliged to keep her bed in consequence of a complaint in her bowels, he paid her a visit, and she, being then advanced in years, stroking his downy chin, in the tenderness of affection, said to him: “May I but live to see the day when this is shaved for the first time, and I shall then die contented.” He turned, however, to those about him, made a jest of it, saying, that he would have his beard immediately taken off, and ordered the physicians to give her more violent purgatives. He seized upon her estate before she had expired; suppressing her will, that he might enjoy the whole himself.

³⁵ Uxores praeter Octaviam duas postea duxit, Poppaeam Sabinam quaestorio patre natam et equiti Romano antea nuptam, deinde Statiliam Messalinam Tauri bis consulis ac triumphalis abneptem. Qua ut poteretur, virum eius Atticum Vestinum consulem in honore ipso trucidavit. Octaviae consuetudinem cito aspernatus corripientibus amicis sufficere illi debere respondit uxoria ornamenta. Eandem mox saepe frustra strangulare meditatus dimisit ut sterilem, sed improbante divortium populo nec parcente conviciis etiam relegavit, denique occidit sub crimine adulteriorum adeo impudenti falsoque, ut in quaestione pernegantibus cunctis Anicetum paedagogum suum indicem subiecerit, qui fingeret et dolo stupratam a se fateretur. Poppaeam duodecimo die post divortium Octaviae in matrimonium acceptam dilexit unice; et tamen ipsam quoque ictu calcis occidit, quod se ex aurigatione sero reversum gravida et aegra conviciis incesserat. Ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam amisitque admodum infantem. Nullum adeo necessitudinis genus est, quod non scelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudii filiam, recusantem post Poppaeam mortem nuptias suas quasi molitricem novarum rerum interemit; similiter ceteros aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos; in quibus Aulum Plautium iuvenem, quem cum ante mortem per vim conspurcasset: ‘Eat nunc’ inquit ‘mater mea et successorem meum osculetur’ iactans dilectum ab ea et ad spem imperii impulsus. Privignum Rufrium Crispinum Poppaea natum impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus et imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piscaretur, servis ipsius demandavit. Tuscum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Aegypti balineis in adventum suum exstructis lavisset. Senecam praeceptorem ad necem compulit, quamvis saepe commeatum petenti bonisque cedenti persancte iurasset suspectum se frustra periturumque potius quam nociturum ei. Burro praefecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus toxicum misit. Libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis mox dominationis suae fautores atque rectores, veneno partim cibis, partim potionibus indito interceptit.

XXXV. He had, besides Octavia, two other wives: Poppaea Sabina, whose father had borne the office of quaestor, and who had been married before to a Roman knight: and, after her, Statilia Messalina, great-grand-daughter of Taurus who was twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph. To obtain possession of her, he put to death her husband, Atticus Vestinus, who was then consul. He soon became disgusted with Octavia, and ceased from having any intercourse with her; and being censured by his friends for it, he replied, "She ought to be satisfied with having the rank and appendages of his wife." Soon afterwards, he made several attempts, but in vain, to strangle her, and then divorced her for barrenness. But the people, disapproving of the divorce, and making severe comments upon it, he also banished her. At last he (365) put her to death, upon a charge of adultery, so impudent and false, that, when all those who were put to the torture positively denied their knowledge of it, he suborned his pedagogue, Anicetus, to affirm, that he had secretly intrigued with and debauched her. He married Poppaea twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and entertained a great affection for her; but, nevertheless, killed her with a kick which he gave her when she was big with child, and in bad health, only because she found fault with him for returning late from driving his chariot. He had by her a daughter, Claudia Augusta, who died an infant. There was no person at all connected with him who escaped his deadly and unjust cruelty. Under pretence of her being engaged in a plot against him, he put to death Antonia, Claudius's daughter, who refused to marry him after the death of Poppaea. In the same way, he destroyed all who were allied to him either by blood or marriage; amongst whom was young Aulus Plautinus. He first compelled him to submit to his unnatural lust, and then ordered him to be executed, crying out, "Let my mother bestow her kisses on my successor thus defiled;" pretending that he had been his mother's paramour, and by her encouraged to aspire to the empire. His step-son, Rufinus Crispinus, Poppaea's son, though a minor, he ordered to be drowned in the sea, while he was fishing, by his own slaves, because he was reported to act frequently amongst his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. He banished Tuscus, his nurse's son, for presuming, when he was procurator of Egypt, to wash in the baths which had been constructed in expectation of his own coming. Seneca, his preceptor, he forced to kill himself, though, upon his desiring leave to retire, and offering to surrender his estate, he solemnly swore, "that there was no foundation for his suspicions, and that he would perish himself sooner than hurt him." Having promised Burrhus, the pretorian prefect, a remedy for a swelling in his throat, he sent him poison. Some old rich freedmen of Claudius, who had formerly not only promoted (366) his adoption, but were also instrumental to his advancement to the empire, and had been his governors,

he took off by poison given them in their meat or drink.

³⁶ Nec minore saevitia foris et in exteros grassatus est. Stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri coeperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Balbillo astrologo didicit, solere reges talia ostenta caede aliqua illustri expiare atque a semet in capita procerum depellere, nobilissimo cuique exitium destinavit; enimvero multo magis et quasi per iustam causam duabus coniurationibus provulgatis, quarum prior maiorque Pisoniana Romae, posterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atque detecta est. Coniurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam, cum quidam ultro crimen faterentur, nonnulli etiam imputarent, tamquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere dedecorato flagitiis omnibus. Damnatorum liberi urbe pulsati enectique veneno aut fame; constat quosdam cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos, alios diurnum victum prohibitos quaerere.

XXXVI. Nor did he proceed with less cruelty against those who were not of his family. A blazing star, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horizon several nights successively. He felt great anxiety on account of this phenomenon, and being informed by one Babilus, an astrologer, that princes were used to expiate such omens by the sacrifice of illustrious persons, and so avert the danger foreboded to their own persons, by bringing it on the heads of their chief men, he resolved on the destruction of the principal nobility in Rome. He was the more encouraged to this, because he had some plausible pretence for carrying it into execution, from the discovery of two conspiracies against him; the former and more dangerous of which was that formed by Piso, and discovered at Rome; the other was that of Vinicius, at Beneventum. The conspirators were brought to their trials loaded with triple fetters. Some ingenuously confessed the charge; others avowed that they thought the design against his life an act of favour for which he was obliged to them, as it was impossible in any other way than by death to relieve a person rendered infamous by crimes of the greatest enormity. The children of those who had been condemned, were banished the city, and afterwards either poisoned or starved to death. It is asserted that some of them, with their tutors, and the slaves who carried their satchels, were all poisoned together at one dinner; and others not suffered to seek their daily bread.

³⁷ Nullus posthac adhibitus dilectus aut modus interimendi quoscumque libuisset quacumque de causa. Sed ne de pluribus referam, Salvidieno Orfito obiectum est, quod tabernas tres de domo sua circa Forum civitatibus ad

stationem locasset, Cassio Longinoiuris consulto ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassi percussoris Caesaris imagines retinuisset, Paeto Thraseae tristior et paedagogi vultus. 2 Mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dabat; ac ne quid morae interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes continuo curarent; ita enim vocabatur venas mortis gratia incidere. Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Aegypti generis crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumendosque obicere. 3 Elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus negavit quemquam principum scisse, quid sibi liceret, multasque nec dubias significationes saepe iecit, ne reliquis quidem se parsurum senatoribus, eumque ordinem sublaturum quandoque e re publica ac provincias et exercitus equiti Romano ac libertis permissurum. Certe neque adveniens neque proficiscens quemquam osculo impertiit ac ne resalutatione quidem; et in auspicando opere Isthmi magna frequentia clare, ut sibi ac populo Romano bene res verteret, optavit dissimulata senatus mentione.

XXXVII. From this period he butchered, without distinction or quarter, all whom his caprice suggested as objects for his cruelty; and upon the most frivolous pretences. To mention only a few: Salvidienus Orfitus was accused of letting (367) out three taverns attached to his house in the Forum to some cities for the use of their deputies at Rome. The charge against Cassius Longinus, a lawyer who had lost his sight, was, that he kept amongst the busts of his ancestors that of Caius Cassius, who was concerned in the death of Julius Caesar. The only charge objected against Paetus Thrasea was, that he had a melancholy cast of features, and looked like a schoolmaster. He allowed but one hour to those whom he obliged to kill themselves; and, to prevent delay, he sent them physicians “to cure them immediately, if they lingered beyond that time;” for so he called bleeding them to death. There was at that time an Egyptian of a most voracious appetite, who would digest raw flesh, or any thing else that was given him. It was credibly reported, that the emperor was extremely desirous of furnishing him with living men to tear and devour. Being elated with his great success in the perpetration of crimes, he declared, “that no prince before himself ever knew the extent of his power.” He threw out strong intimations that he would not even spare the senators who survived, but would entirely extirpate that order, and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman knights and his own freedmen. It is certain that he never gave or vouchsafed to allow any one the customary kiss, either on entering or departing, or even returned a salute. And at the inauguration of a work, the cut through the Isthmus, he, with a loud voice, amidst the assembled multitude, uttered a prayer, that “the undertaking

might prove fortunate for himself and the Roman people,” without taking the smallest notice of the senate.

³⁸ Sed nec populo aut moenibus patriae pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi: —

Emou thanontos gaia michthaeto pyri —

“Immo”, inquit, “*emou zontos*,” planeque ita fecit. Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificorum et angustis flexuris vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios eius cum stупpa taedaeque in praediis suis deprehensos non attigerint, et quaedam horrea circum domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint quod saxeo muro constructa erant. Per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est ad monumentorum bustorumque deversoria plebe compulsa. Tunc praeter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae dedicataeque, et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Maecenantina prospectans laetusque “flammae”, ut aiebat, “pulchritudine” Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posse praedae et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et rudum gratuitam egestiopi nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit, conlationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhausit.

XXXVIII. He spared, moreover, neither the people of Rome, nor the capital of his country. Somebody in conversation saying —

Emou thanontos gaia michthaeto pyri —
When I am dead let fire devour the world —

“Nay,” said he, “let it be while I am living” [*emou xontos*]. And he acted accordingly: for, pretending to be disgusted with the old buildings, and the narrow and winding streets, he set the city on fire so openly, that many of consular rank caught his own household servants on their property with tow, and (368) torches in their hands, but durst not meddle with them. There being near his Golden House some granaries, the site of which he exceedingly coveted, they were battered as if with machines of war, and set on fire, the walls being built of

stone. During six days and seven nights this terrible devastation continued, the people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and shelter. Meanwhile, a vast number of stately buildings, the houses of generals celebrated in former times, and even then still decorated with the spoils of war, were laid in ashes; as well as the temples of the gods, which had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the Punic and Gallic wars: in short, everything that was remarkable and worthy to be seen which time had spared. This fire he beheld from a tower in the house of Mecaenas, and “being greatly delighted,” as he said, “with the beautiful effects of the conflagration,” he sung a poem on the ruin of Troy, in the tragic dress he used on the stage. To turn this calamity to his own advantage by plunder and rapine, he promised to remove the bodies of those who had perished in the fire, and clear the rubbish at his own expense; suffering no one to meddle with the remains of their property. But he not only received, but exacted contributions on account of the loss, until he had exhausted the means both of the provinces and private persons.

³⁹ Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis probrisque quaedam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum milia in rationem Libitinae venerunt; clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt; ignominia ad Orientem legionibus in Armenia sub iugum missis aegreque Syria retenta. Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuerit nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacerassent exstitisse. Multa Graece Latineque proscripta aut vulgata sunt, sicut illa: —

*Neron, Orestes, Alkmaion, maetroktonai.
Neonymphon Neron, idian maeter apekteinen.*

*Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem: sustulit ille patrem.*

*Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Paeon, ille Ekataebeletas.*

*Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.*

Sed neque auctores requisivit et quosdam per indicem delatos ad senatum adfici graviore poena prohibuit. Transeuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico

clara voce corripuerat, quod Naupli mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male disponderet; et Datus Atellanarum histrio in cantico quodam: “*Ugiaine pater, ugiaine mater*”, ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudii Agrippinaeque significans, et novissima clausula

Orcus vobis ducit pedes;

senatum gestu notarat. Histrionem et philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque summovit, vel contemptu omnis infimiae vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia.

XXXIX. To these terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the people by their prince, were added some proceeding from misfortune. Such were a pestilence, by which, within the space of one autumn, there died no less than thirty thousand persons, as appeared from the registers in the temple of Libitina; a great disaster in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging to the Romans were plundered; and a (369) dreadful havoc made both amongst our troops and allies; a shameful discomfiture of the army of the East; where, in Armenia, the legions were obliged to pass under the yoke, and it was with great difficulty that Syria was retained. Amidst all these disasters, it was strange, and, indeed, particularly remarkable, that he bore nothing more patiently than the scurrilous language and railing abuse which was in every one’s mouth; treating no class of persons with more gentleness, than those who assailed him with invective and lampoons. Many things of that kind were posted up about the city, or otherwise published, both in Greek and Latin: such as these: —

Neron, Orestes, Alkmaion, maetroktonai.
Neonymphon Neron, idian maeter apektein.
Orestes and Alcaeon — Nero too,
The lustful Nero, worst of all the crew,
Fresh from his bridal — their own mothers slew.

Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem: sustulit ille patrem.
Sprung from Aeneas, pious, wise and great,
Who says that Nero is degenerate?
Safe through the flames, one bore his sire; the other,
To save himself, took off his loving mother.

*Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Paeon, ille Ekataebeletaes.*
His lyre to harmony our Nero strings;
His arrows o'er the plain the Parthian wings:
Ours call the tuneful Paeon, — famed in war,
The other Phoebus name, the god who shoots afar.

*Roma domus fiet: Vejos migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Vejos occupat ista domus.*
All Rome will be one house: to Veii fly,
Should it not stretch to Veii, by and by.

(370) But he neither made any inquiry after the authors, nor when information was laid before the senate against some of them, would he allow a severe sentence to be passed. Isidorus, the Cynic philosopher, said to him aloud, as he was passing along the streets, “You sing the misfortunes of Nauplius well, but behave badly yourself.” And Datus, a comic actor, when repeating these words in the piece, “Farewell, father! Farewell mother!” mimicked the gestures of persons drinking and swimming, significantly alluding to the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina: and on uttering the last clause, —

Orcus vobis ducit pedes;
You stand this moment on the brink of Orcus;

he plainly intimated his application of it to the precarious position of the senate. Yet Nero only banished the player and philosopher from the city and Italy; either because he was insensible to shame, or from apprehension that if he discovered his vexation, still keener things might be said of him.

⁴⁰ Talem principem paulo minus quattuordecim annos perpessus terrarum orbis tandem destituit, initium facientibus Gallis duce Iulio Vindice, Qui tum eam provinciam pro praetore optinebat. Praedictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat fore ut quandoque destitueretur; unde illa vox eius celeberrima:”To texnion hmas diatrefei”, quo maiore sciliet venia meditaretur citharoedicam artem, principi sibi gratam, privato necessariam. Sponderant tamen quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hieroslymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restituionem. Cui spei pronior, Britannia Armeniaque amissa ac rursus utraque recepta, derfunctum se fatalibus malis existimabat. Ut vero consulo Delphis Apolline septuagensimum ac tertium annum cavendum sibi

audivit, quasi eo Galbea, tanta fiducia non modo senectam sed etiam perpetuam singularemque concepit felicitatem, ut amissis naufragio pretioissimis rebus non dubitaverit inter suos dicere pisces eas sibi relatores. Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat, adeoque lente et secure tulit ut gaudens etiam suspicionem praeberet tamquam occasione nata spolindarum iure balli opulentissimarum provinciarum; statimque in gymnasium progressus certantis athletas effusissimo studio spectavit. Cenae quoque tempore interpellatus tumultuosioribus litteris hactenus excanduit, ut malum iis qui descissent minaretur. Denique per octo continuos dies non rescribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut praecipere conatus rem silentio obliteravit.

XL. The world, after tolerating such an emperor for little less than fourteen years, at length forsook him; the Gauls, headed by Julius Vindex, who at that time governed the province as pro-praetor, being the first to revolt. Nero had been formerly told by astrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at last deserted by all the world; and this occasioned that celebrated saying of his, “An artist can live in any country;” by which he meant to offer as an excuse for his practice of music, that it was not only his amusement as a prince, but might be his support when reduced to a private station. Yet some of the astrologers promised him, in his forlorn state, the rule of the East, and some in express words the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the greater part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to his former fortune. And being most inclined to believe the latter prediction, upon losing Britain and Armenia, he imagined he had run through all the misfortunes which the fates had decreed him. But when, upon consulting the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, he was advised to beware of the seventy-third year, as if he were not to die till then, never thinking of Galba’s age, he conceived such hopes, not only of living to advanced years, but of constant and singular good fortune, that having lost some things of great value by shipwreck, he scrupled not to say amongst his friends, that (371) “the fishes would bring them back to him.” At Naples he heard of the insurrection in Gaul, on the anniversary of the day on which he killed his mother, and bore it with so much unconcern, as to excite a suspicion that he was really glad of it, since he had now a fair opportunity of plundering those wealthy provinces by the right of war. Immediately going to the gymnasium, he witnessed the exercise of the wrestlers with the greatest delight. Being interrupted at supper with letters which brought yet worse news, he expressed no greater resentment, than only to threaten the rebels. For eight days together, he never attempted to answer any letters, nor give any orders, but buried the whole affair in profound silence.

⁴¹ Edictis tandem Vindicis contumeliosis et frequentibus permotus senaum epistula in ultionem sui reique publicae adhortatus est, excusato languore faucium, propter quem non adesset. Nihil autem aeque doluit, quam ut malum se citharoedum increpitum ac pro Nerone Ahenobarbum appellatum; et nomen quidem gentile, quod sibi per contumeliam exprobaretur, resumpturum se professus est deposito adoptivo, cetera convicia, ut falsa, non alio argumento refellebat, quam quod etiam inscitia sibi tanto opere elaboratae perfectaeque a se artis obiceretur, singulos subinde rogans, nossentne quemquam praestantiorum. Sed urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis Romam praetrepidus rediit; leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum adnotasset insculptum monumento militem Gallum ab equite R. oppressum trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exsiluit gaudio caelumque adoravit. Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu aut populo coram apellito quosdam e primoribus viris evocavit transactaque raptim consultatione reliquam diei partem per organa hydraulica novi et ignotis generis circumduxit, ostendensque singula, de ratione et difficultate cuiusque disserens, iam se etiam prolaturum omnia in theatrum affirmavit, si per Vindicem liceat.

XLI. Being roused at last by numerous proclamations of Vindex, treating him with reproaches and contempt, he in a letter to the senate exhorted them to avenge his wrongs and those of the republic; desiring them to excuse his not appearing in the senate-house, because he had got cold. But nothing so much galled him, as to find himself railed at as a pitiful harper, and, instead of Nero, styled Aenobarbus: which being his family name, since he was upbraided with it, he declared that he would resume it, and lay aside the name he had taken by adoption. Passing by the other accusations as wholly groundless, he earnestly refuted that of his want of skill in an art upon which he had bestowed so much pains, and in which he had arrived at such perfection; asking frequently those about him, "if they knew any one who was a more accomplished musician?" But being alarmed by messengers after messengers of ill news from Gaul, he returned in great consternation to Rome. On the road, his mind was somewhat relieved, by observing the frivolous omen of a Gaulish soldier defeated and dragged by the hair by a Roman knight, which was sculptured on a monument; so that he leaped for joy, and adored the heavens. Even then he made no appeal either to the senate or people, but calling together some of the leading men at his own house, he held a hasty consultation upon the present state of affairs, and then, during the remainder of the day, carried them about with him to view some musical instruments, of a new invention, which were played by water (372) exhibiting all the parts, and discoursing upon the principles and difficulties of the contrivance; which, he told them, he intended to produce in the theatre, if Vindex

would give him leave.

⁴² Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, conlapsus animoque male facto diu sine voce et prope intermortuus iacuit, utque resipit, veste discissa, capite converberato, actum de se pronuntiavit consolantique nutriculae et aliis quoque iam principibus similia accidisse memoranti, se vero praeter ceteros inaudita et incognita pati respondit, qui summum imperium vivus amitteret. Nec eo setius quicquam ex consuetudine luxus atque desidia omisit et inminuit quin immo cum prosperi quiddam ex provinciis nuntiatum esset, super abundantissimum cenam iocularia in defectionis duces carmina lasciveque modulata, quae vulgo notuerunt, etiam gesticulatus est; ac spectaculis theatri clam inlatus cuidam scaenico placenti nuntium misit abuti eum occupationibus suis.

XLII. Soon afterwards, he received intelligence that Galba and the Spaniards had declared against him; upon which, he fainted, and losing his reason, lay a long time speechless, apparently dead. As soon as recovered from this state stupefaction he tore his clothes, and beat his head, crying out, "It is all over with me!" His nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied, "I am beyond all example wretched, for I have lost an empire whilst I am still living." He, nevertheless, abated nothing of his luxury and inattention to business. Nay, on the arrival of good news from the provinces, he, at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of merriment, some jovial verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made public; and accompanied them with suitable gestures. Being carried privately to the theatre, he sent word to an actor who was applauded by the spectators, "that he had it all his own way, now that he himself did not appear on the stage."

⁴³ Initio statim tumultus multa et inmania, verum non abhorrentia a natura sua creditur destinasse; successores percussoresque summittere exercitus et provincias regentibus, quasi conspiratis idemque et unum sentientibus; quidquid ubique exsulum, quidquid in urbe hominum Gallicanorum esset contrucidare, illos ne desciscentibus adgregarentur, hos ut conscios popularium suorum atque fautores; Gallias exercitibus diripiendas permittere; senatum universum veneno per convivia necare; urbem incendere feris in populum immissis, quo difficilius defenderentur. Sed absteritus non tam paenitentia quam perficiendi desperatione credensque expeditionem necessariam, consules ante tempus privavit honore atque in utriusque locum solus iniit consulatum, quasi fatale esset non posse

Gallias debellari nisi a consule. Ac susceptis fascibus cum post epulas triclinio digrederetur, innixus umeris familiarium affirmavit, simul ac primum provinciam attigisset, inermem se in conspectum exercituum proditurum nec quicquam aliud quam fleturum, revocatisque ad paenitentiam defectoribus insequenti die laetum inter laetos cantaturum epinicia, quae iam nunc sibi componi oporteret.

XLIII. At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed that he had formed many designs of a monstrous nature, although conformable enough to his natural disposition. These were to send new governors and commanders to the provinces and the armies, and employ assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as men unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him; to massacre the exiles in every quarter, and all the Gaulish population in Rome; the former lest they should join the insurrection; the latter as privy to the designs of their countrymen, and ready to support (373) them; to abandon Gaul itself, to be wasted and plundered by his armies; to poison the whole senate at a feast; to fire the city, and then let loose the wild beasts upon the people, in order to impede their stopping the progress of the flames. But being deterred from the execution of these designs not so much by remorse of conscience, as by despair of being able to effect them, and judging an expedition into Gaul necessary, he removed the consuls from their office, before the time of its expiration was arrived; and in their room assumed the consulship himself without a colleague, as if the fates had decreed that Gaul should not be conquered, but by a consul. Upon assuming the fasces, after an entertainment at the palace, as he walked out of the room leaning on the arms of some of his friends, he declared, that as soon as he arrived in the province, he would make his appearance amongst the troops, unarmed, and do nothing but weep: and that, after he had brought the mutineers to repentance, he would, the next day, in the public rejoicings, sing songs of triumph, which he must now, without loss of time, apply himself to compose.

⁴⁴ In praeparanda expeditione primam curam habuit deligendi vehicula portandis scaenicis organis concubinasque, quas secum educeret, tundendi ad virilem modum et securibus peltisque Amazonicis instruendi. Mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit ac nullo idoneo respondente certum dominis servorum numerum indixit; nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis, recepit. Partem etiam census omnes ordines conferre iussit et insuper inquilinos privatarum aedium atque insularum pensionem annuam repraesentare fisco; exegitque, ingenti fastidio et

acerbitate nummum asperum argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam, ut plerique omnem collationem palam recusarent, consensu flagitantes a delatoribus potius revocanda praemia quaecumque cepissent.

XLIV. In preparing for this expedition, his first care was to provide carriages for his musical instruments and machinery to be used upon the stage; to have the hair of the concubines he carried with him dressed in the fashion of men; and to supply them with battle-axes, and Amazonian bucklers. He summoned the city-tribes to enlist; but no qualified persons appearing, he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, the best they had, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded the several orders of the people to bring in a fixed proportion of their estates, as they stood in the censor's books; all tenants of houses and mansions to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer; and, with unheard-of strictness, would receive only new coin of the purest silver and the finest gold; insomuch that most people refused to pay, crying out unanimously that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to surrender their gains.

⁴⁵ Ex annonae quoque caritate lucranti adcrevit invidia; nam et forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandrina navis nuntiaretur pulverem luctatoribus aulicis advexisse. Quare omnium in se odio incitato nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret. Statuae eius a vertice cirrus appositus est cum inscriptione Graeca; nunc demum agona esse, et traderet tandem. Altrius collo aszkosz praeligatus simulque titulus: "Ego egi quod potui. Sed tu cullum meruisti." Ascriptum et columnis, etiam Gallos eum cantando excitasse. Iam noctibus iurga cum servis plerique simulantes crebro Vindicem poscebant.

XLV. The general odium in which he was held received an increase by the great scarcity of corn, and an occurrence connected with it. For, as it happened just at that time, there arrived from Alexandria a ship, which was said to be freighted (374) with dust for the wrestlers belonging to the emperor. This so much inflamed the public rage, that he was treated with the utmost abuse and scurrility. Upon the top of one of his statues was placed the figure of a chariot with a Greek inscription, that "Now indeed he had a race to run; let him be gone." A little bag was tied about another, with a ticket containing these words; "What could I do?"— "Truly thou hast merited the sack." Some person likewise wrote on the pillars in the forum, "that he had even woke the cocks with his singing." And many, in the night-time, pretending to find fault with their servants, frequently called for a Vindex.

⁴⁶ Terrebatur ad hoc evidentibus portentibus somniorum et auspiorum et omnium, cum veteribus tum novis. Numquam antea somniare solitus occisa demum matre vidit per quietem navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum trahique se ab Octavia uxore in artissimas tenebras et modo pinnatarum formicarum multitudine oppleri, modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri acerique progressu; asturconem, quo maxime laetabatur, posteriore corporis parte in simiae speciem transfiguratum ac tantum capite integro hinnitus edere canoros. De Mausoleo, sponte foribus patefactis, exaudia vox est nomine eum cientis. Kal. Ian. exornati Lares in ipso sacrificii apparatu conciderunt; auspicianti Sporus anulum muneri optulit, cuius gemmae sculptura erat Proserpinae raptus; votorum nuncupatione, magna iam ordinum frequentia, vix repertae Capitolii claves. Cum ex oratione eius, qua in Vindicem perorabat, recitaretur in senatu daturos poenas sceleratos ac brevi dignum exitum facturos, conclamatum est ab universis :”Tu facies, Auguste.” Observatum etiam fuerat novissimam fabulam cantasse eum publice Oedipodem exsulem atque in hoc desisse versu:

Thanein m’ anoge syngamos, maetaer, pataer.

XLVI. He was also terrified with manifest warnings, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices, and omens. He had never been used to dream before the murder of his mother. After that event, he fancied in his sleep that he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him: that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigiously dark place; and was at one time covered over with a vast swarm of winged ants, and at another, surrounded by the national images which were set up near Pompey’s theatre, and hindered from advancing farther; that a Spanish jennet he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape; and having his head only left unaltered, neighed very harmoniously. The doors of the mausoleum of Augustus flying open of themselves, there issued from it a voice, calling on him by name. The Lares being adorned with fresh garlands on the calends (the first) of January, fell down during the preparations for sacrificing to them. While he was taking (375) the omens, Sporus presented him with a ring, the stone of which had carved upon it the Rape of Proserpine. When a great multitude of the several orders was assembled, to attend at the solemnity of making vows to the gods, it was a long time before the keys of the Capitol could be found. And when, in a speech of his to the senate against Vindex, these words were read, “that the miscreants should be punished and soon make the end they merited,” they all cried out, “You will do it, Augustus.” It was likewise remarked, that the last tragic piece which he

sung, was Oedipus in Exile, and that he fell as he was repeating this verse:

Thanein m' anoge syngamos, maetaer, pataer.
Wife, mother, father, force me to my end.

⁴⁷ Nuntiata interim etiam ceterorum exercituum defectione litteras prandendi sibi redditas concerpserit, mensam subvertit, duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homericos a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo inlitis ac sumpto a Lucusta veneno et in auream pyxidem condito transiit in hortos Servilianos, ubi praemissis libertorum fidissimis Ostiam ad classem praeparandam tribunos centurionesque praetorii de fugae societate temptavit. Sed partim tergiversantibus, partim aperte detrectantibus, uno vero etiam proclamante —

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

varie agitavit, Parthosne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum proque rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione veniam praeteritorum precaretur, ac ni flexisset animos, vel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret. Inventus est postea in scrinio eius hac de re sermo formatus; sed deterritum putant, ne prius quam in Forum perveniret discerneretur. Sic cogitatione in posterum diem dilata ad mediam fere noctem excitatus, ut comperit stationem militum recessisse, prosiluit e lecto misitque circum amicos, et quia nihil a quoquam renuntiabatur, ipse cum paucis hospitia singulorum adiit. Verum clausis omnium foribus, respondente nullo, in cubiculum rediit, unde iam et custodes diffugerant, direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide veneni; ac statim Spiculum murmillonem vel quemlibet alium percussorem, cuius manu periret, requisivit et nemine reperto “Ergo ego” inquit “nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum?” procurritque, quasi praecipitaturus se in Tiberim.

XLVII. Meanwhile, on the arrival of the news, that the rest of the armies had declared against him, he tore to pieces the letters which were delivered to him at dinner, overthrew the table, and dashed with violence against the ground two favourite cups, which he called Homer's, because some of that poet's verses were cut upon them. Then taking from Locusta a dose of poison, which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servilian gardens, and thence dispatching a trusty freedman to Ostia, with orders to make ready a fleet, he endeavoured to prevail with some tribunes and centurions of the pretorian guards to attend him in his flight; but part of them showing no great inclination to comply, others absolutely refusing, and one of them crying out aloud, —

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Say, is it then so sad a thing to die?

he was in great perplexity whether he should submit himself to Galba, or apply to the Parthians for protection, or else appear before the people dressed in mourning, and, upon the rostra, in the most piteous manner, beg pardon for his past misdemeanors, and, if he could not prevail, request of them to grant him at least the government of Egypt. A speech to this purpose was afterwards found in his writing-case. But it is conjectured that he durst not venture upon this project, for fear of being torn to pieces, before he could get to the Forum. Deferring, therefore, his resolution until the next (376) day, he awoke about midnight, and finding the guards withdrawn, he leaped out of bed, and sent round for his friends. But none of them vouchsafing any message in reply, he went with a few attendants to their houses. The doors being every where shut, and no one giving him any answer, he returned to his bed-chamber; whence those who had the charge of it had all now eloped; some having gone one way, and some another, carrying off with them his bedding and box of poison. He then endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or some one to kill him; but not being able to procure any one, "What!" said he, "have I then neither friend nor foe?" and immediately ran out, as if he would throw himself into the Tiber.

⁴⁸ Sed revocato rursus impetu aliquid secretioribus latebrae ad colligendum animum desideravit, et offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum miliarum, ut erat nudo pede atque tunicatus, paenulam obsoleti coloris superinduit adopertoque capite et ante faciem optento sudario equum inscendit, quattuor solis comitantibus, inter quos et Sporus erat. 2 Statimque tremore terrae et fulgure adverso pavefactus audiit e proximis castris clamorem militum et sibi adversa et Galbae prospera ominantium, etiam ex obviis viatoribus quendam dicentem: 'Hi Neronem persequuntur', alium sciscitantem: 'Ecquid in urbe novi de Nerone?' Equo autem ex odore abiecti in via cadaveris conseruato detecta facie agnitus est a quodam missicio praetoriano et salutatus. 3 Ut ad deverticulum ventum est, dimissis equis inter fruticeta ac vepres per harundineti semitam aegre nec nisi strata sub pedibus veste ad aversum villae parietem evasit. Ibi hortante eodem Phaonte, ut interim in specum egestae harenae concederet, negavit se vivum sub terram iturum, ac parumper commoratus, dum clandestinus ad villam introitus pararetur, aquam ex subiecta lacuna poturus manu hausit et 'Haec est' inquit, 'Neronis decocta.' 4 Dein divolsa sentibus paenula traiectos surculos rasisit, atque ita quadripes per angustias effossae cavernae receptus in proximam cellam decubuit

super lectum modica culcita, vetere pallio strato, instructum; fameque et iterum siti interpellante panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquae autem tepidae aliquantum bibit

XLVIII. But this furious impulse subsiding, he wished for some place of privacy, where he might collect his thoughts; and his freedman Phaon offering him his country-house, between the Salarian and Nomentan roads, about four miles from the city, he mounted a horse, barefoot as he was, and in his tunic, only slipping over it an old soiled cloak; with his head muffled up, and an handkerchief before his face, and four persons only to attend him, of whom Sporus was one. He was suddenly struck with horror by an earthquake, and by a flash of lightning which darted full in his face, and heard from the neighbouring camp the shouts of the soldiers, wishing his destruction, and prosperity to Galba. He also heard a traveller they met on the road, say, "They are (377) in pursuit of Nero:" and another ask, "Is there any news in the city about Nero?" Uncovering his face when his horse was started by the scent of a carcase which lay in the road, he was recognized and saluted by an old soldier who had been discharged from the guards. When they came to the lane which turned up to the house, they quitted their horses, and with much difficulty he wound among bushes, and briars, and along a track through a bed of rushes, over which they spread their cloaks for him to walk on. Having reached a wall at the back of the villa, Phaon advised him to hide himself awhile in a sand-pit; when he replied, "I will not go under-ground alive." Staying there some little time, while preparations were made for bringing him privately into the villa, he took up some water out of a neighbouring tank in his hand, to drink, saying, "This is Nero's distilled water." Then his cloak having been torn by the brambles, he pulled out the thorns which stuck in it. At last, being admitted, creeping upon his hands and knees, through a hole made for him in the wall, he lay down in the first closet he came to, upon a miserable pallet, with an old coverlet thrown over it; and being both hungry and thirsty, though he refused some coarse bread that was brought him, he drank a little warm water.

⁴⁹ Tunc uno quoque hinc inde instante ut quam primum se impendentibus contumeliis eriperet, scrobem coram fieri imperavit dimensus ad corporis sui modulum, componique simul, si qua invenirentur, frustra marmoris et aquam simul ac ligna conferri curando mox cadaveri, flens ad singula atque identidem dictitans: "Qualis artifex pereo!". Inter moras perlatos a cursore Phaonti codicillos praecepit legitque se hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri, ut puniatur more maiorum, interrogavitque, quale id genus esset poenae; et cum comperisset

nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi, conterritus duos pugiones, quos secum extulerat, arripuit temptataque utriusque acie rursus condidit, causatus nondum adesse fatalem horam. Ac modo Sporum hortabatur, ut lamentari ac plangere inciperet, modo orabat, ut se aliquis ad mortem capessendam exemplo iuaret; interdum segnitiam suam his verbis increpabat: “Vivo deformiter, turpiter — *ou prepei Neroni, ou prepei — nefein dei en tois toioutois — age egeire seauton.*” Iamque equites appropinquabant, quibus praeceptum erat, ut vivum eum adtraherent. Quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus:

Hippon m' okupodon amphi ktupos ouata ballei;

ferrum iugulo adegit iuvante Epaphrodito a libellis. Semianimisque adhuc irrumpenti centurioni et paenula ad vulnus adposita in auxilium se venisse simulanti non aliud respondit quam “Sero” et “Haec est fides”. atque in ea voce defecit, exstantibus rigentibusque oculis usque ad horrorem formidinemque visentium. Nihil prius aut magis a comitibus exegerat quam ne potestas cuiquam capitis sui fieret, sed ut quoquo modo totus cremaretur. Permisit hoc Icelus, Galbae libertus, non multo ante vinculis exsolutus, in quae primo tumultu coniectus fuerat.

XLIX. All who surrounded him now pressing him to save himself from the indignities which were ready to befall him, he ordered a pit to be sunk before his eyes, of the size of his body, and the bottom to be covered with pieces of marble put together, if any could be found about the house; and water and wood, to be got ready for immediate use about his corpse; weeping at every thing that was done, and frequently saying, “What an artist is now about to perish!” Meanwhile, letters being brought in by a servant belonging to Phaon, he snatched them out of his hand, and there read, “That he had been declared an enemy by the senate, and that search was making for him, that he might be punished according to the ancient custom of the Romans.” He then inquired what kind of punishment that was; and being told, that the (378) practice was to strip the criminal naked, and scourge him to death, while his neck was fastened within a forked stake, he was so terrified that he took up two daggers which he had brought with him, and after feeling the points of both, put them up again, saying, “The fatal hour is not yet come.” One while, he begged of Sporus to begin to wail and lament; another while, he entreated that one of them would set him an example by killing himself; and then again, he condemned his own want of resolution in these words: “I yet live to my shame and disgrace: this is not becoming for Nero: it is not becoming. Thou oughtest in such circumstances to

have a good heart: Come, then: courage, man!" The horsemen who had received orders to bring him away alive, were now approaching the house. As soon as he heard them coming, he uttered with a trembling voice the following verse,

Hippon m'okupodon amphi ktupos ouata ballei;
The noise of swift-heel'd steeds assails my ears;

he drove a dagger into his throat, being assisted in the act by Epaphroditus, his secretary. A centurion bursting in just as he was half-dead, and applying his cloak to the wound, pretending that he was come to his assistance, he made no other reply but this, "'Tis too late;" and "Is this your loyalty?" Immediately after pronouncing these words, he expired, with his eyes fixed and starting out of his head, to the terror of all who beheld him. He had requested of his attendants, as the most essential favour, that they would let no one have his head, but that by all means his body might be burnt entire. And this, Icelus, Galba's freedman, granted. He had but a little before been discharged from the prison into which he had been thrown, when the disturbances first broke out.

⁵⁰ Funeratus est impensa ducentorum milium, stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus Kal. Ian. fuerat. Reliquias Egloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monimento condiderunt quod prospicitur e campo Martio impositum colli Hortulorum. In eo monimento solium porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumsaeptum est lapide Thasio.

L. The expenses of his funeral amounted to two hundred thousand sesterces; the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt, being covered with the white robes, interwoven with gold, which he had worn upon the calends of January preceding. His nurses, Ecloge and Alexandra, with his concubine Acte, deposited his remains in the tomb belonging (379) to the family of the Domitii, which stands upon the top of the Hill of the Gardens, and is to be seen from the Campus Martius. In that monument, a coffin of porphyry, with an altar of marble of Luna over it, is enclosed by a wall built of stone brought from Thasos.

⁵¹ Statura fuit prope iusta, corpore maculoso et fetido, subflavo capillo, vultu pulchro magis quam venusto, oculis caesis et hebetioribus, cervice obesa, ventre proiecto, gracillimis cruribus, valitudine prospera; nam qui luxuria immoderatissimae esset, ter omnino per quattuordecim annos languit, atque ita ut neque vino neque consuetudine reliqua abstineret; circa cultum habitumque adeo

puhendus, ut comam semper in gradus formatam peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem summiserit ac plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum sudario in publicum sine cinctu et discalciatus.

LI. In stature he was a little below the common height; his skin was foul and spotted; his hair inclined to yellow; his features were agreeable, rather than handsome; his eyes grey and dull, his neck was thick, his belly prominent, his legs very slender, his constitution sound. For, though excessively luxurious in his mode of living, he had, in the course of fourteen years, only three fits of sickness; which were so slight, that he neither forbore the use of wine, nor made any alteration in his usual diet. In his dress, and the care of his person, he was so careless, that he had his hair cut in rings, one above another; and when in Achaia, he let it grow long behind; and he generally appeared in public in the loose dress which he used at table, with a handkerchief about his neck, and without either a girdle or shoes.

⁵² Liberalis disciplinas omnis fere puer attigit. Sed a philosophia eum mater avertit monens imperaturo contrariam esse; a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret. Itaque ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit. Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum duibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis, ut facile appareret non tralatos aut dictante aliquo exceptos, sed plane quasi a cogitante atque generante exaratos; ita multa et deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant. Habuit et pingendi fingendique non mediocre studium.

LII. He was instructed, when a boy, in the rudiments of almost all the liberal sciences; but his mother diverted him from the study of philosophy, as unsuited to one destined to be an emperor; and his preceptor, Seneca, discouraged him from reading the ancient orators, that he might longer secure his devotion to himself. Therefore, having a turn for poetry, (380) he composed verses both with pleasure and ease; nor did he, as some think, publish those of other writers as his own. Several little pocket-books and loose sheets have cone into my possession, which contain some well-known verses in his own hand, and written in such a manner, that it was very evident, from the blotting and interlining, that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but were written by the composer of them.

⁵³ Maxime autem popularitate efferebatur, omnium aemulus, qui quoquo modo

animum vulgi moverent. Exiit opinio post scaenicas coronas proximo lustro descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas; nam et luctabatur assidue nec aliter certamina gymnica tota Graecia spectaverat quam brabeutarum more in stadio humi assidens ac, si qua paria longius recessissent, in medium manibus suis protrahens. Destinaverat etiam, quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando aequiperare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis facta; praeparatumque leonem aiunt, quem vel clava vel brachiorum nexibus in amphitheatri harena spectante populo nudus elideret.

LIII. He had likewise great taste for drawing and painting, as well as for moulding statues in plaster. But, above all things, he most eagerly coveted popularity, being the rival of every man who obtained the applause of the people for any thing he did. It was the general belief, that, after the crowns he won by his performances on the stage, he would the next lustrum have taken his place among the wrestlers at the Olympic games. For he was continually practising that art; nor did he witness the gymnastic games in any part of Greece otherwise than sitting upon the ground in the stadium, as the umpires do. And if a pair of wrestlers happened to break the bounds, he would with his own hands drag them back into the centre of the circle. Because he was thought to equal Apollo in music, and the sun in chariot-driving, he resolved also to imitate the achievements of Hercules. And they say that a lion was got ready for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in view of the people in the amphitheatre; which he was to perform naked.

⁵⁴ Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium ac novissimo die histrionem saltaturumque Vergili Turnum. Et sunt qui tradant Paridem histrionem occisum ab eo quasi gravem adversarium.

LIV. Towards the end of his life, he publicly vowed, that if his power in the state was securely re-established, he would, in the spectacles which he intended to exhibit in honour of his success, include a performance upon organs, as well as upon flutes and bagpipes, and, on the last day of the games, would act in the play, and take the part of Turnus, as we find it in Virgil. And there are some who say, that he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival.

⁵⁵ Erat illi aeternitatis perpetuaeque famae cupido, sed inconsulta. Ideoque multis rebus ac locis vetere appellatione detracta novam indixit ex suo nomine, mensem quoque Aprilem Neroneum appellavit; destinaverat et Romam

Neropolim nuncupare.

LV. He had an insatiable desire to immortalize his name, and acquire a reputation which should last through all succeeding ages; but it was capriciously directed. He therefore (381) took from several things and places their former appellations, and gave them new names derived from his own. He called the month of April, Neroneus, and designed changing the name of Rome into that of Neropolis.

⁵⁶ Religionum usque quaque contemptor, praeter unius Deae Syriae, hanc mox ita sprexit, Ut urina contaminaret, alia superstitione captus in qua sola pertinacissime haesit, siquidem imagunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum a pebeio quodam et ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim coniuratione pro summo numine trinisque in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit volebatque credi monitione eius futura praenosceret. Ante paucos quam periret menses attendit et extispicio nec umquam litavit.

LVI. He held all religious rites in contempt, except those of the Syrian Goddess; but at last he paid her so little reverence, that he made water upon her; being now engaged in another superstition, in which only he obstinately persisted. For having received from some obscure plebeian a little image of a girl, as a preservative against plots, and discovering a conspiracy immediately after, he constantly worshipped his imaginary protectress as the greatest amongst the gods, offering to her three sacrifices daily. He was also desirous to have it supposed that he had, by revelations from this deity, a knowledge of future events. A few months before he died, he attended a sacrifice, according to the Etruscan rites, but the omens were not favourable.

⁵⁷ Obiit tricensimo et secundo aetatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat, tantumque gaudium publice praebuit, ut plebs pilleata tota urbe discurreret. Et tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis aestivisque floribus tumulum eius ornarent ac modo imagines praetextatas in rostris proferrent, modo edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quin etiam Vologaesus Parthorum rex missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate hoc etiam magno opere oravit, ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Denique cum post viginti annos adulescente me exstitisset condicionis incertae qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam favorable nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adiutus et vix redditus sit.

LVII. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, upon the same day on which he had formerly put Octavia to death; and the public joy was so great upon the occasion, that the common people ran about the city with caps upon their heads. Some, however, were not wanting, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. Sometimes they placed his image upon the rostra, dressed in robes of state; at another, they published proclamations in his name, as if he were still alive, and would shortly return to Rome, and take vengeance on all his enemies. Vologesus, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the senate to renew his alliance with the Roman people, earnestly requested that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero; and, to conclude, when, twenty years afterwards, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, that name secured him so favourable a reception (382) from the Parthians, that he was very zealously supported, and it was with much difficulty that they were prevailed upon to give him up.

THE LIFE OF GALBA

¹ Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit; quod futurum, compluribus quidem signis, sed vel evidentissimis duobus apparuit. Liviae, olim post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum revisendi, praetervolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles provenit, ut hodieque ea uilla ad Gallinas vocetur, tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mox triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pangere; et observatum est, sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid ibi gallinarum erat interiit; ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede, capita omnibus simul statuīs deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est.

(400) I. The race of the Caesars became extinct in Nero; an event prognosticated by various signs, two of which were particularly significant. Formerly, when Livia, after her marriage with Augustus, was making a visit to her villa at Veii, an eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as she had seized it. Livia gave orders to have the hen taken care of, and the sprig of laurel set; and the hen reared such a numerous brood of chickens, that the villa, to this day, is called the Villa of the Hens. The laurel groves flourished so much, that the Caesars procured thence the boughs and crowns they bore at their triumphs. It was also their constant custom to plant others on the same spot, immediately after a triumph; and it was observed that, a little before the death of each prince, the tree which had been set by him died away. But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of laurels perished to the very roots, and the hens all died. About the same time, the temple of the Caesars being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues in it fell off at once; and Augustus's sceptre was dashed from his hands.

² Neroni Galba successit nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum, sed haud dubie nobilissimus magnaque et vetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis pronepotem se Quinti Catuli Capitolini semper ascripserit, imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit, quo paternam originem ad Iovem, maternam ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret.

II. Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the remotest degree allied to

the family of the Caesars, but, without doubt, of very noble extraction, being descended from a great and ancient family; for he always used to put amongst his other titles, upon the bases of his statues, his being great-grandson to Q. Catulus Capitolinus. And when he came to (401) be emperor, he set up the images of his ancestors in the hall of the palace; according to the inscriptions on which, he carried up his pedigree on the father's side to Jupiter; and by the mother's to Pasiphae, the wife of Minos.

³ Imagines et elogia universi generis exsequi longum est: familiae breviter attingam. Qui prius Sulpiciorum cognomen Galbae tulit, cur aut unde traxerit, ambigitur. Quidam putant, quod oppidum Hispaniae frustra diu oppugnatum inlitis demum galbano facibus succenderit; alii; quod in diuturna valitudine galbeo, id est remediis lana involutis, assidue uteretur: nonnulli, quod praepinguis fuerit visus, quem galbam Galli vocent; vel contra, quod tam exilis, quam sunt animalia quae in aesculis nascuntur appellanturque galbae. Familiam illustravit Seruius Galba consularis, temporum suorum et eloquentissimus, quem tradunt Hispaniam ex praetura optinentem, triginta Lusitanorum milibus perfidia trucidatis, Viriati bellum causam exstitisse. Eius nepos ob repulsa consulatus infensus Iulio Caesari, cuius legatus in Gallia fuerat, conspiravit cum Cassio et Bruto, propter quod Pedia lege damnatus est. Ab hoc sunt imperatoris Galbae avus ac pater: avus clarior studiis quam dignitate (non enim egressus praeturae gradum) multiplicem nec incuriosam historiam edidit; pater consulatu functus, quamquam brevi corpore, atque etiam gibber, modicaeque in dicendo facultatis, causas industrie actitavit. Vxores habuit Mummiam Achaia, neptem Catuli proneptemque L. Mummi, qui Corinthum excidit; item Liviam Ocellinam ditem admodum et pulchram, a qua tamen nobilitatis causa appetitus ultro existimatur, et aliquando enixius post quam subinde instantis vitium corporis secreto posita veste detexit, ne quasi ignaram fallere videretur. Ex Achaica liberos Gaium et Servium procreavit, quorum maior Gaius attritis facultatibus urbe cessit, prohibitusque a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum voluntaria morte obiit.

III. To give even a short account of the whole family, would be tedious. I shall, therefore, only slightly notice that branch of it from which he was descended. Why, or whence, the first of the Sulpicii who had the cognomen of Galba, was so called, is uncertain. Some are of opinion, that it was because he set fire to a city in Spain, after he had a long time attacked it to no purpose, with torches dipped in the gum called Galbanum: others said he was so named, because, in a lingering disease, he made use of it as a remedy, wrapped up in wool: others, on account of his being prodigiously corpulent, such a one being

called, in the language of the Gauls, Galba; or, on the contrary, because he was of a slender habit of body, like those insects which breed in a sort of oak, and are called Galbae. Sergius Galba, a person of consular rank, and the most eloquent man of his time, gave a lustre to the family. History relates, that, when he was pro-praetor of Spain, he perfidiously put to the sword thirty thousand Lusitanians, and by that means gave occasion to the war of Viriatus . His grandson being incensed against Julius Caesar, whose lieutenant he had been in Gaul, because he was through him disappointed of the consulship, joined with Cassius and Brutus in the conspiracy against him, for which he was condemned by the Pedian law. From him were descended the grandfather and father of the emperor Galba. The grandfather was more celebrated for his application to study, than (402) for any figure he made in the government. For he rose no higher than the praetorship, but published a large and not uninteresting history. His father attained to the consulship : he was a short man and hump-backed, but a tolerable orator, and an industrious pleader. He was twice married: the first of his wives was Mumia Achaica, daughter of Catulus, and great-grand-daughter of Lucius Mummius, who sacked Corinth; and the other, Livia Ocellina, a very rich and beautiful woman, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent. They say, that she was farther encouraged to persevere in her advances, by an incident which evinced the great ingenuousness of his disposition. Upon her pressing her suit, he took an opportunity, when they were alone, of stripping off his toga, and showing her the deformity of his person, that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder of these, Caius, having very much reduced his estate, retired from town, and being prohibited by Tiberius from standing for a pro-consulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

⁴ Ser. Galba imperator M. Valerio Messala Cn. Lentulo cons. natus est VIII. Kal. Ian. in villa colli superposita prope Tarracinam, sinistrorsus Fundos potentibus, adoptatusque a noverca sua Livia nomen et Ocellae cognomen assumptis, mutato praenomine; nam Lucium mox pro Servio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit. Constat Augustum puero adhuc, salutanti se inter aequales, apprehensa buccula dixisse: *Kai sy teknon tes arches hemon paratroxei*. Sed et Tiberius, cum comperisset imperaturum eum, verum in senecta, “Vivat sane,” ait, “quando id ad nos nihil pertinet.” Avo quoque eius fulgur procuranti, cum exta de manibus aquila rapuisset et in frugiferam quercum contulisset, responsum est, summum sed serum imperium portendi familiae; et ille irridens, “Sane,” inquit, “cum mula pepererit.” Nihil aequae postea Galbam temptantem res novas confirmavit quam mulae partus, ceterisque ut obscaenum ostentum

abhorrentibus, solus pro laetissimo accepit memor sacrificii dictique avi. Sumpta virili toga, somniavit Fortunam dicentem, stare se ante fores defessam, et nisi ocius reciperetur, cuicumque obvio praedae futuram. Vtque evigilavit, aperto atrio simulacrum aeneum deae cubitali maius iuxta limen invenit, idque gremio suo Tusculum, ubi aestivare consuerat, avexit et in parte aedium consecrato menstruis deinceps supplicationibus et pervigilio anniversario coluit. Quamquam autem nondum aetate constanti veterem civitatis exoletumque morem ac tantum in domo sua haerentem obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti servique bis die frequentes adessent ac mane salvere, vesperi valere sibi singuli diceret.

IV. The emperor Sergius Galba was born in the consulship of M. Valerius Messala, and Cn. Lentulus, upon the ninth of the calends of January [24th December], in a villa standing upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left-hand side of the road to Fundi. Being adopted by his step-mother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and changed his praenomen; for he afterwards used that of Lucius, instead of Sergius, until he arrived at the imperial dignity. It is well known, that when he came once, amongst other boys of his own age, to pay his respects to Augustus, the latter, pinching his cheek, said to him, "And thou, child, too, wilt taste our imperial dignity." Tiberius, likewise, being told that he would come to be emperor, but at an advanced age, exclaimed, "Let him live, then, since that does not concern me!" When his grandfather was offering sacrifice to (403) avert some ill omen from lightning, the entrails of the victim were snatched out of his hand by an eagle, and carried off into an oak-tree loaded with acorns. Upon this, the soothsayers said, that the family would come to be masters of the empire, but not until many years had elapsed: at which he, smiling, said, "Ay, when a mule comes to bear a foal." When Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much confidence of success, as a mule's happening at that time to have a foal. And whilst all others were shocked at the occurrence, as a most inauspicious prodigy, he alone regarded it as a most fortunate omen, calling to mind the sacrifice and saying of his grandfather. When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamt that the goddess Fortune said to him, "I stand before your door weary; and unless I am speedily admitted, I shall fall into the hands of the first who comes to seize me." On his awaking, when the door of the house was opened, he found a brazen statue of the goddess, above a cubit long, close to the threshold, which he carried with him to Tusculum, where he used to pass the summer season; and having consecrated it in an apartment of his house, he ever after worshipped it with a monthly sacrifice, and an anniversary vigil. Though but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now nowhere observed, except in his own family, which

was, to have his freedmen and slaves appear in a body before him twice a day, morning and evening, to offer him their salutations

⁵ Inter liberales disciplinas attendit et iuri. Dedit et matrimonio operam; verum, amissa uxore Lepida duobusque ex ea filiis, remansit in caelibatu, neque sollicitari ulla condicione amplius potuit, ne Agrippinae quidem, viduatae morte Domitii, quae maritum quoque adhuc necdum caelibem Galbam adeo omnibus sollicitaverat modis, ut conventu matronarum correpta iurgio atque etiam manu pulsata sit a matre Lepidae. Observavit ante omnis Liviam Augustam, cuius et vivae gratia plurimum valuit et mortuae testamento paene ditatus est; sestertium namque quingentis cum praecipuum inter legatarios habuisset, quia notata non perscripta erat summa, herede Tiberio legatum ad quingenta revocante, ne haec quidem accepit.

V. Amongst other liberal studies, he applied himself to the law. He married Lepida, by whom he had two sons; but the mother and children all dying, he continued a widower; nor could he be prevailed upon to marry again, not even Agrippina herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius, who had employed all her blandishments to allure him to her embraces, while he was a married man; insomuch that Lepida's mother, when in company with several married women, rebuked her for it, and even went so far as to cuff her. Most of all, he courted the empress Livia, by whose favour, while she was living, he made a considerable figure, and narrowly missed being enriched by the will which she left at her death; in which she distinguished him from the rest of the (404) legatees, by a legacy of fifty millions of sesterces. But because the sum was expressed in figures, and not in words at length, it was reduced by her heir, Tiberius, to five hundred thousand: and even this he never received.

⁶ Honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis praetor commissione ludorum Floralium novum spectaculi genus elephantos funambulos edidit; exim provinciae Aquitaniae anno fere praefuit; mox consulatum per sex menses ordinarium gessit, evenitque ut in eo ipse L. Domitio patri Neronis, ipsi Salvius Otho pater Othonis succederet, velut praesagium insequentis casus, quo medius inter utriusque filios extitit imperator. A Gaio Caesare in locum Gaetulici substitutus, postridie quam ad legionis venit, sollemni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera, ut manus paenula continerent; statimque per castra iactatum est:

Disce, miles, militare: Galba est, non Gaetulicus.

Pari severitate interdixit commeatus peti. Veteranum ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroboravit, maturesque barbaris, qui iam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, praesenti quoque Gaio talem et se et exercitum approbavit, ut inter innumeras contractasque ex omnibus provinciis copias neque testimonium neque praemia ampliora ulli perciperent; ipse maxime insignis, quod campestem decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum imperatori per viginti passuum milia cucurrit.

VI. Filling the great offices before the age required for it by law, during his praetorship, at the celebration of games in honour of the goddess Flora, he presented the new spectacle of elephants walking upon ropes. He was then governor of the province of Aquitania for near a year, and soon afterwards took the consulship in the usual course, and held it for six months . It so happened that he succeeded L. Domitius, the father of Nero, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, father to the emperor of that name; so that his holding it between the sons of these two men, looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire. Being appointed by Caius Caesar to supersede Gaetulicus in his command, the day after his joining the legions, he put a stop to their plaudits in a public spectacle, by issuing an order, "That they should keep their hands under their cloaks." Immediately upon which, the following verse became very common in the camp:

Disce, miles, militare: Galba est, non Gaetulicus.

Learn, soldier, now in arms to use your hands,
'Tis Galba, not Gaetulicus, commands.

With equal strictness, he would allow of no petitions for leave of absence from the camp. He hardened the soldiers, both old and young, by constant exercise; and having quickly reduced within their own limits the barbarians who had made inroads into Gaul, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that, amongst the innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with higher commendation, or greater rewards from him. He likewise distinguished himself by heading an escort, with a shield in his hand, and running at the side of the emperor's chariot twenty miles together.

⁷ Caede Gaii nuntiata multis ad occasionem stimulantibus quietem praetulit. Per hoc gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum, tantae dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei valitudo nec adeo gravis incidisset,

dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicae dies. Africam pro consule biennio optinuit extra sortem electus ad ordinandam provinciam et intestina dissensione et barbarorum tumultu inquietam; ordinavitque magna severitatis ac iustitiae cura, etiam in parvulis rebus. Militi, qui per expeditionem artissima annona residuum cibariorum tritici modium centum denariis vendidisse arguebatur, vetuit, simul atque indigere cibo coepisset, a quoquam opem ferri; et is fame extabuit. At in iure dicendo cum de proprietate iumentum quaereretur, levibus utrimque argumentis et testibus ideoque difficili coniectura veritatis, ita decrevit ut ad lacum, ubi adaquari solebat, duceretur capite involuto atque ibidem revelato, eius esset, ad quem sponte se a potu recepisset.

VII. Upon the news of Caius's death, though many earnestly pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity of seizing the empire, he chose rather to be quiet. On this account, he was in great favour with Claudius, and being received into the number of his friends, stood so high in his good opinion, that the expedition to Britain was for some time suspended, because he was suddenly seized with a slight indisposition. He governed Africa, as pro-consul, for two years; being chosen out of the regular course to restore order in the province, which was in great disorder from civil dissensions, and the alarms of the barbarians. His administration was distinguished by great strictness and equity, even in matters of small importance. A soldier upon some expedition being charged with selling, in a great scarcity of corn, a bushel of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denarii, he forbade him to be relieved by any body, when he came to be in want himself; and accordingly he died of famine. When sitting in judgment, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, the ownership of which was claimed by two persons; the evidence being slight on both sides, and it being difficult to come at the truth, he ordered the beast to be led to a pond at which he had used to be watered, with his head muffled up, and the covering being there removed, that he should be the property of the person whom he followed of his own accord, after drinking.

⁂ Ob res et tunc in Africa et olim in Germania gestas ornamenta triumphalia accepit et sacerdotium triplex, inter quindecimviros sodalesque Titios item Augustales cooptatus; atque ex eo tempore prope ad medium Neronis principatum in secessum plurimum vixit (ne ad gestandum quidem umquam iter ingressus quam ut secum vehiculo proximo decies sestertium in auro efferret), donec in oppido Fundis moranti Hispania Tarraconensis oblata est. Acciditque ut, cum provinciam ingressus sacrificaret, intra aedem publicam puero e ministris acerram tenenti capillus repente toto capite canesceret, nec defuerunt

qui interpretarentur significari rerum mutationem successurumque iuveni senem, hoc est ipsum Neroni. Non multo post in Cantabriae lacum fulmen decidit, repertaeque sunt duodecim secures, haud ambiguum summae imperii signum.

VIII. For his achievements, both at this time in Africa, and formerly in Germany, he received the triumphal ornaments, and three sacerdotal appointments, one among The Fifteen, another in the college of Titius, and a third amongst the Augustals; and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part in retirement. He never went abroad (405) so much as to take the air, without a carriage attending him, in which there was a million of sesterces in gold, ready at hand; until at last, at the time he was living in the town of Fundi, the province of Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him. After his arrival in the province, whilst he was sacrificing in a temple, a boy who attended with a censer, became all on a sudden grey-headed. This incident was regarded by some as a token of an approaching revolution in the government, and that an old man would succeed a young one: that is, that he would succeed Nero. And not long after, a thunderbolt falling into a lake in Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it; a manifest sign of the supreme power.

⁹ Per octo annos varie et inaequaliter provinciam rexit, primo acer et vehemens et in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus. Nam et nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaeque eius adfixit, et tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, veneno necasset, cruce adfecit; implorantique leges et civem Romanum se testificanti, quasi solacio et honore aliquo poenam levaturus, mutari multoque praeter ceteras altiore et dealbatam statui crucem iussit. Paulatim in desidium segnitiemque conversus est, ne quid materiae praeberet Neroni, et ut dicere solebat, quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur. Carthagine nova conventum agens tumultuari Gallias comperit legato Aquitaniae auxilia implorante; supervenerunt et Vindicis litterae hortantis, ut humano generi assertorem ducemque se accommodaret. Nec diu cunctatus, condicionem partim metu, partim spe recepit; nam et mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprenderat, et confirmabatur cum secundissimis auspiciis et omnibus virginis honestae vaticinatione, tanto magis quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos Iovis Cluniae ex penetrali somnio monitus eruerat ante ducentos annos similiter a fatidica puella pronuntiata. Quorum carminum sententia erat, oriturum quandoque ex Hispania principem dominumque rerum.

IX. He governed the province during eight years, his administration being of

an uncertain and capricious character. At first he was active, vigorous, and indeed excessively severe, in the punishment of offenders. For, a money-dealer having committed some fraud in the way of his business, he cut off his hands, and nailed them to his counter. Another, who had poisoned an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and next heir to the estate, he crucified. On this delinquent imploring the protection of the law, and crying out that he was a Roman citizen, he affected to afford him some alleviation, and to mitigate his punishment, by a mark of honour, ordered a cross, higher than usual, and painted white, to be erected for him. But by degrees he gave himself up to a life of indolence and inactivity, from the fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, "Nobody was obliged to render an account of their leisure hours." He was holding a court of justice on the circuit at New Carthage, when he received intelligence of the insurrection in Gaul; and while the lieutenant of Aquitania was soliciting his assistance, letters were brought from Vindex, requesting him "to assert the rights of mankind, and put himself at their head to relieve them from the tyranny of Nero." Without any long demur, he accepted the invitation, from a mixture of fear and hope. For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the province to get (407) him dispatched; and he was encouraged to the enterprise, as well by several auspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young woman of good, family. The more so, because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, admonished by a dream, had discovered in the recesses of the temple some verses similar to those in which she had delivered her prophecy. These had also been uttered by a girl under divine inspiration, about two hundred years before. The import of the verses was, "That in time, Spain should give the world a lord and master."

¹⁰ Igitur cum quasi manumissioni vacaturus conscendisset tribunal, propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus et astante nobili puero, quem exulantem e proxima Balneari insula ob id ipsum acciverat, deploravit temporum statum, consalutatusque imperator legatum se senatus ac populi R. professus est. Dein iustitio indicto, e plebe quidem provinciae legiones et auxilia conscriptis super exercitum veterem unius legionis duarumque alarum et cohortium trium; at primoribus prudentia atque aetate praestantibus velut instar senatus, ad quod de maiore re quotiens opus esset referretur, instituit. Delegit et equestris ordinis iuvenes, qui manente anulorum aureorum usu evocati appellarentur, excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent. Etiam per provincias edicta dimisit, auctor singulis universisque conspirandi simul, et ut qua posset quisque opera communem causam iuvarent. Per idem fere tempus in munitione oppidi, quod sedem bello

delegerat, repertus est anulus opere antiquo, sculptura gemmae Victoriam cum tropaeo exprimente; ac subinde Alexandrina navis Dertosam appulit armis onusta, sine gubernatore, sine nauta ac vectore ullo, ut nemini dubium esset, iustum piumque et faventibus diis bellum suscipi; cum repente ex inopinato prope cuncta turbata sunt. Alarum altera castris appropinquantem paenitentiam mutati sacramenti destituere conata est aegreque retenta in officio, et servi, per angiportum in balneas transeuntem paene interemerunt; nisi cohortantibus in vicem ne occasionem omitterent, interrogatisque de qua occasione loquerentur, expressa cruciatu confessio esset.

X. Taking his seat on the tribunal, therefore, as if there was no other business than the manumitting of slaves, he had the effigies of a number of persons who had been condemned and put to death by Nero, set up before him, whilst a noble youth stood by, who had been banished, and whom he had purposely sent for from one of the neighbouring Balearic isles; and lamenting the condition of the times, and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he publicly declared himself “only the lieutenant of the senate and people of Rome.” Then shutting the courts, he levied legions and auxiliary troops among the provincials, besides his veteran army consisting of one legion, two wings of horse, and three cohorts. Out of the military leaders most distinguished for age and prudence, he formed a kind of senate, with whom to advise upon all matters of importance, as often as occasion should require. He likewise chose several young men of the equestrian order, who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and, being called “The Reserve,” should mount guard before his bed-chamber, instead of the legionary soldiers. He likewise issued proclamations throughout the provinces of the empire, exhorting all to rise in arms unanimously, and aid the common cause, by all the ways and means in their power. About the same time, in fortifying a town, which he had pitched upon for a military post, a ring was found, of antique workmanship, in the stone of which was engraved the goddess Victory with a trophy. Presently after, a ship of Alexandria arrived at Dertosa, loaded with arms, without any person to steer it, or so much as a single sailor or passenger (408) on board. From this incident, nobody entertained the least doubt but the war upon which they were entering was just and honourable, and favoured likewise by the gods; when all on a sudden the whole design was exposed to failure. One of the two wings of horse, repenting of the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to desert him upon his approach to the camp, and were with some difficulty kept in their duty. And some slaves who had been presented to him by a freedman of Nero’s, on purpose to murder him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow passage

to the bath. Being overheard to encourage one another not to lose the opportunity, they were called to an account concerning it; and recourse being had to the torture, a confession was extorted from them.

¹¹ Accessit in tanta discrimina mors Vindicis, qua maxime consternatus destitutoque similis non multo afuit quin vitae renuntiaret. Sed supervenientibus ab urbe nuntiis ut occisum Neronem cunctosque in verba sua iurasse cognovit, deposita legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem, iterque ingressus est paludatus ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus; nec prius usum togae recipiavit quam oppressis qui novas res moliebantur, praefecto praetorii Nymphidio Sabino Romae, in Germania Fonteio Capitone, in Africa Clodio Macro legatis.

XI. These dangers were followed by the death of Vindex, at which being extremely discouraged, as if fortune had quite forsaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life; but receiving advice by his messengers from Rome that Nero was slain, and that all had taken an oath to him as emperor, he laid aside the title of lieutenant, and took upon him that of Caesar. Putting himself upon his march in his general's cloak, and a dagger hanging from his neck before his breast, he did not resume the use of the toga, until Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the pretorian guards at Rome, with the two lieutenants, Fonteius Capito in Germany, and Claudius Macer in Africa, who opposed his advancement, were all put down.

¹² Praecesserat de eo fama saevitiae simul atque avaritiae, quod civitates Hispaniarum Galliarumque, quae cunctantius sibi accesserant, gravioribus tributis, quasdam etiam murorum destructione punisset et praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis adfecisset cum coniugibus ac liberis; quodque oblatam Tarraconensibus e vetere templo Iovis coronam auream librarum quindecim conflasset ac tres uncias, quae ponderi deerant, iussisset exigi. Ea fama et confirmata et aucta est, ut primum urbem introiit. Nam cum classarios, quos Nero ex remigibus iustos milites fecerat, redire ad pristinum statum cogeret, recusantis atque insuper aquilam et signa pertinacius flagitantis non modo immisso equite disiecit, sed decimavit etiam. Item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit ac sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, pruniorem. Illa quoque verene an falso per ludibrium iactabantur, adposita lautiore cena ingemuisse eum, et ordinario quidem dispensatori breviarum rationum offerenti paropsidem leguminis pro sedulitate ac diligentia porrexisset, Cano autem choraulae mire placenti denarios

quinque donasse prolatos manu sua e peculiaribus oculis suis.

XII. Rumours of his cruelty and avarice had reached the city before his arrival; such as that he had punished some cities of Spain and Gaul, for not joining him readily, by the imposition of heavy taxes, and some by levelling their walls; and had put to death the governors and procurators with their wives and children: likewise that a golden crown, of fifteen pounds weight, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, with which he was presented by the people of Tarracena, he had melted down, and had exacted from them three ounces which were wanting in the weight. This report of him was confirmed and increased, as soon as he entered the town. For some seamen who had been taken from the fleet, and enlisted (409) among the troops by Nero, he obliged to return to their former condition; but they refusing to comply, and obstinately clinging to the more honourable service under their eagles and standards, he not only dispersed them by a body of horse, but likewise decimated them. He also disbanded a cohort of Germans, which had been formed by the preceding emperors, for their body-guard, and upon many occasions found very faithful; and sent them back into their own country, without giving them any gratuity, pretending that they were more inclined to favour the advancement of Cneius Dolabella, near whose gardens they encamped, than his own. The following ridiculous stories were also related of him; but whether with or without foundation, I know not; such as, that when a more sumptuous entertainment than usual was served up, he fetched a deep groan: that when one of the stewards presented him with an account of his expenses, he reached him a dish of legumes from his table as a reward for his care and diligence; and when Canus, the piper, had played much to his satisfaction, he presented him, with his own hand, five denarii taken out of his pocket.

¹³ Quare adventus eius non perinde gratus fuit, inde proximo spectaculo apparuit, siquidem Atellanis notissimum canticum exorsis:

Venit, io, Simus a villa...

cuncti simul spectatores consentiente voce reliquam partem rettulerunt ac saepius versu repetito egerunt.

XIII. His arrival, therefore, in town was not very agreeable to the people; and this appeared at the next public spectacle. For when the actors in a farce began a well-known song,

Venit, io, Simus a villa...

Lo! Clodpate from his village comes...

all the spectators, with one voice, went on with the rest, repeating and acting the first verse several times over.

¹⁴ Maiore adeo et favore et auctoritate adeptus est quam gessit imperium, quamquam multa documenta egregii principis daret; sed nequaquam tam grata erant, invisae quae secus fierent. Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una et intra palatium habitantis nec umquam non adhaerentis paedagogos vulgo vocabant. Ii erant T. Vinus legatus eius in Hispania, cupiditatis immensae; Cornelius Laco ex assessore praefectus praetorii, arrogantia socordiaque intolerabilis; libertus Icelus, paulo ante anulis aureis et Marciani cognomine ornatus ac iam summae equestris gradus candidatus. His diverso vitiorum genere grassantibus adeo se abutendum permisit et tradidit, ut vix sibi ipse constaret, modo acerbior pariorque, modo remissior ac negligentior quam conveniret principi electo atque illud aetatis. Quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros suspitione minima inauditos condemnavit. Civitatem R. raro dedit, iura trium liberorum vix uni atque alteri, ac ne his quidem nisi ad certum praefinitumque tempus. Iudiciis sextam decuriam adici precantibus non modo negavit, sed et concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hieme initioque anni ad indicandum evocarentur, eripuit.

XIV. He possessed himself of the imperial power with more favour and authority than he administered it, although he gave many proofs of his being an excellent prince: but these were not so grateful to the people, as his misconduct was offensive. He was governed by three favourites, who, because they lived in the palace, and were constantly about him, obtained the name of his pedagogues. These were Titus Vinus, who had been his lieutenant in Spain, a man of insatiable (410) avarice; Cornelius Laco, who, from an assessor to the prince, was advanced to be prefect of the praetorian guards, a person of intolerable arrogance, as well as indolence; and his freedman Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the use of the cognomen Martianus, who became a candidate for the highest honour within the reach of any person of the equestrian order. He resigned himself so implicitly into the power of those three favourites, who governed in every thing according to the capricious impulse of their vices and tempers, and his authority was so much abused by them, that the tenor of his conduct was not very consistent with itself. At one time, he was more rigorous and frugal, at another, more lavish and negligent, than became a prince who had been chosen by the people, and was so

far advanced in years. He condemned some men of the first rank in the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one; and the privilege belonging to such as had three children, only to one or two; and that with great difficulty, and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied them, but abolished the vacation which had been granted them by Claudius for the winter, and the beginning of the year.

¹⁵ Existimabatur etiam senatoria et equestria officia biennii spatio determinaturus, nec daturus nisi invitis ac recusantibus. Liberalitates Neronis, non plus decimis concessis, per quinquaginta equites R. ea condicione revocandas curavit exigendasque, ut et si quid scaenici aut xystici donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emptoribus, quando illi pretio absumpto solvere nequirent. At contra nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio addici aut donari gratia passus est, vectigalia immunitates, poenas innocentium impunitates noxiorum. Quin etiam, populo R. deposcente suppliciorum Haloti et Tigellini solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis vel maleficientissimos incolumes praestitit atque insuper Halotum procuratione amplissima ornavit, pro Tigellino etiam saevitiae populum edicto increpuit.

XV. It was thought that he likewise intended to reduce the offices held by senators and men of the equestrian order, to a term of two years' continuance; and to bestow them only on those who were unwilling to accept them, and had refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only the tenth part of them. For this purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights; with orders, that if players or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since the others, having, no doubt, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay. But on the other hand, he suffered his attendants and freedmen to sell or give away the revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, and to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay, when the Roman people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the (411) most mischievous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, he protected them, and even bestowed on Halotus one of the best procurations in his disposal. And as to Tigellinus, he even reprimanded the people for their cruelty by a proclamation.

¹⁶ Per haec prope universis ordinibus offensis vel praecipua flagrabat invidia apud milites. Nam cum in verba eius absentis iurantibus donativum grandius

solito praepositi pronuntiassent, neque ratam rem habuit et subinde iactavit legere se militem, non emere consuesse; atque eo quidem nomine omnis, qui ubique erant, exacerbavit. Ceterum praetorianos etiam metu et indignitate commovit, removens subinde plerosque ut suspectos et Nymphidi socios. Sed maxime fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus, fraudari se praemiis navatae adversus Gallus et Vindicem operae. Ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi Kal. Ian. adigi sacramento nisi in nomen senatus recusarunt statimque legationem ad praetorianos cum mandatis destinaverunt: displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum; eligerent ipsi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent.

XVI. By this conduct, he incurred the hatred of all orders of the people, but especially of the soldiery. For their commanders having promised them in his name a donative larger than usual, upon their taking the oath to him before his arrival at Rome; he refused to make it good, frequently bragging, "that it was his custom to choose his soldiers, not buy them." Thus the troops became exasperated against him in all quarters. The pretorian guards he alarmed with apprehensions of danger and unworthy treatment; disbanding many of them occasionally as disaffected to his government, and favourers of Nymphidius. But most of all, the army in Upper Germany was incensed against him, as being defrauded of the rewards due to them for the service they had rendered in the insurrection of the Gauls under Vindex. They were, therefore, the first who ventured to break into open mutiny, refusing upon the calends [the 1st] of January, to take any oath of allegiance, except to the senate; and they immediately dispatched deputies to the pretorian troops, to let them know, "they did not like the emperor who had been set up in Spain," and to desire that "they would make choice of another, who might meet with the approbation of all the armies."

¹⁷ Quod ut nuntiatum est, despectui esse non tam senectam suam quam orbitatem ratus, Pisonem Frugi Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque iuvenem ac sibi olim probatissimum testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum repente e media salutantium turba adprehendit filiumque appellans perduxit in castra ac pro contione adoptavit, ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta. Quo faciliorem occasionem M. Salvio Othoni praebeuit perficiendi conata intra sextum adoptionis diem.

XVII. Upon receiving intelligence of this, imagining that he was slighted not so much on account of his age, as for having no children, he immediately singled out of a company of young persons of rank, who came to pay their compliments

to him, Piso Frugi Licinianus, a youth of noble descent and great talents, for whom he had before contracted such a regard, that he had appointed him in his will the heir both of his estate and name. Him he now styled his son, and taking him to the camp, adopted him in the presence of the assembled troops, but without making any mention of a donative. This circumstance afforded the better opportunity to Marcus Salvius Otho of accomplishing his object, six days after the adoption.

¹⁸ Magna et assidua monstra iam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis evenit, portenderant. Cum per omne iter dextra sinistraque oppidatim victimae caederentur, taurus securis ictu consternatus rupto vinculo essedum eius invasit elatisque pedibus totum cruore perfudit; ac descendentem speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit. Urbem quoque et deinde Palatium ingressum excepit terrae tremor et assimilis quidam mugitui sonus. Secuta sunt aliquando manifestiora. Monile, margaritis gemmisque consertum, ad ornandam Fortunam suam Tusculanam ex omni gaza secreverat; id repente quasi augustiore dignius loco Capitolinae Veneri dedicavit ac proxima nocte somniavit specie Fortunae querentis fraudatam se dono destinato, minantisque erepturam et ipsam quae dedisset. Cumque exterritus luce prima ad expiandum somnium, praemissis qui rem divinam appararent, Tusculum excucurrisset, nihil invenit praeter tepidam in ara favillam atratumque iuxta senem in catino vitreo tus tenentem et in calice fictili merum. Observatum etiam est kal. Ian. sacrificanti coronam de capite excidisse, auspicanti pullos avolasse; adoptionis die neque milites adlocuturo castrensem sellam de more positam pro tribunali oblitis ministris, et in senatu curulem perverse collocatam.

XVIII. Many remarkable prodigies had happened from the (412) very beginning of his reign, which forewarned him of his approaching fate. In every town through which he passed in his way from Spain to Rome, victims were slain on the right and left of the roads; and one of these, which was a bull, being maddened with the stroke of the axe, broke the rope with which it was tied, and running straight against his chariot, with his fore-feet elevated, bespattered him with blood. Likewise, as he was alighting, one of the guard, being pushed forward by the crowd, had very nearly wounded him with his lance. And upon his entering the city and, afterwards, the palace, he was welcomed with an earthquake, and a noise like the bellowing of cattle. These signs of ill-fortune were followed by some that were still more apparently such. Out of all his treasures he had selected a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn his statue of Fortune at Tusculum. But it suddenly occurring to him that it deserved a more

august place, he consecrated it to the Capitoline Venus; and next night, he dreamt that Fortune appeared to him, complaining that she had been defrauded of the present intended her, and threatening to resume what she had given him. Terrified at this denunciation, at break of day he sent forward some persons to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice which might avert the displeasure of the goddess; and when he himself arrived at the place, he found nothing but some hot embers upon the altar, and an old man in black standing by, holding a little incense in a glass, and some wine in an earthen pot. It was remarked, too, that whilst he was sacrificing upon the calends of January, the chaplet fell from his head, and upon his consulting the pullets for omens, they flew away. Farther, upon the day of his adopting Piso, when he was to harangue the soldiers, the seat which he used upon those occasions, through the neglect of his attendants, was not placed, according to custom, upon his tribunal; and in the senate-house, his curule chair was set with the back forward.

¹⁹ Prius vero quam occideretur sacrificare mane haruspex identidem monuit, caveret periculum, non longe percussores abesse. Haud multo post cognoscit teneri castra ab Othone, ac plerisque ut eodem quam primum pergeret suadentibus (posse enim auctoritate et praesentia praevalere) nihil amplius quam contineret se statuit et legionariorum firmare praesidiis, qui multifariam diverseque tendebant. Lorica tamen induit lintheam, quamquam haud dissimulans parum adversum tot mucrones profuturam. Sed extractus rumoribus falsis, quos conspirati, ut eum in publicum elicerent, de industria dissiparant, paucis temere affirmantibus transactum negotium, oppressos, qui tumultuarentur, advenire frequentis ceteros gratulabundos et in omne obsequium paratos; iis ut occurreret prodiit, tanta fiducia ut militi cuidam occisum a se Othonem glorianti, Quo auctore? responderit; atque in forum usque processit. Ibi equites, quibus mandata caedes erat, cum per publicum dimota paganorum turba equos adegissent, viso procul eo parumper restiterunt; dein rursum incitati desertum a suis contrucidarunt.

XIX. The day before he was slain, as he was sacrificing in the morning, the augur warned him from time to time to be upon his guard, for that he was in danger from assassins, and that they were near at hand. Soon after, he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the pretorian camp. And though most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately, (413) in hopes that he might quell the tumult by his authority and presence, he resolved to do nothing more than keep close within the palace, and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers, who were quartered in different parts about the city. He put

on a linen coat of mail, however, remarking at the same time, that it would avail him little against the points of so many swords. But being tempted out by false reports, which the conspirators had purposely spread to induce him to venture abroad some few of those about him too hastily assuring him that the tumult had ceased, the mutineers were apprehended, and the rest coming to congratulate him, resolved to continue firm in their obedience — he went forward to meet them with so much confidence, that upon a soldier's boasting that he had killed Otho, he asked him, "By what authority?" and proceeded as far as the Forum. There the knights, appointed to dispatch him, making their way through the crowd of citizens, upon seeing him at a distance, halted a while; after which, galloping up to him, now abandoned by all his attendants, they put him to death.

²⁰ Sunt qui tradant, ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum: Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum, et vos mei! donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt, optulisse ultro iugulum et ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum. Illud mirum admodum fuerit, neque praesentium quemquam opem imperatori ferre conatum et omnes qui arcesserentur sprevisse nuntium, excepta Germanicianorum vexillatione. Ii ob recens meritum, quod se aegros et invalidos magnopere fovisset, in auxilium advolaverunt, sed serius, itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati. Iugulatus est ad lacum Curti ac relictum ita uti erat, donec gregarius miles a frumentatione rediens abiecto onere caput ei amputavit; et quoniam capillo arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit, mox inserto per os pollice ad Othonem detulit. Ille lixis calonibusque donavit, qui hasta suffixum non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt adclamantes identidem: "Galba Cupido, fruaris aetate tua," maxime irritati ad talem iocorum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in vulgus, laudanti cuidam formam suam ut adhuc floridam et vegetam respondisse eum:

Eti moi menos empedoi estin.

Ab is Patrobii Neroniani libertus centum aureis redemptum eo loco, ubi iussu Galbae animadversum in patronum suum fuerat, abiecit. Sero tandem dispensator Argivus et hoc et ceterum truncum in privatis eius hortis Aurelia via sepulturae dedit.

XX. Some authors relate, that upon their first approach he cried out, "What do you mean, fellow-soldiers? I am yours, and you are mine," and promised them a donative: but the generality of writers relate, that he offered his throat to them, saying, "Do your work, and strike, since you are resolved upon it." It is

remarkable, that not one of those who were at hand, ever made any attempt to assist the emperor; and all who were sent for, disregarded the summons, except a troop of Germans. They, in consideration of his late kindness in showing them particular attention during a sickness which prevailed in the camp, flew to his aid, but came too late; for, being not well acquainted with the town, they had taken a circuitous route. He was slain near the Curtian Lake, and there left, until a common soldier returning from the receipt of his allowance of corn, throwing down the load which he carried, cut off his head. There being upon it no hair, by which he might hold it, he hid it in the bosom of his dress; but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth, he carried it in that manner to Otho, who gave it to the drudges and slaves who attended the soldiers; and they, fixing it upon the (414) point of a spear, carried it in derision round the camp, crying out as they went along, "You take your fill of joy in your old age." They were irritated to this pitch of rude banter, by a report spread a few days before, that, upon some one's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,

Eti moi menos empedoi estin.

My strength, as yet, has suffered no decay.

A freedman of Petrobius's, who himself had belonged to Nero's family, purchased the head from them at the price of a hundred gold pieces, and threw it into the place where, by Galba's order, his patron had been put to death. At last, after some time, his steward Argius buried it, with the rest of his body, in his own gardens near the Aurelian Way.

²¹ Statura fuit iusta, capite praecalvo, oculis caeruleis, adunco naso, manibus pedibusque articulari morbo distortissimis, ut neque calceum perpeti nec libellos evolvere aut tenere omnino valeret. Excreverat etiam in dexteriore latere eius caro praependebatque adeo ut aegre fascia substringeretur.

XXI. In person he was of a good size, bald before, with blue eyes, and an aquiline nose; and his hands and feet were so distorted with the gout, that he could neither wear a shoe, nor turn over the leaves of a book, or so much as hold it. He had likewise an excrescence in his right side, which hung down to that degree, that it was with difficulty kept up by a bandage.

²² Cibi plurimi traditur, quem tempore hiberno etiam ante lucem capere consuerat, inter cenam vero usque eo abundantis, ut congestas super manus reliquias circumferri iuberet spargique ad pedes stantibus. Libidinis in mares

pronior et eos non nisi praeduros exoletosque: ferebant in Hispania Icelum e veteribus concubinis de Neronis exitu nuntiantem non modo artissimis osculis palam exceptum ab eo, sed ut sine mora velleretur oratum atque seductum.

XXII. He is reported to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter-time before day. At supper, he fed very heartily, giving the fragments which were left, by handfuls, to be distributed amongst the attendants. In his lust, he was more inclined to the male sex, and such of them too as were old. It is said of him, that in Spain, when Icelus, an old catamite of his, brought him the news of Nero's death, he not only kissed him lovingly before company, but begged of him to remove all impediments, and then took him aside into a private apartment.

²³ Periit tertio et septuagesimo aetatis anno, imperii mense septimo. Senatus, ut primum licitum est, statum ei decreverat rostratae columnae superstantem in parte fori, qua trucidatus est; sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Iudaeam submisisse opinatus.

XXIII. He perished in the seventy-third year of his age, and the seventh month of his reign. The senate, as soon as they could with safety, ordered a statue to be erected for him upon the naval column, in that part of the Forum where he (415) was slain. But Vespasian cancelled the decree, upon a suspicion that he had sent assassins from Spain into Judaea to murder him.

THE LIFE OF OTHO

Maiores Othonis orti sunt oppidio Ferentio, familia vetere et honorata atque ex principibus Etruriae. Avus M. Salvius Otho, patre equite R., matre humili incertum an ingenua, per gratiam Liviae Augustae, in cuius domo creverat, senator est factus nec praeturae gradum excessit. Pater L. Otho, materno genere praeclaro multarumque et magnarum propinquitatum, tam carus tamque non absimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores, proconsulatum Africae et extraordinaria imperia severissime administravit. Ausus etiam est in Illyrico milites quosdam, quod motu Camilli ex paenitentia praepositos suos quasi defectionis adversus Claudium auctores occiderant, capite punire et quidem ante principia se coram, quamvis ob id ipsum promotos in ampliorem gradum a Claudio sciret. Quo facto sicut gloriam auxit, ita gratiam minuit; quam tamen mature recipervit detecta equitis R. fraude, quem prodentibus servis necem Claudio parere compererat. Namque et senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecutus est eum et Claudius adlectum inter patricios, conlaudans amplissimis verbis, hoc quoque adiecit: Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem. Ex Albia Terentia splendida femina duos filios tulit, L. Titianum et minorem M. cognominem sibi; tulit et filiam, quam vixdum nubilem Druso Germanici filio despondit.

(416) I. The ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentum, of an ancient and honourable family, and, indeed, one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfather, M. Salvius Otho (whose father was a Roman knight, but his mother of mean extraction, for it is not certain whether she was free-born), by the favour of Livia Augusta, in whose house he had his education, was made a senator, but never rose higher than the praetorship. His father, Lucius Otho, was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, and so dearly beloved by Tiberius, and so much resembled him in his features, that most people believed Tiberius was his father. He behaved with great strictness and severity, not only in the city offices, but in the pro-consulship of Africa, and some extraordinary commands in the army. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illyricum, who, in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put their generals to the sword, as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. He ordered the execution to take place in the front of the camp, and under his own eyes; though he knew they had been advanced to higher ranks in the army by Claudius, on that very account. By this action he acquired fame, but lessened his favour at court; which, however, he

soon recovered, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight, and which he had learnt from some of his slaves. For the senate ordered a statue of him to be erected in the palace; an honour which had been conferred but upon very few before him. And Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a patrician, commending him, at the same time, in the highest terms, and concluding with these words: "A man, than whom I don't so (417) much as wish to have children that should be better." He had two sons by a very noble woman, Albia Terentia, namely; Lucius Titianus, and a younger called Marcus, who had the same cognomen as himself. He had also a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, Germanicus's son, before she was of marriageable age.

² Otho imperator IIII. Kal. Mai. natus est Camillo Arruntio, Domitio Ahenobarbo cons. A prima adulescentia prodigus ac procax, adeo ut saepe flagris obiurgaretur a patre, ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus atque invalidum quemque obviorum vel potulentum corripere ac distento sago impositum in sublime iactare. Post patris deinde mortem libertinam aulicam gratiosam, quo efficacius coleret, etiam diligere simulavit quamvis anum ac paene decrepitam: per hanc insinuatus Neroni, facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentia morum, ut vero quidam tradunt, et consuetudine mutui stupri. Ac tantum potentia valuit, ut damnatum repetundis consularem virum, ingens praemium pactus, prius quam plene restitutionem ei impetrasset non dubitaret in senatum ad agendas gratias introducere.

II. The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the calends of May [28th April], in the consulship of Camillus Aruntius and Domitius Aenobarbus . He was from his earliest youth so riotous and wild, that he was often severely scourged by his father. He was said to run about in the night-time, and seize upon any one he met, who was either drunk or too feeble to make resistance, and toss him in a blanket . After his father's death, to make his court the more effectually to a freedwoman about the palace, who was in great favour, he pretended to be in love with her, though she was old, and almost decrepit. Having by her means got into Nero's good graces, he soon became one of the principal favourites, by the congeniality of his disposition to that of the emperor or, as some say, by the reciprocal practice of mutual pollution. He had so great a sway at court, that when a man of consular rank was condemned for bribery, having tampered with him for a large sum of money, to procure his pardon; before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the senate, to return his thanks.

³ Omnium autem consiliorum secretorumque particeps die, quem necandae matri Nero destinarat, ad avertendas suspicionem cenam utrique exquisitissimae comitatis dedit; item Poppaeam Sabinam tunc adhuc amicam eius, abductam marito demandatamque interim sibi, nuptiarum specie recepit, nec corrupisset contentus, adeo dilexit ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem aequo tulerit animo. Creditur certe non modo missos ad arcessendam astantem miscentemque frustra minas et preces ac depositum reposcentem. Quare diducto matrimonio, sepositus est per causam legationis in Lusitaniam. Id satis visum, ne poena acrior mimum omnem divulgaret, qui tamen sic quoque hoc disticho enotuit: —

*Cur Otho mentito sit, quaeritis, exul honore?
Uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae.*

Provinciam administravit quaestorius per decem annos, moderatione atque abstinentia singulari.

III. Having, by means of this woman, insinuated himself into all the emperor's secrets, he, upon the day designed for the murder of his mother, entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to prevent suspicion. Poppaea Sabina, for whom Nero entertained such a violent passion that he had taken her from her husband and entrusted her to him, he received, and went through the form of marrying her. And not satisfied with obtaining her favours, he loved her so extravagantly, that he could not with patience bear Nero for his rival. It is certainly believed that he not only refused admittance to those who were sent by Nero to fetch her, but that, on one (418) occasion, he shut him out, and kept him standing before the door, mixing prayers and menaces in vain, and demanding back again what was entrusted to his keeping. His pretended marriage, therefore, being dissolved, he was sent lieutenant into Lusitania. This treatment of him was thought sufficiently severe, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which, notwithstanding, at last came out, and was published to the world in the following distich: —

*Cur Otho mentitus sit, quaeritis, exul honore?
Uxoris moechus caeperat esse suae.*

You ask why Otho's banish'd? Know, the cause
Comes not within the verge of vulgar laws.
Against all rules of fashionable life,
The rogue had dared to sleep with his own wife.

He governed the province in quality of quaestor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice.

⁴ Ut tandem occasio ultionis data est, conatibus Galbae primus accessit: eodemque momento et ipse spem imperii cepit magnam quidem et ex condicione temporum, sed aliquando maiorem ex affirmatione Seleuci mathematici. Qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spopondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperaturum quoque brevi repromittens. Nullo igitur officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso, quotiens cena principem acciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritim dividebat, nec minus alium alia via militum demerebatur. Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti, adhibitus arbiter, totum agrum redemit emancipavitque; ut iam vix ullus esset, qui non et sentiret et praedicaret solum successione imperii dignum.

IV. As soon as an opportunity of revenge offered, he readily joined in Galba's enterprises, and at the same time conceived hopes of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. To this he was much encouraged by the state of the times, but still more by the assurances given him by Seleucus, the astrologer, who, having formerly told him that he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising him again that he should succeed to the empire, and that in a very short time. He, therefore, let slip no opportunity of making his court to every one about him by all manner of civilities. As often as he entertained Galba at supper, he distributed to every man of the cohort which attended the emperor on guard, a gold piece; endeavouring likewise to oblige the rest of the soldiers in one way or another. Being chosen an arbitrator by one who had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bought it, and gave it him; so that now almost every body thought and said, that he was the only man worthy of succeeding to the empire.

⁵ Speraverat autem fore ut adoptaretur a Galba, idque in dies exspectabat. Sed postquam Pisone praelato spe decidit, ad vim conversus est instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat, nisi principem se stare non posse nihilque referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditoribus caderet. Ante paucos dies servo Caesaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium expresserat; hoc subsidium tanti coepti fuit. Ac primo quinque speculatoribus commissa res est, deinde decem aliis, quos singulis binos prodixerant; omnibus dena sestertia repraesentata et quinquagena promissa. Per hos sollicitati reliqui, nec adeo multi, haud dubia fiducia, in ipso negotio pluris adfuturos.

V. He entertained hopes of being adopted by Galba, and expected it every day. But finding himself disappointed, by Piso's being preferred before him, he turned his thoughts to obtaining his purpose by the use of violence; and to this he was instigated, as well by the greatness of his debts, as by resentment (419) at Galba's conduct towards him. For he did not conceal his conviction, "that he could not stand his ground unless he became emperor, and that it signified nothing whether he fell by the hands of his enemies in the field, or of his creditors in the Forum." He had a few days before squeezed out of one of the emperor's slaves a million of sesterces for procuring him a stewardship; and this was the whole fund he had for carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was entrusted to only five of the guard, but afterwards to ten others, each of the five naming two. They had every one ten thousand sesterces paid down, and were promised fifty thousand more. By these, others were drawn in, but not many; from a confident assurance, that when the matter came to the crisis, they should have enough to join them.

Tulerat animus post adoptionem statim castra occupare cenantemque in Palatio Galbam adgredi, sed obstitit respectus cohortis, quae tunc excubabat, ne oneraretur invidia, quod eiusdem statione et Gaius fuerat occisus et desertus Nero. Medium quoque tempus religio et Seleucus exemit. Ergo destinata die praemonitis consciis ut se in foro sub aede Saturni ad miliarium aureum opperiretur, mane Galbam salutavit, utque consueverat osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit audivitque praedicta haruspices. Deinde liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi venalem domum inspecturus abscessit, proripuitque se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum. Alii febrem simulasse aiunt eamque excusationem proximis mandasse, si quaereretur. Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in castra contendit, ac deficientibus lecticariis cum descendisset cursumque cepisset, laxato calceo restitit, donec omissa mora succollatus et a praesente comitatu imperator consalutatus, inter faustas adclamaciones strictosque gladios ad principia devenit, obvius quoque non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret adhaerente. Ibi missis qui Galbam et Pisonem trucidarent, ad conciliandos pollicitationibus militum animos nihil magis pro contione testatus est, quam id demum se habiturum, quod sibi illi reliquissent.

VI. His first intention was, immediately after the departure of Piso, to seize the camp, and fall upon Galba, whilst he was at supper in the palace; but he was restrained by a regard for the cohort at that time on duty, lest he should bring too great an odium upon it; because it happened that the same cohort was on guard

before, both when Caius was slain, and Nero deserted. For some time afterwards, he was restrained also by scruples about the omens, and by the advice of Seleucus. Upon the day fixed at last for the enterprise, having given his accomplices notice to wait for him in the Forum near the temple of Saturn, at the gilded mile-stone, he went in the morning to pay his respects to Galba; and being received with a kiss as usual, he attended him at sacrifice, and heard the predictions of the augur . A freedman of his, then bringing (420) him word that the architects were come, which was the signal agreed upon, he withdrew, as if it were with a design to view a house upon sale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some say he pretended to be seized with an ague fit, and ordered those about him to make that excuse for him, if he was inquired after. Being then quickly concealed in a woman's litter, he made the best of his way for the camp. But the bearers growing tired, he got out, and began to run. His shoe becoming loose, he stopped again, but being immediately raised by his attendants upon their shoulders, and unanimously saluted by the title of EMPEROR, he came amidst auspicious acclamations and drawn swords into the Principia in the camp; all who met him joining in the cavalcade, as if they had been privy to the design. Upon this, sending some soldiers to dispatch Galba and Piso, he said nothing else in his address to the soldiery, to secure their affections, than these few words: "I shall be content with whatever ye think fit to leave me."

7 Dein vergente iam die ingressus senatum, positaque brevi ratione quasi raptus de publico et suscipere imperium vi coactus gesturumque communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petit. Ac super ceteras gratulantium adulantiumque blanditias ab infima plebe appellatus Nero nullum indicium recusantis dedit, immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistulis suis ad quosdam provinciarum praesides Neronis cognomen adiecit. Certe et imagines statuasque eius reponi passus est et procuratores atque libertos ad eadem officia revocavit, nec quicquam prius pro potestate subscripsit quam quingenties sestertium ad peragendam Auream domum. Dicitur ea nocte per quietem pavefactum gemitus maximos edidisse repertusque a concursantibus humi ante lectum iacens per omnia piaculorum genera Manes Galbae, a quo deturbari expellique se viderat, propitiare temptasse; postridie quoque in augurando tempestate orta graviter prolapsus identidem obmurmurasse:

Ti gar moi kai makrois aulois?

VII. Towards the close of the day, he entered the senate, and after he had made

a short speech to them, pretending that he had been seized in the streets, and compelled by violence to assume the imperial authority, which he designed to exercise in conjunction with them, he retired to the palace. Besides other compliments which he received from those who flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and manifested no intention of declining that cognomen. Nay, some authors relate, that he used it in his official acts, and the first letters he sent to the (421) governors of provinces. He suffered all his images and statues to be replaced, and restored his procurators and freedmen to their former posts. And the first writing which he signed as emperor, was a promise of fifty millions of sesterces to finish the Golden-house . He is said to have been greatly frightened that night in his sleep, and to have groaned heavily; and being found, by those who came running in to see what the matter was, lying upon the floor before his bed, he endeavoured by every kind of atonement to appease the ghost of Galba, by which he had found himself violently tumbled out of bed. The next day, as he was taking the omens, a great storm arising, and sustaining a grievous fall, he muttered to himself from time to time:

Ti gar moi kai makrois aulois;

What business have I the loud trumpets to sound!

⁸ Sub idem vero tempus Germaniciani exercitus in Vitellii verba iurarat. Quod ut comperit, auctor senatui fuit mittendae legationis, quae doceret electum iam principem, quietem et concordiam suaderet; et tamen per internuntios ac litteras consortem imperii generumque se Vitellio optulit. Verum haud dubio bello, iamque ducibus et copiis quas Vitellius praemiserat appropinquantibus, animum fidemque erga se praetorianorum paene internecone amplissimi ordinis expertus est. Placuerat per classiarios arma transferri remittique navibus; ea cum in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quidam suspicati tumultum excitaverunt; ac repente omnes nullo certo duce in Palatium cucurrerunt caedem senatus flagitantes, repulsisque tribunorum, qui inhibere temptabat, nonnullis et occisis, sic ut erant cruenti, ubinam imperator esset requirentes perruperunt in triclinium usque nec nisi viso destiterunt. Expeditionem autem impigre atque etiam praepropere inchoavit, nulla ne religionum quidem cura, sed et motis necdum conditis ancilibus, (quod antiquitus infaustum habetur) et die, quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt, praeterea adversissimis auspiciis. Nam et victima Diti patri caesa litavit, cum tali sacrificio contraria exta potiora sint, et primo egressu inundationibus Tiberis retardatus, ad vicensimum etiam lapidem ruina aedificiorum praeclusam viam offendit.

VIII. About the same time, the armies in Germany took an oath to Vitellius as emperor. Upon receiving this intelligence, he advised the senate to send thither deputies, to inform them, that a prince had been already chosen; and to persuade them to peace and a good understanding. By letters and messages, however, he offered Vitellius to make him his colleague in the empire, and his son-in-law. But a war being now unavoidable, and the generals and troops sent forward by Vitellius, advancing, he had a proof of the attachment and fidelity of the pretorian guards, which had nearly proved fatal to the senatorian order. It had been judged proper that some arms should be given out of the stores, and conveyed to the fleet by the marine troops. While they were employed in fetching these from the camp in the night, some of the guards suspecting treachery, excited a tumult; and suddenly the whole body, without any of their officers at their head, ran to the palace, demanding that the entire senate should be put to the sword; and having repulsed some of the (422) tribunes who endeavoured to stop them, and slain others, they broke, all bloody as they were, into the banquetting room, inquiring for the emperor; nor would they quit the place until they had seen him. He now entered upon his expedition against Vitellius with great alacrity, but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous circumstances which attended it. For the Ancilia had been taken out of the temple of Mars, for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced; during which interval it had of old been looked upon as very unfortunate to engage in any enterprise. He likewise set forward upon the day when the worshippers of the Mother of the gods begin their lamentations and wailing. Besides these, other unlucky omens attended him. For, in a victim offered to Father Dis, he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are regarded as favourable; whereas, in that sacrifice, the contrary intimations are judged the most propitious. At his first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber; and at twenty miles' distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses.

⁹ Simili temeritate, quamvis dubium nemini esset quin trahi bellum oporteret quando et fame et angustiis locorum urgeretur hostis, quam primum tamen decertare statuit, sive impatiens longioris sollicitudinis speransque ante Vitelli adventum profligari plurimum posse, sive impar militum ardori pugnam deposcentium. Nec ulli pugnae affuit substitique Brixelli. Et tribus quidem verum mediocribus proeliis apud Alpes circaque Placentiam et ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est, vicit; novissimo maximoque apud Betriacum fraude superatus est, cum, spe conloquii facta, quasi ad condicionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improvviso atque in ipsa consalutatione dimicandum fuisset. Ac statim moriendi

impetum cepit, ut multi nec frustra opinantur, magis pudore ne tanto rerum hominumque periculo dominationem sibi asserere perseveraret, quam desperatione ulla aut diffidentia copiarum; quippe residuis integrisque etiam nunc quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, et supervenientibus aliis e Dalmatia Pannoniaque et Moesia, ne victis quidem adeo afflictis ut non in ultionem ignominiae quidvis discriminis ultro et vel solae subirent.

IX. Though it was the general opinion that it would be proper to protract the war, as the enemy were distressed by (423) famine and the straitness of their quarters, yet he resolved with equal rashness to force them to an engagement as soon as possible; whether from impatience of prolonged anxiety, and in the hope of bringing matters to an issue before the arrival of Vitellius, or because he could not resist the ardour of the troops, who were all clamorous for battle. He was not, however, present at any of those which ensued, but stayed behind at Brixellum . He had the advantage in three slight engagements, near the Alps, about Placentia, and a place called Castor's; but was, by a fraudulent stratagem of the enemy, defeated in the last and greatest battle, at Bedriacum . For, some hopes of a conference being given, and the soldiers being drawn up to hear the conditions of peace declared, very unexpectedly, and amidst their mutual salutations, they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this he determined to put an end to his life, more, as many think, and not without reason, out of shame, at persisting in a struggle for the empire to the hazard of the public interest and so many lives, than from despair, or distrust of his troops. For he had still in reserve, and in full force, those whom he had kept about him for a second trial of his fortune, and others were coming up from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia; nor were the troops lately defeated so far discouraged as not to be ready, even of themselves, to run all risks in order to wipe off their recent disgrace.

¹⁰ Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Is mox referre crebro solebat, Othonem etiam privatum usque adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassii Brutique exitu cohorrerit; nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi confideret sine bello rem transigi posse; tunc ac despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum, qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret nec cuiquam fidem faceret ac nunc mendaci nunc timoris, quasi fugisset, ex acie argueretur, gladio ante pedes eius incubuerit. Hoc viso proclamasse cum aiebat, non amplius se in periculum talis tamque bene meritos coniecturum. Fratrem igitur fratrisque filium et singulos amicorum cohortatus, ut sibi quisque pro facultate consuleret, ab amplexu et osculo suo dimisit omnis, secretoque capto binos codicillos

exaravit, ad sororem consolatorios, et ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destinarat, commendans reliquias suas et memoriam. Quicquid deinde epistularum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxae apud victorem forent, concremavit. Divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia praesenti.

X. My father, Suetonius Lenis, was in this battle, being at (424) that time an angusticlavian tribune in the thirteenth legion. He used frequently to say, that Otho, before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that once, upon hearing an account given at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he never would have interfered with Galba, but that he was confident of succeeding in his enterprise without a war. Moreover, that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defeat of the army, and finding that he met with no credit, but was railed at for a liar and a coward, as if he had run away from the field of battle, fell upon his sword at the emperor's feet; upon the sight of which, my father said that Otho cried out, "that he would expose to no farther danger such brave men, who had deserved so well at his hands." Advising therefore his brother, his brother's son, and the rest of his friends, to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, he sent them away; and then withdrawing into a private room by himself, he wrote a letter of consolation to his sister, containing two sheets. He likewise sent another to Messalina, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, committing to her the care of his relics and memory. He then burnt all the letters which he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror. What ready money he had, he distributed among his domestics.

¹¹ Atque ita paratus intentusque iam morti, tumultu inter moras exorto ut eos, qui discedere et abire coeptabant, corripere quasi desertores detinerique sensit, "Adiciamus," inquit, "vitae et hanc noctem!" (his ipsis totidemque verbis) vetuitque vim cuiquam fieri; et in serum usque patente cubiculo, si quid adire vellet, potestatem sui praebuit. Post hoc sedata siti gelidae aquae potione, arripuit duos pugiones et explorata utriusque acie, cum alterum pulvino subdidisset, foribus adopertis artissimo somno quievit. Et circa lucem demum expergefactus, uno se traiecit ictu infra laevam papillam irrumpentibusque ad primum gemitum modo celans modo detegens plagam, exanimatus est et celeriter (nam ita praeceperat) funeratus, tricensimo et octavo aetatis anno et nonagesimo quinto imperii die.

XI. And now being prepared, and just upon the point of dispatching himself, he was induced to suspend the execution of his purpose by a great tumult which had broken out in the camp. Finding that some of the soldiers who were making off had been seized and detained as deserters, "Let us add," said he, "this night to our life." These were his very words. He then gave orders that no violence should be offered to any one; and keeping his chamber-door open until late at night, he allowed all who pleased the liberty to come and see him. At last, after quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took up two poniards, and having examined the points of both, put one of them under his pillow, and shutting his chamber-door, slept very soundly, until, awaking about break of day, he stabbed himself under the left pap. Some persons bursting into the room upon his first groan, he at one time covered, and at another exposed his wound to the view of the bystanders, and thus life soon ebbed away. His funeral was hastily performed, according to his own order, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and ninety-fifth day of his reign.

¹² Tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corporis aut habitus competit. Fuisse enim et modicae staturae et male pedatus scambusque traditur, munditiarum vero paene muliebrum, vulso corpore, galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et adnexo, ut nemo dinosceret; quin et faciem cotidie rasitare ac pane madido linere consuetum, idque instituisse a prima lanugine, ne barbatus umquam esset; sacra etiam Isidis saepe in lintea religiosaque veste propalam celebrasse. Per quae factum putem, ut mors eius minime congruens vitae maiore miraculo fuerit. Multi praesentium militum cum plurimo fletu manus ac pedes iacentis exosculati, fortissimum virum, unicum imperatorem praedicantes, ibidem statim nec procul a rogo vim suae vitae attulerunt; multi et absentium accepto nuntio prae dolore armis inter se ad internecionem concurrerunt. Denique magna pars hominum incolumem gravissime detestata mortuum laudibus tulit, ut vulgo iactatum sit etiam, Galbam ab eo non tam dominandi quam rei p. ac libertatis restituendae causa interemptum.

XII. The person and appearance of Otho no way corresponded to the great spirit he displayed on this occasion; for he is said to have been of low stature, splay-footed, and bandy-legged. He was, however, effeminately nice in the care of his person: the hair on his body he plucked out by the roots; and because he was somewhat bald, he wore a kind of peruke, so exactly fitted to his head, that nobody could have known it for such. He used to shave every day, and rub his face with soaked bread; the use of which he began when the down first appeared upon his chin, to prevent his having any beard. It is said likewise that he

celebrated publicly the sacred rites of Isis, clad in a linen garment, such as is used by the worshippers of that goddess. These circumstances, I imagine, caused the world to wonder the more that his death was so little in character with his life. Many of the soldiers who were present, kissing and bedewing with their tears his hands and feet as he lay dead, and celebrating him as “a most gallant man, and an incomparable emperor,” immediately put an end to their own lives upon the spot, not far from his funeral pile. (426) Many of those likewise who were at a distance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguish of their hearts, began fighting amongst themselves, until they dispatched one another. To conclude: the generality of mankind, though they hated him whilst living, yet highly extolled him after his death; insomuch that it was the common talk and opinion, “that Galba had been driven to destruction by his rival, not so much for the sake of reigning himself, as of restoring Rome to its ancient liberty.”

THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS

¹ Vitelliorum originem alii aliam et quidem diversissimam tradunt, partim veterem et nobilem, partim vero novam et obscuram atque etiam sordidam; quod ego per adulescentes obrectatoresque imperatoris Vitellii evenisse opinarer, nisi aliquanto prius de familiae condicione variatum esset. Exstat Q. Elogi ad Quintum Vitellium Divi Augusti quaestorem libellus, quo continetur, Vitellios Fauno Aboriginum rege et Vitellia, quae multis locis pro numine coleretur, ortos toto Latio imperasse; horum residuam stirpem ex Sabinis transisse Romam atque inter patricios adlectam; indicia stirpis mansisse diu viam Vitelliam ab Ianiculo ad mare usque, item coloniam eiusdem nominis, quam gentili copia adversus Aequiculus tutandam olim depoposcissent; tempore deinde Samnitici belli praesidio in Apuliam misso quosdam ex Vitellis subsedis Nuceriae, eorumque progeniem longo post intervallo repetisse urbem atque ordinem senatorium.

(427) I. Very different accounts are given of the origin of the Vitellian family. Some describe it as ancient and noble, others as recent and obscure, nay, extremely mean. I am inclined to think, that these several representations have been made by the flatterers and detractors of Vitellius, after he became emperor, unless the fortunes of the family varied before. There is extant a memoir addressed by Quintus Eulogius to Quintus Vitellius, quaestor to the Divine Augustus, in which it is said, that the Vitellii were descended from Faunus, king of the aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped in many places as a goddess, and that they reigned formerly over the whole of Latium: that all who were left of the family removed out of the country of the Sabines to Rome, and were enrolled among the patricians: that some monuments of the family continued a long time; as the Vitellian Way, reaching from the Janiculum to the sea, and likewise a colony of that name, which, at a very remote period of time, they desired leave from the government to defend against the Aequicolae, with a force raised by their own family only: also that, in the time of the war with the Samnites, some of the Vitellii who went with the troops levied for the security of Apulia, settled at Nuceria, and their descendants, a long time afterwards, returned again to Rome, and were admitted (428) into the patrician order. On the other hand, the generality of writers say that the founder of the family was a freedman. Cassius Severus and some others relate that he was likewise a cobbler, whose son having made a considerable fortune by agencies and dealings in confiscated property, begot, by a common strumpet, daughter of one Antiochus, a baker, a child, who afterwards became a Roman knight. Of these different

accounts the reader is left to take his choice.

² Contra plures auctorem generis libertinum prodiderunt, Cassius Severus nec minus alii eundem et sutorem veteramentarium, cuius filius sectionibus et cognituris uberius compendium nactus, ex muliere vulgari, Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercentis filia, equitem R. genuerit. Sed quod discrepat, sit in medio. Ceterum P. Vitellius domo Nuceria, sive ille stirpis antiquae sive pudendis parentibus atque avis, eques certe R. et rerum Augusti procurator, quattuor filios amplissimae dignitatis cognomines ac tantum praenominibus distinctos reliquit, Aulum Quintum Publium Lucium. Aulus in consulatu obiit, quem cum Domitio Neronis Caesaris patre inierat, praelautus alioqui famosusque cenarum magnificentia. Quintus caruit ordine, cum auctore Tiberio secerni minus idoneos senatores removerique placuisset. Publius, Germanici comes, Cn. Pisonem inimicum et interfectorem eius accusavit condemnavitque, ac post praeturae honorem inter Seiani conscios arreptus et in custodiam fratri datus scalpro librario venas sibi incidit, nec tam mortis paenitentia quam suorum obtestatione obligari curarique se passus in eadem custodia morbo periit. Lucius ex consulatu Syriae praepositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus non modo ad colloquium suum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit. Mox cum Claudio principe duos insuper ordinarios consulatus censuramque gessit. Curam quoque imperii sustinuit, absente eo expeditione Britannica; vir innocens et industrius, sed amore libertinae perinfamis, cuius etiam salivis melle commixtis, ne clam quidem aut raro sed cotidie ac palam, arterias et fauces pro remedio fovebat. Idem miri in adulando genii, prius C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Claudium uxoribus libertisque addictum ne qua non arte demereretur, pro maximo numere a Messalina petit, ut sibi pedes praeberet excalciandos; detractumque socculum dextrum inter togam tunicasque gestavit assidue, nonnumquam osculabundus. Narcissi quoque et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit. Huius et illa vox est: Saepe facias, cum Saeculares ludos edenti Claudio gratularetur.

II. It is certain, however, that Publius Vitellius, of Nuceria, whether of an ancient family, or of low extraction, was a Roman knight, and a procurator to Augustus. He left behind him four sons, all men of very high station, who had the same cognomen, but the different praenomina of Aulus, Quintus, Publius, and Lucius. Aulus died in the enjoyment of the consulship, which office he bore jointly with Domitius, the father of Nero Caesar. He was elegant to excess in his manner of living, and notorious for the vast expense of his entertainments.

Quintus was deprived of his rank of senator, when, upon a motion made by Tiberius, a resolution passed to purge the senate of those who were in any respect not duly qualified for that honour. Publius, an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, prosecuted his enemy and murderer, Cneius Piso, and procured sentence against him. After he had been made proctor, being arrested among the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother to be confined in his house, he opened a vein with a penknife, intending to bleed himself to death. He suffered, however, the wound to be bound up and cured, not so much from repenting the resolution he had formed, as to comply with the importunity of his relations. He died afterwards a natural death during his confinement. Lucius, after his consulship, was made governor of Syria, and by his politic management not only brought Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions. He afterwards filled two ordinary consulships, and also the censorship jointly with the emperor Claudius. Whilst that (429) prince was absent upon his expedition into Britain, the care of the empire was committed to him, being a man of great integrity and industry. But he lessened his character not a little, by his passionate fondness for an abandoned freedwoman, with whose spittle, mixed with honey, he used to anoint his throat and jaws, by way of remedy for some complaint, not privately nor seldom, but daily and publicly. Being extravagantly prone to flattery, it was he who gave rise to the worship of Caius Caesar as a god, when, upon his return from Syria, he would not presume to accost him any otherwise than with his head covered, turning himself round, and then prostrating himself upon the earth. And to leave no artifice untried to secure the favour of Claudius, who was entirely governed by his wives and freedmen, he requested as the greatest favour from Messalina, that she would be pleased to let him take off her shoes; which, when he had done, he took her right shoe, and wore it constantly betwixt his toga and his tunic, and from time to time covered it with kisses. He likewise worshipped golden images of Narcissus and Pallas among his household gods. It was he, too, who, when Claudius exhibited the secular games, in his compliments to him upon that occasion, used this expression, "May you often do the same."

³ Decessit paralyti altero die quam correptus est, duobus filiis superstitibus, quos ex Sextilia probatissima nec ignobili femina editos consules vidit, et quidem eodem ambos totoque anno, cum maiori minor in sex menses successisset. Defunctum senatus publico funere honoravit, item statuam pro rostris cum hac inscriptione: PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM. A. Vitellius L. filius imperator natus est VIII. Kal. Oct., vel ut quidam VII. Id.

Sept., Druso Caesare Norbano Flacco cons. Genituram eius praedictam a mathematicis ita parentes exhorruerunt, ut pater magno opere semper contenderit, ne qua ei provincia vivo se committeretur, mater et missum ad legiones et appellatum imperatorem pro afflicto statim lamentata sit. Pueritiam primamque adulescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, et ipse perpetuo Spintriae cognomine notatus existimatusque corporis gratia initium et causa incrementorum patri fuisse.

III. He died of palsy, the day after his seizure with it, leaving behind him two sons, whom he had by a most excellent and respectable wife, Sextilia. He had lived to see them both consuls, the same year and during the whole year also; the younger succeeding the elder for the last six months . The senate honoured him after his decease with a funeral at the public expense, and with a statue in the Rostra, which had this inscription upon the base: "One who was steadfast in his loyalty to his prince." The emperor Aulus Vitellius, the son of this Lucius, was born upon the eighth of the calends of October [24th September], or, as some say, upon the seventh of the ides of September [7th September], in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Norbanus Flaccus . His parents were so (430) terrified with the predictions of astrologers upon the calculation of his nativity, that his father used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being sent governor into any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother, upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, immediately lamented him as utterly ruined. He spent his youth amongst the catamites of Tiberius at Capri, was himself constantly stigmatized with the name of Spintria, and was supposed to have been the occasion of his father's advancement, by consenting to gratify the emperor's unnatural lust.

⁴ Sequenti quoque aetate omnibus probris contaminatus, praecipuum in aula locum tenuit, Gaio per aurigandi, Claudio per aleae studium familiaris, sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior, cum propter eadem haec, tum peculiari merito, quod praesidens certamini Neroneo cupientem inter citharoedos contendere nec quamvis flagitantibus cunctis promittere audentem ideoque egressum theatro revocaverat, quasi perseverantis populi legatione suspecta, exorandumque praeberat.

IV. In the subsequent part of his life, being still most scandalously vicious, he rose to great favour at court; being upon a very intimate footing with Caius [Caligula], because of his fondness for chariot- driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming. But he was in a still higher degree acceptable to Nero, as

well on the same accounts, as for a particular service which he rendered him. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, though he was extremely desirous to perform amongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not permit him, notwithstanding the people entreated much for it. Upon his quitting the theatre, Vitellius fetched him back again, pretending to represent the determined wishes of the people, and so afforded him the opportunity of yielding to their intreaties.

⁵ Trium itaque principium indulgentia non solum honoribus verum et sacerdotiis amplissimis auctus, proconsulatum Africae post haec curamque operum publicorum administravit et voluntate dispari et existimatione. In provincia singularem innocentiam praestitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitisset; at in urbano officio dona atque ornamenta templorum subripuisse et commutasse quaedam ferebatur, proque auro et argento stagnum et aurichalcum supposuisse.

V. By the favour of these three princes, he was not only advanced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred order; after which he held the proconsulship of Africa, and had the superintendence of the public works, in which appointment his conduct, and, consequently, his reputation, were very different. For he governed the province with singular integrity during two years, in the latter of which he acted as deputy to his brother, who succeeded him. But in his office in the city, he was said to pillage the temples of their gifts and ornaments, and to have exchanged brass and tin for gold and silver.

Uxorem habuit Petroniam consularis viri filiam, et ex ea filium Petroniarum captum altero oculo. Hunc heredem a matre sub condicione institutum, si de potestate patris exisset, manu emisit brevique, ut creditum est, interemit, insimulatum insuper parricidii et quasi paratum ad scelus venenum ex conscientia hausisset. Duxit mox Galeriam Fundanam praetorio patre ac de hac quoque liberos utriusque sexus tulit, sed marem titubantia oris prope mutum et elinguem.

VI. He took to wife Petronia, the daughter of a man of consular rank, and had by her a son named Petronius, who was blind of an eye. The mother being willing to appoint this youth her heir, upon condition that he should be released from his father's authority, the latter discharged him accordingly; but shortly after, as was believed, murdered him, charging him with a design upon his life, and pretending that he had, from consciousness of his guilt, drank the poison he

had prepared for his father. Soon afterwards, he married Galeria Fundana, the daughter of a man of pretorian rank, and had by her both sons and daughters. Among the former was one who had such a stammering in his speech, that he was little better than if he had been dumb.

7 A Galba in inferiorem Germaniam contra opinionem missus est. Adiutum putant T. Vinii suffragio, tunc potentissimi et cui iam pridem per communem factionis Venetae conciliatus esset: nisi quod Galba prae se tulit, nullos minus metuendos quam qui de solo victu cogitante, ac posse provincialibus copiis profundam gulam eius expleri, ut cuivis evidens sit contemptu magis qua gratia electum. Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romae relinquebat, meritorio cenaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret, utque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit ad itineris impensas. Creditorum quidem praestolantium ac detinentium turbam et in iis Sinuessanos Formianosque, quorum publica vectigalia interverterat, non nisi terrore calumniae amovit, cum libertino cuidam acerbius debitum reposcenti iniuriarum formulam, quasi calce ab eo percussus, intendisse nec aliter quam extorti quinquaginta sestertiis remisisset. Advenientem male animatus erga principem exercitus pronusque ad res novas libens ac supinis manibus excepit, velut dono deum oblatum, ter consulis filium, aetate integra, facili ac prodigo animo. Quam veterem de se persuasionem Vitellius recentibus etiam experimentis auxerat, tota via caligatorem quoque militum obvios exosculans, perque stabula ac deversoria mulionibus ac viatoribus praeter modum comis, ut mane singulos iamne iantassent sciscitaretur seque fecisse ructu quoque ostenderet.

VII. He was sent by Galba into Lower Germany, contrary to his expectation. It is supposed that he was assisted in procuring this appointment by the interest of Titus Junius, a man of great influence at that time; whose friendship he had long before gained by favouring the same set of charioteers with him in the Circensian games. But Galba openly declared that none were less to be feared than those who only cared for their bellies, and that even his enormous appetite must be satisfied with the plenty of that province; so that it is evident he was selected for that government more out of contempt than kindness. It is certain, that when he was to set out, he had not money for the expenses of his journey; he being at that time so much straitened in his circumstances, that he was obliged to put his wife and children, whom he left at Rome, into a poor lodging which he hired for them, in order that he might let his own house for the remainder of the year; and he pawned a pearl taken from his mother's ear-ring, to defray his

expenses on the road. A crowd of creditors who were waiting to stop him, and amongst them the people of Sineussa and Formia, whose taxes he had converted to his own use, he eluded, by alarming them with the apprehension of false accusation. He had, however, sued a certain freedman, who was clamorous in demanding a debt of him, under pretence that he had kicked him; which action he would not withdraw, until he had wrung from the freedman fifty thousand sesterces. Upon his arrival in the province, the army, (432) which was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for insurrection, received him with open arms, as if he had been sent them from heaven. It was no small recommendation to their favour, that he was the son of a man who had been thrice consul, was in the prime of life, and of an easy, prodigal disposition. This opinion, which had been long entertained of him, Vitellius confirmed by some late practices; having kissed all the common soldiers whom he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the muleteers and travellers; asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see, by belching, that he had eaten his.

⁸ *Castra vero ingressus nihil cuiquam poscenti negavit atque etiam ultro ignominiosis notas, reis sordes, damnatis supplicia dempsit. Quare vixdum mense transacto, neque die neque temporis ratione habita, ac viam vespere, subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat, in veste domestica, imperator est consalutatus circumlatusque per celeberrimos vicos, strictum Divi Iuli gladium tenens, detractum delubro Martis atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi a quodam; nec ante in praetorium rediit quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini, cum quidem consternatis et quasi omine adverso anxiis omnibus, “Bono,” inquit, “animo estote! nobis adluxit,” nullo sermone alio apud milites usus. Consentiente deinde etiam superioris provinciae exercitu, qui prius a Galba ad senatum defecerat, cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis cupide recepit, Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit.*

VIII. After he had reached the camp, he denied no man any thing he asked for, and pardoned all who lay under sentence for disgraceful conduct or disorderly habits. Before a month, therefore, had passed, without regard to the day or season, he was hurried by the soldiers out of his bed-chamber, although it was evening, and he in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of EMPEROR . He was then carried round the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of the Divine Julius in his hand; which had been taken by some person out of the temple of Mars, and presented to him when he was first saluted. Nor did he return to the pretorium, until his dining-room was in

flames from the chimney's taking fire. Upon this accident, all being in consternation, and considering it as an unlucky omen, he cried out, "Courage, boys! it shines brightly upon us." And this was all he said to the soldiers. The army of the Upper Province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the senate, joining in the proceedings, he very eagerly accepted the cognomen of Germanicus, offered him by the unanimous consent of both armies, but deferred assuming that of Augustus, and refused for ever that of Caesar.

⁹ Ac subinde caede Galbae adnuntiata, compositis Germanicis rebus, partitus est copias, quas adversus Othonem praemitteret, quasque ipse perduceret. Praemisso agmine laetum evenit auspiciū, siquidem a parte dextra repente aquila advolavit, lustrisque signis ingressos viam sensim antecessit. At contra ipso movente, statuæ equestres, cum plurifariam ei ponerentur, fractis repente cruribus pariter corruerunt, ac laurea, quam religiosissime circumdederat, in profluentem excidit; mox Viennae pro tribunali iura reddenti gallinæus supra umerum ac deinde in capite astitit. Quibus ostentis par respondit exitus; nam confirmatum per legatos suo imperium per se retinere non potuit.

IX. Intelligence of Galba's death arriving soon after, when he had settled his affairs in Germany he divided his troops into two bodies, intending to send one of them before him against Otho, and to follow with the other himself. The army he sent forward had a lucky omen; for, suddenly, an eagle came flying up to them on the right, and having hovered (433) round the standards, flew gently before them on their road. But, on the other hand, when he began his own march, all the equestrian statues, which were erected for him in several places, fell suddenly down with their legs broken; and the laurel crown, which he had put on as emblematical of auspicious fortune, fell off his head into a river. Soon afterwards, at Vienne, as he was upon the tribunal administering justice, a cock perched upon his shoulder, and afterwards upon his head. The issue corresponded to these omens; for he was not able to keep the empire which had been secured for him by his lieutenants.

¹⁰ De Betriacensi victoria et Othonis exitu, cum adhuc in Gallia esset, audiit, nihilque cunctatus, quidquid praetorianarum cohortium fuit, ut pessimi exempli, uno exauctoravit edicto iussas tribunis tradere arma. Centum autem atque viginti, quorum libellos Othoni datos intervenerat exposcentium praemium ob editam in caede Galbae operam, conquiri et supplicio adfici imperavit, egregie prorsus atque magnifice et ut summi principis spem ostenderet, nisi cetera magis ex natura et priore vita sua quam ex imperii maiestate gessisset. Namque itinere

inchoato, per medias civitates ritu triumphantium vectus est, perque flumina delicatissimis navigiis et variarum genere redimit, inter profusissimos obsoniorum apparatus, nulla familiae aut militis disciplina, rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in iocum vertens; qui non contenti epulo ubique publice praebito, quoscumque libuisset in libertatem asserebant, verbera et plagas, saepe vulnera, nonnumquam necem repraesentantes adversantibus. Vtque campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentis quosdam cadaverum tabem detestabili voce confirmare ausus est, optime olere occisum hostem et melius civem. Nec eo setius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit passimque divisit. Pari vanitate atque insolentia lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum intuens, dignum eo Mausoleo ait, pugionemque, quo is se occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam misit Marti dedicandum. In Appennini quidem iugis etiam pervigilium egit.

X. He heard of the victory at Bedriacum, and the death of Otho, whilst he was yet in Gaul, and without the least hesitation, by a single proclamation, disbanded all the pretorian cohorts, as having, by their repeated treasons, set a dangerous example to the rest of the army; commanding them to deliver up their arms to his tribunes. A hundred and twenty of them, under whose hands he had found petitions presented to Otho, for rewards of their service in the murder of Galba, he besides ordered to be sought out and punished. So far his conduct deserved approbation, and was such as to afford hope of his becoming an excellent prince, had he not managed his other affairs in a way more corresponding with his own disposition, and his former manner of life, than to the imperial dignity. For, having begun his march, he rode through every city in his route in a triumphal procession; and sailed down the rivers in ships, fitted out with the greatest elegance, and decorated with various kinds of crowns, amidst the most extravagant entertainments. Such was the want of discipline, and the licentiousness both in his family and army, that, not satisfied with the provision every where made for them at the public expense, they committed every kind of robbery and insult upon the inhabitants, setting slaves at liberty as they pleased; and if any dared to make resistance, they dealt blows and abuse, frequently wounds, and sometimes slaughter amongst them. When he reached the plains on which the battles (434) were fought, some of those around him being offended at the smell of the carcasses which lay rotting upon the ground, he had the audacity to encourage them by a most detestable remark, "That a dead enemy smelt not amiss, especially if he were a fellow-citizen." To qualify, however, the offensiveness of the stench, he quaffed in public a goblet of wine, and with equal vanity and insolence distributed a large quantity of it among his troops. On his

observing a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said, "It was a mausoleum good enough for such a prince." He also sent the poniard, with which Otho killed himself, to the colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. Upon the Appenine hills he celebrated a Bacchanalian feast.

¹¹ Urbem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus ferroque succinctum, inter signa atque vexilla, sagulatis comitibus, ac detectis commilitonum armis. Magis deinde omni divino humanoque iure neglecto, Alliensi die pontificatum maximum cepit, comitia in decem annos ordinavit seque perpetuum consulem. Et ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendae rei p. eligeret, medio Mario campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia inferias Neroni dedit ac sollemni convivio citharoedum placentem palam admonuit, ut aliquid et de dominico diceret, inchoantique Neroniana cantica primus exultans etiam plausit.

XI. At last he entered the City with trumpets sounding, in his general's cloak, and girded with his sword, amidst a display of standards and banners; his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arms of the soldiers unsheathed. Acting more and more in open violation of all laws, both divine and human, he assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, upon the day of the defeat at the Allia; ordered the magistrates to be elected for ten years of office; and made himself consul for life. To put it out of all doubt what model he intended to follow in his government of the empire, he made his offerings to the shade of Nero in the midst of the Campus Martius, and with a full assembly of the public priests attending him. And at a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper who pleased the company much, to sing something in praise of Domitius; and upon his beginning some songs of Nero's, he started up in presence of the whole assembly, and could not refrain from applauding him, by clapping his hands

¹² Talibus principiis, magnam imperii partem non nisi consilio et arbitrio vilissimi cuiusque histrionum et aurigarum administravit, et maxime Asiatici liberti. Hunc adolescentulum mutua libidinem constupratum, mox taedio profugum cum Puteolis poscam vendentem reprehendisset, coiecit in compedes statimque solvit et rursus in deliciis habuit; iterum deinde ob nimiam contumaciam et furacitatem gravatus circumforano lanistae vendidit dilatumque ad finem numeris repente subripuit, et provincia demum accepta manumisit, ac primo imperii die aureis donavit anulis super cenam, cum mane, rogantibus pro eo cunctis, detestatus esset severissime talem equestris ordinis maculam.

XII. After such a commencement of his career, he conducted (435) his affairs,

during the greater part of his reign, entirely by the advice and direction of the vilest amongst the players and charioteers, and especially his freedman Asiaticus. This fellow had, when young, been engaged with him in a course of mutual and unnatural pollution, but, being at last quite tired of the occupation, ran away. His master, some time after, caught him at Puteoli, selling a liquor called Posca, and put him in chains, but soon released him, and retained him in his former capacity. Growing weary, however, of his rough and stubborn temper, he sold him to a strolling fencing-master; after which, when the fellow was to have been brought up to play his part at the conclusion of an entertainment of gladiators, he suddenly carried him off, and at length, upon his being advanced to the government of a province, gave him his freedom. The first day of his reign, he presented him with the gold rings at supper, though in the morning, when all about him requested that favour in his behalf, he expressed the utmost abhorrence of putting so great a stain upon the equestrian order.

¹³ Sed vel praecipue luxuriae saevitiaque deditus, epulas trifariam semper, interdum quadrifariam dispertiebat, in ientacula et prandia et cenas comissionesque, facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine. Indicebat autem aliud alii eadem die, nec cuiquam minus singuli apparatus quadringenis milibus nummum constituerunt. Famosissima super cetera fuit cena data ei adventicia a fratre, in qua duo milia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur. Hanc quoque exsuperavit ipse dedicatione patinae, quam ob immensam magnitudinem clipeum Minervae polioychoy dictitabat. In hac scarorum iocinera, phasianorum et pavorum cerebella, linguas phoenicopterum, murenarum lactes a Parthia usque fretoque Hispanico per navarchos ac triremes petitarum, commiscuit. Vt autem homo non profundae modo sed intempestivae quoque ac sordidae gulae, ne in sacrificio quidem umquam aut itinere ullo temperavit, quin inter altaria ibidem statim viscus et farra paene rapta e foco manderet, circaque viarum popinas fumantia obsonia, vel pridiana atque semesa.

XIII. He was chiefly addicted to the vices of luxury and cruelty. He always made three meals a day, sometimes four: breakfast, dinner, and supper, and a drunken revel after all. This load of victuals he could well enough bear, from a custom to which he had enured himself, of frequently vomiting. For these several meals he would make different appointments at the houses of his friends on the same day. None ever entertained him at less expense than four hundred thousand sesterces. The most famous was a set entertainment given him by his brother, at which, it is said, there were served up no less than two thousand choice fishes, and seven thousand birds. Yet even this supper he himself outdid,

at a feast which he gave upon the first use of a dish which had been made for him, and which, for its extraordinary size, he called "The Shield of Minerva." In this dish there were tossed up together the livers of char-fish, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingos, and the entrails of lampreys, which had been brought in ships of war as far as (436) from the Carpathian Sea, and the Spanish Straits. He was not only a man of an insatiable appetite, but would gratify it likewise at unseasonable times, and with any garbage that came in his way; so that, at a sacrifice, he would snatch from the fire flesh and cakes, and eat them upon the spot. When he travelled, he did the same at the inns upon the road, whether the meat was fresh dressed and hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half-eaten.

¹⁴ Pronus vero ad cuiuscumque et quacumque de causa necem atque supplicium, nobiles viros, condiscipulos et aequales suos, omnibus blanditiis tantum non ad societatem imperii adlice factos vario genere fraudis occidit; etiam unum veneno manu sua porrecto in aquae frigidae potione, quam is adfectus febre poposcerat. Tum faeneratorum et stipulatorum publicanorumque, qui umquam se aut Romae debitum aut in via portorium flagitassent, vix ulli pepercit; ex quibus quendam in ipsa salutatione supplicio traditum statimque revocatum, cunctis clementiam laudantibus, coram interfici iussit, velle se dicens pascere oculos; alterius poenae duos filios adiecit deprecari pro patre conatos. Sed et equitem R. proclamantem, cum raperetur ad poenam: Heres meus es, exhibere testamenti tabulas coegit, utque legit coheredem sibi libertum eius ascriptum, iugulari cum liberto imperavit. Quosdam et de plebe ob id ipsum, quod Venetae factioni clare male dixerant, interemit, contemptu sui et nova spe id ausos opinatus. Nullis tamen infensior quam vernaculis et mathematicis, ut quisque deferretur, inauditum capite puniebat exacerbatus, quod post edictum suum, quo iubebat intra Kal. Oct. urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus propositus est, et Chaldaeos edicere, bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset. Suspectus et in morte matris fuit, quasi aegrae praeberi cibum prohibuisset, vaticinante Chattha muliere, cui velut oraculo adquiescebat, ita demum firmiter ac diutissime imperaturum, si superstes parenti extitisset. Alii tradunt ipsam taedio praesentium et imminentium metu venenum a filio impetrasse, haud sane difficulter.

XIV. He delighted in the infliction of punishments, and even those which were capital, without any distinction of persons or occasions. Several noblemen, his school-fellows and companions, invited by him to court, he treated with such flattering caresses, as seemed to indicate an affection short only of admitting

them to share the honours of the imperial dignity; yet he put them all to death by some base means or other. To one he gave poison with his own hand, in a cup of cold water which he called for in a fever. He scarcely spared one of all the usurers, notaries, and publicans, who had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or custom upon the road. One of these, while in the very act of saluting him, he ordered for execution, but immediately sent for him back; upon which all about him applauding his clemency, he commanded him to be slain in his own presence, saying, "I have a mind to feed my eyes." Two sons who interceded for their father, he ordered to be executed with him. A Roman knight, upon his being dragged away for execution, and crying out to him, "You are my heir," he desired to produce his will: and finding that he had made his freedman joint heir with him, he commanded that both he and the freedman should have their throats cut. He put to death some of the common people for cursing aloud the blue party in the Circensian games; supposing it to be done in contempt of himself, and the expectation of a revolution in the government. There were no persons he was more severe against than jugglers and astrologers; and as soon as any one of them was informed against, he put him to death without the formality of a trial. He was enraged against them, because, after his proclamation by which he commanded all astrologers to quit home, and Italy also, before the calends [the first] of October, a bill was immediately posted about the city, with the following words:— "TAKE NOTICE: The Chaldaeans also decree that Vitellius Germanicus shall be no more, by the day of the said calends." He was even suspected of being accessory to his mother's death, by forbidding sustenance to be given her when she was unwell; a German witch, whom he held to be oracular, having told him, "That he would long reign in security if he survived his mother." But others say, that being quite weary of the state of affairs, and apprehensive of the future, she obtained without difficulty a dose of poison from her son.

¹⁵ Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Moesiarum atque Pannoniae, item ex transmarinis Iudaicus et Syriaticus, ac pars in absentis, pars in praesentis Vespasiani verba iurarunt. Ad retinendum ergo ceterorum hominum studium ac favorem, nihil non publice privatimque nullo adhibito modo largitus est. Delectum quoque ea condicione in urbe egit, ut voluntatis non modo missionem post victoriam, sed etiam veteranorum iustaque militiae commoda polliceretur. Vrgenti deinde terra marique hosti hinc fratrem cum classe ac tironibus et gladiatorum manu opposuit, hinc Betriacenses copias et duces; atque ubique aut superatus aut proditus, salutem sibi et milites sestertium a Flavio Sabino Vespasiani fratre pepigit; statimque pro gradibus Palati apud frequentes

milites, cedere se imperio quod invitus recepisset professus, cunctis reclamantibus rem distulit ac nocte interposita primo diluculo sordidatus descendit ad rostra multisque cum lacrimis eadem illa, verum e libello testatus est. Rursus interpellante milite ac populo et ne deficeret hortante omnesque operam suam certatim pollicente, animum resumpsit Sabinumque et reliquos Flavianos nihil iam metuentis vi subita in Capitolium compulit, succensoque templo Iovis Optimi Maximi oppressit, cum et proelium et incendium e Tiberiana prospiceret domo inter epulas. Non multo post paenitens facti et in alios culpam conferens, vocata contione iuravit coegitque iurare et ceteros, nihil sibi antiquius quiete publica fore. Tunc solutum a latere pugionem consuli primum, deinde illo recusante magistratibus ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens, nullo recipiente, quasi in aede Concordiae positurus abscessit. Sed quibusdam adclamantibus ipsum esse Concordiam, rediit nec solum retinere se ferrum affirmavit, verum etiam Concordiae recipere cognomen; suasitque senatui, ut legatos cum virginibus Vestalibus mitterent pacem aut certe tempus ad consultandum petituros.

XV. In the eighth month of his reign, the troops both in Moesia and Pannonia revolted from him; as did likewise, of the armies beyond sea, those in Judaea and Syria, some of which swore allegiance to Vespasian as emperor in his own presence, and others in his absence. In order, therefore, to secure the favour and affection of the people, Vitellius lavished on all around whatever he had it in his power to bestow, both publicly and privately, in the most extravagant manner. He also levied soldiers in the city, and promised all who enlisted as volunteers, not only their discharge after the victory was gained, but all the rewards due to veterans who had served their full time in the wars. The enemy now pressing forward both by sea and land, on one hand he opposed against them his brother with a fleet, the new levies, and a body of gladiators, and in another quarter the troops and generals who were engaged at Bedriacum. But being beaten or betrayed in every direction, he agreed with Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, to abdicate, on condition of having his life spared, and a hundred millions of sesterces granted him; and he immediately, upon the palace-steps, publicly declared to a large body of soldiers there assembled, "that he resigned the government, which he had accepted reluctantly;" but they all remonstrating against it, he deferred the conclusion of the treaty. Next day, early in the morning, he came down to the Forum in a very mean habit, and with many tears repeated the (438) declaration from a writing which he held in his hand; but the soldiers and people again interposing, and encouraging him not to give way, but to rely on their zealous support, he recovered his courage, and forced Sabinus,

with the rest of the Flavian party, who now thought themselves secure, to retreat into the Capitol, where he destroyed them all by setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the contest and the fire from Tiberius's house, where he was feasting. Not long after, repenting of what he had done, and throwing the blame of it upon others, he called a meeting, and swore "that nothing was dearer to him than the public peace;" which oath he also obliged the rest to take. Then drawing a dagger from his side, he presented it first to the consul, and, upon his refusing it, to the magistrates, and then to every one of the senators; but none of them being willing to accept it, he went away, as if he meant to lay it up in the temple of Concord; but some crying out to him, "You are Concord," he came back again, and said that he would not only keep his weapon, but for the future use the cognomen of Concord.

¹⁶ Postridie responsa opperienti nuntiatum est per exploratorem hostes appropinquare. Continuo igitur abstrusus gestatoria sella, duobus solis comitibus, pistore et coco, Aventinum et paternam domum clam petit, ut inde in Campaniam fugeret; mox levi rumore et incerto, tamquam pax impetrata esset, referri se in Palatium passus est. Vbi cum deserta omnia repperisset, dilabentibus et qui simul erant, zona se aureorum plena circumdedit confugitque in cellulam ianitoris, religato pro foribus cane lectoque et culcita obiectis.

XVI. He advised the senate to send deputies, accompanied by the Vestal Virgins, to desire peace, or, at least, time for consultation. The day after, while he was waiting for an answer, he received intelligence by a scout, that the enemy was advancing. Immediately, therefore, throwing himself into a small litter, borne by hand, with only two attendants, a baker and a cook, he privately withdrew to his father's house, on the Aventine hill, intending to escape thence into Campania. But a groundless report being circulated, that the enemy was willing to come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. Finding, however, nobody there, and those who were with him stealing away, he girded round his waist a belt full of gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and piling up against it the bed and bedding.

¹⁷ Irruperant iam agminis antecessores ac nemine obvio rimabantur, ut fit, singula. Ab is extractus e latebra, sciscitantes quis esset (nam ignorabatur) et ubi esset Vitellium sciret, mendacio elusit; deinde agnitus rogare non destitit, quasi quaedam de salute Vespasiani dicturus, ut custodiretur interim vel in carcere, donec religatis post terga manibus, iniecto cervicibus laqueo, veste discissa

seminudus in forum tractus est inter magna rerum verborumque ludibria per totum viae Sacrae spatium, reducto coma capite, ceu noxii solent, atque etiam mento mucrone gladii subrecto, ut visendam praeberet faciem neve summitteret; quibusdam stercore et caeno incessantibus, aliis incendiarium et patinarium vociferantibus, parte vulgi etiam corporis vitia exprobrante; erat enim in eo enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumque ex vinulentia, venter obesus, alterum ferum subdebile impulsu olim quadrigae, cum auriganti Gaio ministratore exhiberet. Tandem apud Gemonias minutissimis ictibus excarnificatus atque confectus et inde unco tractus in Tiberim.

XVII. By this time the forerunners of the enemy's army had broken into the palace, and meeting with nobody, searched, as was natural, every corner. Being dragged by them out of his cell, and asked "who he was?" (for they did not recognize him), "and if he knew where Vitellius was?" he deceived them by a falsehood. But at last being discovered, he begged hard to be detained in custody, even were it in a prison; pretending to have something to say which concerned Vespasian's security. Nevertheless, he was dragged half-naked into the Forum, with his hands tied behind him, a rope about his neck, and his clothes torn, amidst the most contemptuous abuse, both by word and deed, along the Via Sacra; his head being held back by the hair, in the manner of condemned criminals, and the point of a sword put under his chin, that he might hold up his face to public view; some of the mob, meanwhile, pelting him with dung and mud, whilst others called him "an incendiary and glutton." They also upbraided him with the defects of his person, for he was monstrously tall, and had a face usually very red with hard-drinking, a large belly, and one thigh weak, occasioned by a chariot running against him, as he was attending upon Caius, while he was driving. At length, upon the Scalae Gemoniae, he was tormented and put to death in lingering tortures, and then dragged by a hook into the Tiber.

¹⁸ Periit cum fratre et filio anno vitae septimo quinquagesimo; nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennae ostendimus, non aliud portendi praedixerant, quam venturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem; siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est, cum Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum.

XVIII. He perished with his brother and son, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and verified the prediction of those who, from the omen which happened to him at Vienne, as before related, foretold that he would be made prisoner by some man of Gaul. For he was seized by Antoninus Primus, a general of the

adverse party, who was born at Toulouse, and, when a boy, had the cognomen of Becco, which signifies a cock's beak.

THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN

1 Rebellionem trium principum et caede incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imaginibus, sed tamen rei p. nequaquam paenitenda; constet licet, Domitianum cupiditatis ac saevitiae merito poenas luisse. T. Flavius Petro, municeps Reatinus, bello civili Pompeianarum partium centurio an evocatus, profugit ex Pharsalica, acie domumque se contulit, ubi deinde venia et missione impetrata coactiones argentarias factitavit. Huius filium, cognomine Sabinus, expers militiae (etsi quidem eum primipilarem, nonnulli, cum adhuc ordiens duceret, sacramento solutum per causam valitudinis tradunt) publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit; manebantque imagines a civitatibus ei positae sub hoc titulo: kalos telonesanti. Postea faenus apud Helvetios exercuit ibique diem obiit superstitibus uxore Vespasia Polla et duobus ex ea liberis, quorum maior Sabinus ad praefecturam urbis, minor Vespasianus ad principatum usque processit. Polla, Nursiae honesto genere orta, patrem habuit Vespasium Pollionem, ter tribunum militum praefectumque castrorum, fratrem senatorem praetoriae dignitatis. Locus etiam ad sextum miliarium a Nursia Spolegium euntibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiae, ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiae et vetustatis. Non negaverim iactatum a quibusdam Petronis patrem e regione Transpadana fuisse mancipem operarum, quae ex Umbria in Sabinos ad culturam agrorum quotannis commeare soleant; subsedissem autem in oppido Reatino, uxore ibidem ducta. Ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.

(441) I. The empire, which had been long thrown into a disturbed and unsettled state, by the rebellion and violent death of its three last rulers, was at length restored to peace and security by the Flavian family, whose descent was indeed obscure, and which boasted no ancestral honours; but the public had no cause to regret its elevation; though it is acknowledged that Domitian met with the just reward of his avarice and cruelty. Titus Flavius Petro, a townsman of Reate, whether a centurion or an evocatus of Pompey's party in the civil war, is uncertain, fled out of the battle of Pharsalia and went home; where, having at last obtained his pardon and discharge, he became a collector of the money raised by public sales in the way of auction. His son, surnamed Sabinus, was never engaged in the military service, though some say he was a centurion of the first order, and others, that whilst he held that rank, he was discharged on account of his bad state of health: this Sabinus, I say, was a publican, and received the tax of

the fortieth penny in Asia. And there were remaining, at the time of the advancement of the family, several statues, which had been erected to him by the cities of that province, with this inscription: "To the honest Tax-farmer." He afterwards turned usurer amongst the Helvetii, and there died, leaving behind him his wife, Vespasia Pella, and two sons by her; the elder of whom, Sabinus, came to be prefect of the city, and the younger, Vespasian, to be emperor. Polla, descended of a good family, at Nursia, had for her father Vespasius Pollio, thrice appointed (442) military tribune, and at last prefect of the camp; and her brother was a senator of praetorian dignity. There is to this day, about six miles from Nursia, on the road to Spoletum, a place on the summit of a hill, called Vespasiae, where are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendour and antiquity of the family. I will not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petro's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire workpeople who used to emigrate every year from the country of the Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry; but who settled at last in the town of Reate, and there married. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest inquiry.

² Vespasianus natus est in Sabinis ultra Reate vico modico, cui nomen est Phalacrinae, XV. kal. Dec. vesperi, Q. Sulpicio Camerino C. Poppaeo Sabino cons., quinquennio ante quam Augustus excederet; educatus sub paterna avia Tertulla in praediis Cosanis. Quare princeps quoque et locum incunabulorum assidue frequentavit, manente villa qualis fuerat olim, ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret; et aviae memoriam tanto opere dilexit, ut sollemnibus ac festis diebus pocillo quoque eius argenteo potare perseveraverit. Sumpta virili toga, latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est, nec ut tandem appeteret compelli nisi a matre potuit. Ea demum extudit magis convicio quam precibus vel auctoritate, dum eum identidem per contumeliam anteambulonem fratris appellat. Tribunatum in Thracia meruit; quaestor Cretam et Cyrenas provinciam sorte cepit; aedilitatis ac mox praeturae candidatus, illam non sine repulsa sectoque vix adeptus est loco, hanc prima statim petitione et in primis; praetor infensum senatui Gaium ne quo non genere demeretur, ludos extraordinarios pro victoria eius Germanica depoposcit, poenaeque coniuratorum addendum censuit ut insepulti proicerentur. Egit et gratias ei apud amplissimum ordinem, quod se honore cenae dignatus esset.

II. Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country-seat called Phalacrine, upon the fifth of the calends of December [27th November], in the evening, in the consulship of Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus

and Caius Poppaeus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus; and was educated under the care of Tertulla, his grandmother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging to the family, at Cosa . After his advancement to the empire, he used frequently to visit the place where he had spent his infancy; and the villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used to do. And he had so great a regard for the memory of his grandmother, that, upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly drank out of a silver cup which she had been accustomed to use. After assuming the manly habit, he had a long time a distaste for the senatorian toga, though his brother had obtained it; nor could he be persuaded by any one but his mother to sue for that badge of honour. She at length drove him to it, more by taunts and reproaches, than by her entreaties (443) and authority, calling him now and then, by way of reproach, his brother's footman. He served as military tribune in Thrace. When made quaestor, the province of Crete and Cyrene fell to him by lot. He was candidate for the aedileship, and soon after for the praetorship, but met with a repulse in the former case; though at last, with much difficulty, he came in sixth on the poll-books. But the office of praetor he carried upon his first canvass, standing amongst the highest at the poll. Being incensed against the senate, and desirous to gain, by all possible means, the good graces of Caius, he obtained leave to exhibit extraordinary games for the emperor's victory in Germany, and advised them to increase the punishment of the conspirators against his life, by exposing their corpses unburied. He likewise gave him thanks in that august assembly for the honour of being admitted to his table.

³ Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statilii Capellae equitis R. Sabratensis ex Africa delicatam olim Latinaeque condicionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Rom. recipatorio iudicio pronuntiatam, patre asserente Flavio Liberale Ferenti genito nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorio scriba. Ex hac liberos tulit Titum et Domitianum et Domitillam. Vxori ac filiae superstes fuit, atque utramque adhuc privatus amisit. Post uxoris excessum Caenidem, Antoniae libertam et a manu, dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium, habuitque etiam imperator paene iustae uxoris loco.

III. Meanwhile, he married Flavia Domitilla, who had formerly been the mistress of Statilius Capella, a Roman knight of Sabrata in Africa, who [Domitilla] enjoyed Latin rights; and was soon after declared fully and freely a citizen of Rome, on a trial before the court of Recovery, brought by her father Flavius Liberalis, a native of Ferentum, but no more than secretary to a quaestor. By her he had the following children: Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla. He

outlived his wife and daughter, and lost them both before he became emperor. After the death of his wife, he renewed his union with his former concubine Caenis, the freedwoman of Antonia, and also her amanuensis, and treated her, even after he was emperor, almost as if she had been his lawful wife.

⁴ Claudio principe Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste confligit. Duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximan in dicionem redegit, partim Auli Plautii legati consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Quare triumphalia ornamenta et in brevi spatio duplex sacerdotium accepit, praeterea consulatum, quem gessit per duos novissimos anni menses. Medium tempus ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoque Narcissi amici perosam. Exim sortitus Africam, integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administravit, nisi quod Hadrumeti seditione quadam rapa in eum iacta sunt. Rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui, prope labefactata iam fide, omnia praedia fratri obligaret necessariosque ad mangonicos quaestus sustinendae dignitatis causa descenderit; propte quod vulgo mulio vocabatur. Convictus quoque dicitur ducenta sestertia expressisse iuveni, cui latum clavum adversus patris voluntatem impetrarat, eoque nomine graviter increpitus. Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantantem eo aut discederet saepius aut praesens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam, prohibitusque non contubernio modo sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quod latenti extrema metuenti provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu parvit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes, rebellarunt, caesoque praeposito legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta aquila, fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimus delectus est, ut et industriae expertae nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos maiore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se, correcta statim castrorum disciplina, unoque et altero proelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scutoque sagittas aliquot exceperit.

(444) IV. In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent to Germany, in command of a legion; whence being removed into Britain, he

engaged the enemy in thirty several battles. He reduced under subjection to the Romans two very powerful tribes, and above twenty great towns, with the Isle of Wight, which lies close to the coast of Britain; partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, the consular lieutenant, and partly under Claudius himself . For this success he received the triumphal ornaments, and in a short time after two priesthoods, besides the consulship, which he held during the two last months of the year . The interval between that and his proconsulship he spent in leisure and retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who still held great sway over her son, and hated all the friends of Narcissus, who was then dead. Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great reputation, excepting that once, in an insurrection at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips. It is certain that he returned thence nothing richer; for his credit was so low, that he was obliged to mortgage his whole property to his brother, and was reduced to the necessity of dealing in mules, for the support of his rank; for which reason he was commonly called “the Muleteer.” He is said likewise to have been convicted of extorting from a young man of fashion two hundred thousand sesterces for procuring him the broad-stripe, contrary to the wishes of his father, and was severely reprimanded for it. While in attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he frequently withdrew from the theatre while Nero was singing, and went to sleep if he remained, which gave so much (445) offence, that he was not only excluded from his society, but debarred the liberty of saluting him in public. Upon this, he retired to a small out-of-the-way town, where he lay skulking in constant fear of his life, until a province, with an army, was offered him. A firm persuasion had long prevailed through all the East, that it was fated for the empire of the world, at that time, to devolve on some who should go forth from Judaea. This prediction referred to a Roman emperor, as the event shewed; but the Jews, applying it to themselves, broke out into rebellion, and having defeated and slain their governor, routed the lieutenant of Syria, a man of consular rank, who was advancing to his assistance, and took an eagle, the standard, of one of his legions. As the suppression of this revolt appeared to require a stronger force and an active general, who might be safely trusted in an affair of so much importance, Vespasian was chosen in preference to all others, both for his known activity, and on account of the obscurity of his origin and name, being a person of whom (446) there could be not the least jealousy. Two legions, therefore, eight squadrons of horse, and ten cohorts, being added to the former troops in Judaea, and, taking with him his eldest son as lieutenant, as soon as he arrived in his province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with such resolution, that, in the attack of a castle, he had his knee hurt

by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield.

⁵ Post Neronem Galbamque, Othone ac Vitellio de principatu certantibus, in spem imperii venit, iam pridem sibi per haec ostenta conceptam. In suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua, quae erat Marti sacra, per tres Vespasiae partus, singulos repente ramos a frutice dedit, haud dubia signa futuri cuiusque fati: primum exilem et cito arefactum (ideoque puella nata non perennavit), secundum praevalidum ac prolixum et qui magnam felicitatem portenderet, tertium vero instar arboris. Quare patrem Sabinum ferunt, haruspicio insuper confirmatum, renuntiassse matri, nepotem ei Caesarem genitum; nec illam quicquam aliud quam cachinnasse, mirantem quod adhuc se mentis compote deliraret iam filius suus. Mox cum aedilem eum C. Caesar, succensens curam verrendis viis non adhibitam, luto iussisset oppleri congesto per milites in praetextae sinum, non defuerunt qui interpretarentur, quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem p. civili aliqua perturbatione in tutelam eius ac velut in gremium deventuram. Prandente eo quondam, canis extrarius e trivio manum humanam intulit mensaeque subiecit. Cenante rursus bos arator decusso iugo triclinio irrupit, ac fugatis ministris quasi repente defessus procidit ad ipsos accumbentis pedes cervicemque summisit. Arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus atque prostrata, insequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit. At in Achaia somniavit initium sibi suisque felicitates futurum, simul ac dens Neroni exemptus esset; evenitque ut sequenti die progressus in atrium medicus dentem ei ostenderet, tantumque quod exemptum. Apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo, quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur; et unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosephus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore. Nuntiabantur et ex urbe praesagia, Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut tensam Iovis Optimi Maximi e sacrario in domus Vespasiani et inde in circum deduceret; ac non multo post, comitia secundi consulatus ineunte Galba, statuam Divi Iulii ad Orientem sponte conversam; acieque Betriacensi, prius quam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium conflixisse, victaque altera supervenisse tertiam ab solis exortum ac victricem abegisse.

V. After the deaths of Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he entertained hopes of obtaining the empire, with the prospect of which he had long before flattered himself, from the following omens. Upon an estate belonging to the Flavian family, in the neighbourhood of Rome, there was an old oak, sacred to Mars, which, at the

three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch; evident intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, which quickly withered away; and accordingly, the girl that was born did not live long. The second became vigorous, which portended great good fortune; but the third grew like a tree. His father, Sabinus, encouraged by these omens, which were confirmed by the augurs, told his mother, “that her grandson would be emperor of Rome;” at which she laughed heartily, wondering, she said, “that her son should be in his dotage whilst she continued still in full possession of her faculties.” Afterwards in his aedileship, when Caius Caesar, being enraged at his not taking care to have the streets kept clean, ordered the soldiers to fill the bosom of his gown with dirt, some persons at that time construed it into a sign that the government, being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion, would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap. Once, while he was at dinner, a strange dog, that wandered about the streets, brought a man’s hand, and laid it under the table. And another time, while he was at supper, a plough-ox throwing the yoke off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frightened away all the attendants, (447) on a sudden, as if he was tired, fell down at his feet, as he lay still upon his couch, and hung down his neck. A cypress-tree likewise, in a field belonging to the family, was torn up by the roots, and laid flat upon the ground, when there was no violent wind; but next day it rose again fresher and stronger than before. He dreamt in Achaia that the good fortune of himself and his family would begin when Nero had a tooth drawn; and it happened that the day after, a surgeon coming into the hall, showed him a tooth which he had just extracted from Nero. In Judaea, upon his consulting the oracle of the divinity at Carmel, the answer was so encouraging as to assure him of success in anything he projected, however great or important it might be. And when Josephus, one of the noble prisoners, was put in chains, he confidently affirmed that he should be released in a very short time by the same Vespasian, but he would be emperor first. Some omens were likewise mentioned in the news from Rome, and among others, that Nero, towards the close of his days, was commanded in a dream to carry Jupiter’s sacred chariot out of the sanctuary where it stood, to Vespasian’s house, and conduct it thence into the circus. Also not long afterwards, as Galba was going to the election, in which he was created consul for the second time, a statue of the Divine Julius turned towards the east. And in the field of Bedriacum, before the battle began, two eagles engaged in the sight of the army; and one of them being beaten, a third came from the east, and drove away the conqueror.

⁶ Nec tamen quicquam ante temptavit, promptissimis atque etiam instantibus

suis, quam sollicitatus quorundam et ignotorum et absentium fortuito favore. Moesiaci exercitus bina e tribus legionibus milia, missa auxilio Othoni, postquam ingressis iter nuntiatum est victum eum ac vim vitae suae attulisse, nihilo setius Aquileiam usque perseveraverunt, quasi rumori minus crederent. Ibi per occasionem ac licentiam omni rapinarum genere grassati, cum timerent ne sibi reversis reddenda ratio ac subeunda poena esset, consilium inierunt eligendi creandique imperatoris; neque enim deteriores esse aut Hispaniensi exercitu qui Galbam, aut praetoriano qui Othonem, aut Germaniciano qui Vitellium fecissent. Propositis itaque nominibus legatorum consularium, quot ubique tunc erant, cum ceteros alium alia de causa improbarent, et quidam e legione tertia, quae sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Moesiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent, assensere cuncti nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. Et tunc quidem compressa res est, revocatis ad officium numeris parumper. Ceterum divulgato facto, Tiberius Alexander praefectus Aegypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kal. Iul., qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Iudaicus deinde exercitus V. Idus Iul. apud ipsum iuravit. Plurimum coeptis contulerunt iactatum exemplar epistulae verae sive falsae defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum, extrema obtestatione ultionem mandatus et ut rei p. subveniret optantis; simul rumor dissipatus, destinasse victorem Vitellium permutate hiberna legionum et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam, praeterea ex praesidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus et e regibus Vologaesius Parthus; ille deposita simultate, quam in id tempus ex aemulatione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promisit exercitum, hic quadraginta milia sagittariorum.

(448) VI. He made, however, no attempt upon the sovereignty, though his friends were very ready to support him, and even pressed him to the enterprise, until he was encouraged to it by the fortuitous aid of persons unknown to him and at a distance. Two thousand men, drawn out of three legions in the Moesian army, had been sent to the assistance of Otho. While they were upon their march, news came that he had been defeated, and had put an end to his life; notwithstanding which they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending that they gave no credit to the report. There, tempted by the opportunity which the disorder of the times afforded them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion; until at length, fearing to be called to an account on their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon choosing and creating an emperor. "For they were no ways inferior," they said, "to the army which made Galba emperor, nor to the pretorian troops which had set up Otho, nor the army in Germany, to whom Vitellius owed his elevation." The names of all the consular lieutenants,

therefore, being taken into consideration, and one objecting to one, and another to another, for various reasons; at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Moesia, extolled Vespasian in high terms; and all the rest assenting, his name was immediately inscribed on their standards. The design was nevertheless quashed for a time, the troops being brought to submit to Vitellius a little longer. However, the fact becoming known, Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, on the calends [the 1st] of July, which was observed ever after as the day of his accession to the empire; and upon the fifth of the ides of the same month [the 28th July], the army in Judaea, where he then was, also swore allegiance to him. What contributed greatly to forward the affair, was a copy of a letter, whether real or counterfeit, which was circulated, and said to have been written by Otho before his decease to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most urgent terms to avenge his death, and entreating him to come to the aid of the commonwealth; as well as a report which was circulated, that Vitellius, after his success against Otho, proposed to change the winter quarters of the legions, and remove those in Germany to a less (449) hazardous station and a warmer climate. Moreover, amongst the governors of provinces, Licinius Mucianus dropping the grudge arising from a jealousy of which he had hitherto made no secret, promised to join him with the Syrian army, and, among the allied kings, Volugesus, king of the Parthians, offered him a reinforcement of forty thousand archers.

7 Suscepto igitur civili bello ac ducibus copiisque in Italiam praemissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Aegypti optineret. Hic cum de firmitate imperii capturus auspiciu aedem Serapidis summotis omnibus solus intrasset, ac propitiato multum deo tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque et panificia, ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est; quem neque admissum a quoquam et iam pridem propter nervorum valitudinem vix ingredi longeque abesse constabat. Ac statim advenere litterae, fusas apud Cremonam Vitelli copias, ipsum in urbe interemptum nuntiantes. Auctoritas et quasi maiestas quaedam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deerat: haec quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valitudini demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restitutum oculos, si inspisset; confirmatum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset ullo modo successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet, extremo hortantibus amicis palam pro contione utrumque temptavit, nec eventus vaticinantium effossa sunt sacro loco vasa operis antiqui, atque in iis assimilis Vespasiano imago.

VII. Having, therefore, entered on a civil war, and sent forward his generals and forces into Italy, he himself, in the meantime, passed over to Alexandria, to obtain possession of the key of Egypt . Here having entered alone, without attendants, the temple of Serapis, to take the auspices respecting the establishment of his power, and having done his utmost to propitiate the deity, upon turning round, [his freedman] Basilides appeared before him, and seemed to offer him the sacred leaves, chaplets, and cakes, according to the usage of the place, although no one had admitted him, and he had long laboured under a muscular debility, which would hardly have allowed him to walk into the temple; besides which, it was certain that at the very time he was far away. Immediately after this, arrived letters with intelligence that Vitellius's troops had been defeated at Cremona, and he himself slain at Rome. Vespasian, the new emperor, having been raised unexpectedly from a low estate, wanted something which might clothe him with divine majesty and authority. This, likewise, was now added. A poor man who was blind, and another who was lame, came both together before him, when he was seated on the tribunal, imploring him to heal them, and saying that they were admonished (450) in a dream by the god Serapis to seek his aid, who assured them that he would restore sight to the one by anointing his eyes with his spittle, and give strength to the leg of the other, if he vouchsafed but to touch it with his heel. At first he could scarcely believe that the thing would any how succeed, and therefore hesitated to venture on making the experiment. At length, however, by the advice of his friends, he made the attempt publicly, in the presence of the assembled multitudes, and it was crowned with success in both cases . About the same time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the direction (451) of some soothsayers, several vessels of ancient workmanship were dug out of a consecrated place, on which there was an effigy resembling Vespasian.

⁸ Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus, acto de Iudaeis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit; suscepit et censuram, ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem p. stabilire primo, deinde et ornare. Milites pars victoriae fiducia, pars ignominiae dolore ad omnes licentiam audaciamque processerant; sed et provinciae civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quaedam tumultuosius inter se agebant. Quare Vitellianorum quidem et exauctoravit plurimos et coercuit, participibus autem victoriae adeo nihil extra ordinem indulsit ut etiam legitima praemia sero persolverit. Ac ne quam occasionem corrigendi disciplinam praetermitteret, adulescentulum fragrantem unguento, cum sibi pro impetrata praefectura gratias ageret, nutu aspernatus voce etiam gravissima increpuit: "Maluissem allium oboluisse,"

litterasque revocavit; classiarios vero, qui ab Ostia et Puteolis Romam pedibus per vices commeant, petentes constitui aliquid sibi calciarii nomine, quasi parum esset sine responso abegisse, iussit post haec excalciatos cursitare; et ex eo ita cursitant. Achaïam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, libertate adempta, item Thraciam, Ciliciam et Commagenen, ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit. Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularemque rectorem imposuit pro eq. R. Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; vacuas areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuiusque permisist. Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit; aerearumque tabulatum tria milia, quae simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.

VIII. Returning now to Rome, under these auspices, and with a great reputation, after enjoying a triumph for victories over the Jews, he added eight consulships to his former one. He likewise assumed the censorship, and made it his principal concern, during the whole of his government, first to restore order in the state, which had been almost ruined, and was in a tottering condition, and then to improve it. The soldiers, one part of them emboldened by victory, and the other smarting with the disgrace of their defeat, had abandoned themselves to every species of licentiousness and insolence. Nay, the provinces, too, and free cities, and some kingdoms in alliance with Rome, were all in a disturbed state. He, therefore, disbanded many of Vitellius's soldiers, and punished others; and so far was he from granting any extraordinary favours to the sharers of his success, that it was late before he paid the gratuities due to them by law. That he might let slip no opportunity of reforming the discipline of the army, upon a young man's coming much perfumed to return him thanks (452) for having appointed him to command a squadron of horse, he turned away his head in disgust, and, giving him this sharp reprimand, "I had rather you had smelt of garlic," revoked his commission. When the men belonging to the fleet, who travelled by turns from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome, petitioned for an addition to their pay, under the name of shoe-money, thinking that it would answer little purpose to send them away without a reply, he ordered them for the future to run barefooted; and so they have done ever since. He deprived of their liberties, Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samos; and reduced them into the form of provinces; Thrace, also, and Cilicia, as well as Comagene, which until that time had been under the government of kings. He stationed some legions in

Cappadocia on account of the frequent inroads of the barbarians, and, instead of a Roman knight, appointed as governor of it a man of consular rank. The ruins of houses which had been burnt down long before, being a great desight to the city, he gave leave to any one who would, to take possession of the void ground and build upon it, if the proprietors should hesitate to perform the work themselves. He resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his hand to clearing the ground of the rubbish, and removed some of it upon his own shoulder. And he undertook, likewise, to restore the three thousand tables of brass which had been destroyed in the fire which consumed the Capitol; searching in all quarters for copies of those curious and ancient records, in which were contained the decrees of the senate, almost from the building of the city, as well as the acts of the people, relative to alliances, treaties, and privileges granted to any person.

9 Fecit et nova opera templum Pacis foro proximum, Divique Claudii in Caelio monte coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum; item amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse compererat Augustum. Amplissimos ordines et exhaustos caede varia et contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit supplevitque recenso senatu et equite, summotis indignissimis et honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium allecto. Atque uti notum esset, utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam dignitate differre, de iurgio quodam senatoris equitisque R. ita pronuntiavit, non oportere maledici senatoribus, remaledici civile fasque esse.

IX. He likewise erected several new public buildings, namely, the temple of Peace near the Forum, that of Claudius on the (453) Coelian mount, which had been begun by Agrippina, but almost entirely demolished by Nero; and an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, upon finding that Augustus had projected such a work. He purified the senatorian and equestrian orders, which had been much reduced by the havoc made amongst them at several times, and was fallen into disrepute by neglect. Having expelled the most unworthy, he chose in their room the most honourable persons in Italy and the provinces. And to let it be known that those two orders differed not so much in privileges as in dignity, he declared publicly, when some altercation passed between a senator and a Roman knight, “that senators ought not to be treated with scurrilous language, unless they were the aggressors, and then it was fair and lawful to return it.”

10 Litium series ubique maiorem in modum excreverant, manentibus antiquis intercapedine iuris dictionis, accedentibus novis ex condicione tumultuque

temporum; sorte elegit per quos rapta bello restituerentur quique iudicia centumvitalia, quibus peragendis vix suffectura litigatorum videbatur aetas, extra ordinem diiudicaret redigerentque ad brevissimum numerum

X. The business of the courts had prodigiously accumulated, partly from old law-suits which, on account of the interruption that had been given to the course of justice, still remained undecided, and partly from the accession of new suits arising out of the disorder of the times. He, therefore, chose commissioners by lot to provide for the restitution of what had been seized by violence during the war, and others with extraordinary jurisdiction to decide causes belonging to the centumviri, and reduce them to as small a number as possible, for the dispatch of which, otherwise, the lives of the litigants could scarcely allow sufficient time.

¹¹ Libido atque luxuria coercente nullo invaluerant; auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur; neve filiorum familiarum faeneratoribus exigendi crediti ius umquam esset, ne post patrum quidem mortem.

XI. Lust and luxury, from the licence which had long prevailed, had also grown to an enormous height. He, therefore, obtained a decree of the senate, that a woman who formed an union with the slave of another person, should be considered (454) a bondwoman herself; and that usurers should not be allowed to take proceedings at law for the recovery of money lent to young men whilst they lived in their father's family, not even after their fathers were dead.

¹² Ceteris in rebus statim ab initio principatus usque ad exitum civilis et clemens, mediocritatem pristinam neque dissimulavit umquam ac frequenter etiam prae se tulit. Quin et conantis quosdam originem Flavii generis ad conditores Reatinos comitemque Herculis, cuius monimentum exstat Salaria via, referre irrisit ultro. Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumpho die fatigatus tarditate et taedio pompae non reticuerit, merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum maioribus suis aut speratum umquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset. Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem et patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit. Nam consuetudinem scrutandi salutantes manente adhuc bello civili omiserat.

XII. In other affairs, from the beginning to the end of his government, he conducted himself with great moderation and clemency. He was so far from dissembling the obscurity of his extraction, that he frequently made mention of it

himself. When some affected to trace his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and a companion of Hercules, whose monument is still to be seen on the Salarian road, he laughed at them for it. And he was so little fond of external and adventitious ornaments, that, on the day of his triumph, being quite tired of the length and tediousness of the procession, he could not forbear saying, “he was rightly served, for having in his old age been so silly as to desire a triumph; as if it was either due to his ancestors, or had ever been expected by himself.” Nor would he for a long time accept of the tribunitian authority, or the title of Father of his Country. And in regard to the custom of searching those who came to salute him, he dropped it even in the time of the civil war.

¹³ Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit. Licinium Mucianum notae impudicitiae, sed meritorum fiducia minus sui reverentem, numquam nisi clam et hactenus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicum querens adderet clausulam: Ego tamen vir sum. Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere: Quid ad Caesarem, si Hipparchus sestertium milies habet? et ipse laudavit. Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post damnationem, ac neque assurgere neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit canem appellare.

XIII. He bore with great mildness the freedom used by his friends, the satirical allusions of advocates, and the petulance of philosophers. Licinius Mucianus, who had been guilty of notorious acts of lewdness, but, presuming upon his great services, treated him very rudely, he reproved only in private; and when complaining of his conduct to a common friend of theirs, he concluded with these words, “However, I am a man.” Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cause of a rich man under prosecution, presuming to say, “What is it to Caesar, if Hipparchus possesses a hundred millions of sesterces?” he commended him for it. Demetrius, the Cynic philosopher, (455) who had been sentenced to banishment, meeting him on the road, and refusing to rise up or salute him, nay, snarling at him in scurrilous language, he only called him a cur.

¹⁴ Offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor executorve, Vitelli hostis sui filiam splendidissime maritavit, dotavit etiam et instruxit. Trepidum eum interdicta aula sub Nerone quaerentemque, quidnam ageret aut quo abiret, quidam ex officio admissionis simul expellens, abire Morboviam iusserat. In hunc postea deprecantem haud ultra verba excanduit, et quidem totidem fere atque eadem. Nam ut suspicione aliqua vel metu ad perniciem cuiusquam compelleretur tantum afuit, ut monentibus amicis cavendum esse Mettium

Pompusianum, quod vulgo crederetur genesin habere imperatoriam, insuper consulem fecerit, spondens quandoque beneficii memorem futurum.

XIV. He was little disposed to keep up the memory of affronts or quarrels, nor did he harbour any resentment on account of them. He made a very splendid marriage for the daughter of his enemy Vitellius, and gave her, besides, a suitable fortune and equipage. Being in a great consternation after he was forbidden the court in the time of Nero, and asking those about him, what he should do? or, whither he should go? one of those whose office it was to introduce people to the emperor, thrusting him out, bid him go to Morbonia . But when this same person came afterwards to beg his pardon, he only vented his resentment in nearly the same words. He was so far from being influenced by suspicion or fear to seek the destruction of any one, that, when his friends advised him to beware of Metius Pomposianus, because it was commonly believed, on his nativity being cast, that he was destined by fate to the empire, he made him consul, promising for him, that he would not forget the benefit conferred.

¹⁵ Non temere quis punitus insons reperietur, nisi absente eo et ignaro aut certe invito atque decepto. Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis paene in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde et interfici iussum, magni aestimavit servare quoquo modo, missis qui percussores revocarent; et servasset, nisi iam perisse falso renuntiatum esset. Certum neque caede cuiusquam umquam laetatus, iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit.

XV. It will scarcely be found, that so much as one innocent person suffered in his reign, unless in his absence, and without his knowledge, or, at least, contrary to his inclination, and when he was imposed upon. Although Helvidius Priscus was the only man who presumed to salute him on his return from Syria by his private name of Vespasian, and, when he came to be praetor, omitted any mark of honour to him, or even any mention of him in his edicts, yet he was not angry, until Helvidius proceeded to inveigh against him with the most scurrilous language. (456) Though he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and accordingly dispatched messengers to fetch back the executioners; and he would have saved him, had he not been deceived by a false account brought, that he

had already perished. He never rejoiced at the death of any man; nay he would shed tears, and sigh, at the just punishment of the guilty.

¹⁶ Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas. Non enim contentus omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse, novas et gravia addidisse, auxisse, tributa provinciis, nonnullis et duplicasse, negotiationem quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam, tantum ut pluris postea distraheret. Ne candidatis quidem honores, reisve tam innoxiiis quam nocentibus absolute venditare cunctatus est. Creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimus quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret; quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur uti, quod quasi et siccos madefaceret et exprimeret umentis. Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata sibi gratuita libertate, quam imperium adeptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit vulpem pilum mutare, non mores. Sunt contra qui opinentur ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsam summa aerarii fisciue inopia; de qua testificatus sit initio statim principatus, professus quadringenties milies opus esse, ut res p. stare posset. Quod et veri similis videtur, quando et male partis optime usus est.

XVI. The only thing deservedly blameable in his character was his love of money. For not satisfied with reviving the imposts which had been repealed in the time of Galba, he imposed new and onerous taxes, augmented the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some of them. He likewise openly engaged in a traffic, which is discreditable even to a private individual, buying great quantities of goods, for the purpose of retailing them again to advantage. Nay, he made no scruple of selling the great offices of the state to candidates, and pardons to persons under prosecution, whether they were innocent or guilty. It is believed, that he advanced all the most rapacious amongst the procurators to higher offices, with the view of squeezing them after they had acquired great wealth. He was commonly said, "to have used them as sponges," because it was his practice, as we may say, to wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet. It is said that he was naturally extremely covetous, and was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperor's refusing to enfranchise him gratis, which on his advancement he humbly petitioned for, cried out, "That the fox changed his hair, but not his nature." On the other hand, some are of opinion, that he was urged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme poverty of the treasury and exchequer, of which he took public notice in the beginning of his reign; declaring that "no less than four hundred thousand millions of sesterces were wanting to carry on the government." This is the more

likely to be true, because he applied to the best purposes what he procured by bad means.

¹⁷ In omne hominum genus liberalissimus explevit censum senatorium, consulares inopes quingenis sestertiis annuis sustentavit, plurimas per totum orbem civitates terrae motu aut incendio afflictas restituit in melius, ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit.

XVII. His liberality, however, to all ranks of people, was excessive. He made up to several senators the estate required (457) by law to qualify them for that dignity; relieving likewise such men of consular rank as were poor, with a yearly allowance of five hundred thousand sesterces; and rebuilt, in a better manner than before, several cities in different parts of the empire, which had been damaged by earthquakes or fires.

¹⁸ Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit; praestantis poetas, nec non et artifices, Coae Veneris, item Colossi refectorem, insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit; mechanico quoque, grandis columnas exigua impensa perducturum in Capitolium pollicenti, praemium pro commento non mediocre optulit, operam remisit, praefatus sineret se plebiculam pascere.

XVIII. He was a great encourager of learning and the liberal arts. He first granted to the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric the yearly stipend of a hundred thousand sesterces each out of the exchequer. He also bought the freedom of superior poets and artists, and gave a noble gratuity to the restorer of the Coan of Venus, and to another artist who repaired the Colossus . Some one offering to convey some immense columns into the Capitol at a small expense by a mechanical contrivance, he rewarded him very handsomely for his invention, but would not accept his service, saying, “Suffer me to find maintenance for the poor people.”

¹⁹ Ludis, per quos scaena Marcelliani theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoque acroamata revocaverat. Apollinari tragoedo quadringenta, Terpno Diodoroque citharoedis ducena, nonnullis centena, quibus minimum, quadragena sestertia insuper plurimas coronas aureas dedit. Sed et convivabatur assidue, ac saepius recta et dapsile, ut macellarios adiuveret. Dabat sicut Saturnalibus viris apophoreta, ita per Kal. Mart. feminis. Et tamen ne sic quidem pristina cupiditatis infamia caruit. Alexandrini Cybiosacten eum vocare perseveraverunt,

cognomine unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium, Sed et in funere Favor archimimus personam eius ferens imitansque, ut est mos, facta ac dicta vivi, interrogatis palam procuratoribus, quanti funus et pompa constaret, ut audiit, sestertio centiens, exclamavit, centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim proicerent.

XIX. In the games celebrated when the stage-scenery of (458) the theatre of Marcellus was repaired, he restored the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris, the tragedian, four hundred thousand sesterces, and to Terpinus and Diodorus, the harpers, two hundred thousand; to some a hundred thousand; and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides many golden crowns. He entertained company constantly at his table, and often in great state and very sumptuously, in order to promote trade. As in the Saturnalia he made presents to the men which they were to carry away with them, so did he to the women upon the calends of March; notwithstanding which, he could not wipe off the disrepute of his former stinginess. The Alexandrians called him constantly Cybiosactes; a name which had been given to one of their kings who was sordidly avaricious. Nay, at his funeral, Favo, the principal mimic, personating him, and imitating, as actors do, both his manner of speaking and his gestures, asked aloud of the procurators, "how much his funeral and the procession would cost?" And being answered "ten millions of sesterces," he cried out, "give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber, if they would."

²⁰ Statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris, vultu veluti nitentis: de quo quidam urbanorum non infacete, siquidem petenti, ut et in se aliquid diceret: "Dicam," inquit, "cum ventrem exonerare desieris." Valitudine prosperrima usus est, quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam fauces ceteraque membra sibimet ad numerum in sphaeristerio defricaret inediamque unius diei per singulos menses interponeret.

XX. He was broad-set, strong-limbed, and his features gave the idea of a man in the act of straining himself. In consequence, one of the city wits, upon the emperor's desiring him "to say something droll respecting himself," facetiously answered, "I will, when you have done relieving your bowels." He enjoyed a good state of health, though he used no other means to preserve it, than repeated friction, as much (459) as he could bear, on his neck and other parts of his body, in the ball-court attached to the baths, besides fasting one day in every month.

²¹ Ordinem vitae fere tenuit. In principatum maturius semper ac de nocte evigilabat; dein perlectis epistolis officiorumque omnium breviariis, amicos admittebat, ac dum salutabatur, et calciabat ipse se et amiciebat; postque decisa quaecumque obvenissent negotia, gestationi et inde quieti vacabat, accubante aliqua pallacarum, quas in locum defunctae Caenidis plurimas constituerat; a secreto in balineum tricliniumque transiliebat. Nec ullo tempore facilior aut indulgentior traditur, eaque momenta domestici ad aliquid petendum magno opere captabant.

XXI. His method of life was commonly this. After he became emperor, he used to rise very early, often before daybreak. Having read over his letters, and the briefs of all the departments of the government offices; he admitted his friends; and while they were paying him their compliments, he would put on his own shoes, and dress himself with his own hands. Then, after the dispatch of such business as was brought before him, he rode out, and afterwards retired to repose, lying on his couch with one of his mistresses, of whom he kept several after the death of Caenis . Coming out of his private apartments, he passed to the bath, and then entered the supper-room. They say that he was never more good-humoured and indulgent than at that time: and therefore his attendants always seized that opportunity, when they had any favour to ask.

²² Et super cenam autem et semper alias comissimus, multa ioco transigebat; erat enim dicacitatis plurimae, etsi scurrilis et sordidae, ut ne praetextatis quidem verbis abstineret. Et tamen nonnulla eius facetissima exstant, in quibus et haec. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo plaustra potius quam plostra dicenda, postero die Flaurum salutavit. Expugnatus autem a quadam, quasi amore suo deperiret, cum perductae pro concubitu sestertia quadringenta donasset, admonente dispensatore, quem ad modum summam rationibus vellet inferri, “Vespasiano,” inquit, “adamato”.

XXII. At supper, and, indeed, at other times, he was extremely free and jocose. For he had humour, but of a low kind, and he would sometimes use indecent language, such as is addressed to young girls about to be married. Yet there are some things related of him not void of ingenious pleasantry; amongst which are the following. Being once reminded by Mestrius Florus, that plaustra was a more proper expression than plostra, he the next day saluted him by the name of Flaurus . A certain lady pretending to be desperately enamoured of him, he was prevailed upon to admit her to his bed; and after he had gratified her desires, he gave her four hundred (460) thousand sesterces. When his steward

desired to know how he would have the sum entered in his accounts, he replied, "For Vespasian's being seduced."

²³ Utebatur et versibus Graecis tempestive satis, et de quodam procerae statuae improbiusque nato:

Makra bibas, kradaon dolichoskion enchos.

et de Cerylo liberto, qui dives admodum ob subterfugiendum quandoque ius fisci ingenuum se et Lachetem mutato nomine coeperat ferre:

*O Lachaes, Lachaes,
Epan apothanaes, authis ex archaes esae Kaerylos.*

Maxime tamen dicacitatem adfectabat in deformibus lucris, ut invidiam aliqua cavillatione dilueret transferretque ad sales. Quendam e caris ministris dispensationem cuidam quasi fratri petentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se vocavit; exactaque pecunia, quantam is cum suffragatore suo pepigerat, sine mora ordinavit; interpellanti mox ministro: Alium tibi, ait, quaere fratrem; hic, quem tuum putas, meus est. Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus ad calciandas mulas desiluisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium moramque praeberet, interrogavit quanti calciasset, et pactus est lucri partem. Reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur; et illo negante: Atqui, inquit, e lotio est. Nuntiantis legatos decretam ei publice non mediocris summae statuum colosseam, iussit vel continuo ponere, cavam manum ostentans et paratam basim dicens. Ac ne metu quidem ac periculo mortis extremo abstinuit iocis. Nam cum inter cetera prodigia Mausoleum derepente patuisset et stella crinita in caelo apparuisset, alterum ad Iuniam Calvinam e gente Augusti pertinere dicebat, Parthorum regem qui capillatus esset; prima quoque morbi accessione: Vae, inquit, puto, deus fio.

XXIII. He used Greek verses very wittily; speaking of a tall man, who had enormous parts:

Makra bibas, kradaon dolichoskion enchos.
Still shaking, as he strode, his vast long spear.

And of Cerylus, a freedman, who being very rich, had begun to pass himself off as free-born, to elude the exchequer at his decease, and assumed the name of

Laches, he said:

*O Lachaes, Lachaes,
Epan apothanaes, authis ex archaes esae Kaerylos.*
Ah, Laches, Laches! when thou art no more,
Thou'lt Cerylus be called, just as before.

He chiefly affected wit upon his own shameful means of raising money, in order to wipe off the odium by some joke, and turn it into ridicule. One of his ministers, who was much in his favour, requesting of him a stewardship for some person, under pretence of his being his brother, he deferred granting him his petition, and in the meantime sent for the candidate, and having squeezed out of him as much money as he had agreed to give to his friend at court, he appointed him immediately to the office. The minister soon after renewing his application, "You must," said he, "find another brother; for the one you adopted is in truth mine." Suspecting once, during a journey, that his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mules, only in order to have an opportunity for allowing a person they met, who was engaged in a law-suit, to speak to him, he asked him, "how much he got for shoeing his mules?" and insisted on having a share of the profit. When his son Titus blamed him for even laying a tax upon urine, he applied to his nose a piece of the money he received in the first instalment, and asked him, "if it stunk?" And he replying no, "And yet," said he, "it is derived from urine." Some deputies having come to acquaint him that a large statue, which would cost a vast sum, was ordered to be erected for him at the public expense, he told them to pay it down immediately, (461) holding out the hollow of his hand, and saying, "there was a base ready for the statue." Not even when he was under the immediate apprehension and peril of death, could he forbear jesting. For when, among other prodigies, the mausoleum of the Caesars suddenly flew open, and a blazing star appeared in the heavens; one of the prodigies, he said, concerned Julia Calvina, who was of the family of Augustus; and the other, the king of the Parthians, who wore his hair long. And when his distemper first seized him, "I suppose," said he, "I shall soon be a god."

²⁴ Consulatu suo nono temptatus in Campania motiunculis levibus protinusque urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi aestivare quotannis solebat, petit. Hic cum super urgentem valitudinem creberrimo frigidae aquae usus etiam intestina vitiasset, nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, imperatorem, ait statem mori oportere; dumque consurgit ac mititur, inter manus

sublevantium extinctus est VIII. Kal. Iul. annum agens aetatis sexagensimum ac nonum, superque mensem ac diem septimum.

XXIV. In his ninth consulship, being seized, while in Campania, with a slight indisposition, and immediately returning to the city, he soon afterwards went thence to Cutiliae, and his estates in the country about Reate, where he used constantly to spend the summer. Here, though his disorder much increased, and he injured his bowels by too free use of the cold waters, he nevertheless attended to the dispatch of business, and even gave audience to ambassadors in bed. At last, being taken ill of a diarrhoea, to such a degree that he was ready to faint, he cried out, "An emperor ought to die standing upright." In endeavouring to rise, he died in the hands of those who were helping him up, upon the eighth of the calends of July [24th June], being sixty-nine years, one month, and seven days old.

²⁵ Convenit inter omnis, tam certum eum de sua suorumque genitura semper fuisse, ut post assiduas in se coniurationes ausus sit adfirmare senatui, ut filios sibi successuros aut neminem. Dicitur etiam vidisse quondam per quietem stateram media parte vestibuli Palatinae domus positam examine aequo, cum in altera lance Claudius et Nero starent, in altera ipse ac filii. Nec res fefellit, quando totidem annis parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt.

XXV. All are agreed that he had such confidence in the calculations on his own nativity and that of his sons, that, after several conspiracies against him, he told the senate, that either his sons would succeed him, or nobody. It is said likewise, that he once saw in a dream a balance in the middle of the porch of the Palatine house exactly poised; in one (462) scale of which stood Claudius and Nero, in the other, himself and his sons. The event corresponded to the symbol; for the reigns of the two parties were precisely of the same duration.

THE LIFE OF TITUS

¹ Titus cognomine paterno, amor ac deliciae generis humani, (tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii vel artis vel fortunae superfuit, et, quod difficillimum est, in imperio: quando privatus atque etiam sub patre principe ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit), natus est III. Kal. Ian. insigni anno Gaiana nece, prope Septizonium, sordidis aedibus, cubiculo vero perparvo et obscuro, nam manet adhuc et ostenditur.

(465) I. Titus, who had the same cognomen with his father, was the darling and delight of mankind; so much did the natural genius, address, or good fortune he possessed tend to conciliate the favour of all. This was, indeed, extremely difficult, after he became emperor, as before that time, and even during the reign of his father, he lay under public odium and censure. He was born upon the third of the calends of January, [30th Dec.] in the year remarkable for the death of Caius, near the Septizonium, in a mean house, and a very small and dark room, which still exists, and is shown to the curious.

² Educatus in aula cum Britannico simul, ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus. Quo quidem tempore aiunt metoposcopum, a Narcisso Claudii liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse, illud quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope astabat, utique imperaturum. Erant autem adeo familiares, ut de potione, qua Britannicus hausta periit, Titus quoque iuxta cubans gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu. Quorum omnium mox memor, statum ei auream in Palatio posuit, et alteram ex ebore equestrem, quae Circensi pompa hodieque praefertur, dedicavit prosecutusque est.

II. He was educated in the palace with Britannicus, and instructed in the same branches of learning, and under the same masters. During this time, they say, that a physiognomist being introduced by Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, to examine the features of Britannicus, positively affirmed that he would never become emperor, but that Titus, who stood by, would. They were so familiar, that Titus being next him at table, is thought to have tasted of the fatal potion which put an end to Britannicus's life, and to have contracted from it a distemper which hung about him a long time. In remembrance of all these circumstances, he afterwards erected a golden statue of him in the Palatium, and dedicated to him an equestrian statue of ivory; attending it in the Circensian procession, in

which it is still carried to this day.

³ In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenduerunt, magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus; forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae, praecipuum robur, quamquam neque procera statura et ventre paulo proiectiore; memoria singularis, docilitas ad omnis fere tum belli tum pacis artes. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, Latine Graeceque, vel in orando vel in fingentis poematibus, promptus et facilis ad extemporalitatem usque; sed ne musicae quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret et psalleret iucunde scienterque. E pluribus comperi, notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantem, imitarique chirographa quaecumque vidisset, ac saepe profiteri maximum falsarium esse potuisse.

(466) III. While yet a boy, he was remarkable for his noble endowments both of body and mind; and as he advanced in years, they became still more conspicuous. He had a fine person, combining an equal mixture of majesty and grace; was very strong, though not tall, and somewhat corpulent. Gifted with an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war; he was a perfect master of the use of arms and riding; very ready in the Latin and Greek tongues, both in verse and prose; and such was the facility he possessed in both, that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor was he unacquainted with music, but could both sing and play upon the harp sweetly and scientifically. I have likewise been informed by many persons, that he was remarkably quick in writing short-hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hand-writing he saw, and often say, "that he was admirably qualified for forgery."

⁴ Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannis meruit summa industriae, nec minore modestiae fama, sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulus per utramque provinciam. Post stipendia foro operam dedit, honestam magis quam assiduam, eodemque tempore Arrecinam Tertullam, patre eq. R. sed praefecto quodam praetorianarum cohortium, duxit uxorem et in defunctae locum Marciam Furnillam splendidi generis; cum qua, sublata filia, divortium fecit. Ex questurae deinde honore legioni praepositus, Taricheas et Gamalam urbes Iudaeae validissimas in potestate redegit, equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso alteroque inscenso, cuius rector circa se dimicans occubuerat.

IV. He filled with distinction the rank of a military tribune both in Germany and Britain, in which he conducted himself with the utmost activity, and no less

modesty and reputation; as appears evident from the great number of statues, with honourable inscriptions, erected to him in various parts of both those provinces. After serving in the wars, he frequented the courts of law, but with less assiduity than applause. About the same time, he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only a knight, but had formerly been prefect of the pretorian guards. After her decease, he married Marcia Furnilla, of a very noble family, but afterwards divorced her, taking from her the daughter he had by her. Upon the expiration of his quaestorship, he was raised to the rank of commander of a legion, and took the two strong cities of Tarichaea and Gamala, in Judaea; and having his horse killed under him in a battle, he mounted another, whose rider he had encountered and slain.

⁵ Galba mox tenente rem p. missus ad gratulandum, quaqua iter convertit homine, quasi adoptionis gratia arcesseretur. Sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit, redit ex itinere, aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est. Cuius brevi compos, et ad perdomandam Iudaeam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque ea natali filiae suae tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint et subinde decedentem provincia detinuerint nec non et minaciter efflagitantes, aut remaneret aut secum omnes pariter abduceret. Vnde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere a patre Orientisque regnum sibi vindicare temptasset; quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide diadema gestavit, de more quidem rituque praeae religionis; sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur. Quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam inde contendit expeditissimus inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem, veni, inquit, pater, veni.

V. Soon afterwards, when Galba came to be emperor, he was sent to congratulate him, and turned the eyes of all people upon himself, wherever he came; it being the general opinion amongst them, that the emperor had sent for him with a design to adopt him for his son. But finding all things again in confusion, he turned back upon the road; and going to consult (467) the oracle of Venus at Paphos about his voyage, he received assurances of obtaining the empire for himself. These hopes were speedily strengthened, and being left to finish the reduction of Judaea, in the final assault of Jerusalem, he slew seven of its defenders, with the like number of arrows, and took it upon his daughter's birth-day . So great was the joy and attachment of the soldiers, that, in their

congratulations, they unanimously saluted him by the title of Emperor; and, upon his quitting the province soon afterwards, would needs have detained him, earnestly begging him, and that not without threats, “either to stay, or take them all with him.” This occurrence gave rise to the suspicion of his being engaged in a design to rebel against his father, and claim for himself the government of the East; and the suspicion increased, when, on his way to Alexandria, he wore a diadem at the consecration of the ox Apis at Memphis; and, though he did it only in compliance with an ancient religious usage of the country, yet there was some who put a bad construction upon it. Making, therefore, what haste he could into Italy, he arrived first at Rhegium, and sailing thence in a merchant ship to Puteoli, went to Rome with all possible expedition. Presenting himself unexpectedly to his father, he said, by way of contradicting the strange reports raised concerning him, “I am come, father, I am come.”

⁶ Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere. Triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit; receptaque ad se prope omnium officiorum cura (cum patris nomine et epistolas ipse dictares et edicta conscriberet orationesque in senatu recitaret etiam quaestoris vice) praefecturam quoque praetorii suscepit numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam, egitque aliquando incivilius et violentius. Siquidem suspectissimum quemque sibi, summissis qui per theatra et castra quasi consensu ad poenam deposceret, haud cunctanter oppressit. In his Aulum Caecinam consularem, vocatum ad cenam ac vixdum triclinio egressum, confodi iussit; sane urgente discrimine, cum etiam chirographus eius praeparatae apud milites contioni deprehendisset. Quibus rebus sicut in posterum securitati satis cavit, ita ad praesens plurimum contraxit invidiae, ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore magisque invitis omnibus transierit ad principatum.

VI. From that time he constantly acted as colleague with his father, and, indeed, as regent of the empire. He triumphed (468) with his father, bore jointly with him the office of censor, and was, besides, his colleague not only in the tribunitian authority, but in seven consulships. Taking upon himself the care and inspection of all offices, he dictated letters, wrote proclamations in his father’s name, and pronounced his speeches in the senate in place of the quaestor. He likewise assumed the command of the pretorian guards, although no one but a Roman knight had ever before been their prefect. In this he conducted himself with great haughtiness and violence, taking off without scruple or delay all those he had most reason to suspect, after he had secretly sent his emissaries into the

theatres and camp, to demand, as if by general consent, that the suspected persons should be delivered up to punishment. Among these, he invited to supper A. Caecina, a man of consular rank, whom he ordered to be stabbed at his departure, immediately after he had gone out of the room. To this act, indeed, he was provoked by an imminent danger; for he had discovered a writing under the hand of Caecina, containing an account of a plot hatched among the soldiers. By these acts, though he provided for his future security, yet for the present he so much incurred the hatred of the people, that scarcely ever any one came to the empire with a more odious character, or more universally disliked.

7 Praeter saevitiam suspecta in eo etiam luxuria erat, quod ad mediam noctem comissionem cum profusissimo quoque familiarum extenderet; nec minus libido, propter exoletorum et spadonum greges propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem, cum etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur; suspecta rapacitas, quod constabat in cognitionibus patris nundinari praemiarique solitum; deinceps propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant. At illi ea fama pro bono cessit conversaque est in maximas laudes, neque vitio ullo reperto et contra virtutibus summis. Convivia instituit iucunda magis quam profusa. Amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adqueverunt praecipueque sunt usi. Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitum, invitam. Quosdam e gratissimis delicatorem, quamquam tam artifices saltationis, ut mox scaenam tenuerint, non modo fovere prolixius, sed spectare omnino in publico coetu supersedit. Nulli civium quicquam ademit; abstinuit alieno, ut si qui umquam, ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas conlationes recepit. Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor, amphitheatro dedicato thermisque iuxta celeriter exstructis, munus edidit apparatissimum largissimusque; dedit et navale proelium in veteri naumachia, ibidem et gladiatores atque uno die quinque milia omne genus ferarum.

VII. Besides his cruelty, he lay under the suspicion of giving (469) way to habits of luxury, as he often prolonged his revels till midnight with the most riotous of his acquaintance. Nor was he unsuspected of lewdness, on account of the swarms of catamites and eunuchs about him, and his well-known attachment to queen Berenice, who received from him, as it is reported, a promise of marriage. He was supposed, besides, to be of a rapacious disposition; for it is certain, that, in causes which came before his father, he used to offer his interest for sale, and take bribes. In short, people publicly expressed an unfavourable opinion of him, and said he would prove another Nero. This prejudice, however, turned out in the end to his advantage, and enhanced his praises to the highest

pitch when he was found to possess no vicious propensities, but, on the contrary, the noblest virtues. His entertainments were agreeable rather than extravagant; and he surrounded himself with such excellent friends, that the succeeding princes adopted them as most serviceable to themselves and the state. He immediately sent away Berenice from the city, much against both their inclinations. Some of his old eunuchs, though such accomplished dancers, that they bore an uncontrollable sway upon the stage, he was so far from treating with any extraordinary kindness, that he would not so much as witness their performances in the crowded theatre. He violated no private right; (470) and if ever man refrained from injustice, he did; nay, he would not accept of the allowable and customary offerings. Yet, in munificence, he was inferior to none of the princes before him. Having dedicated his amphitheatre, and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with most magnificent spectacles. He likewise exhibited a naval fight in the old Naumachia, besides a combat of gladiators; and in one day brought into the theatre five thousand wild beasts of all kinds.

⁸ Natura autem benivolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter rara non haberet, quam si eadem iisdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto, nec a se peti passus est. In certis vero desideriis hominum obstinatissime tenuit, ne quem sine spe dimitteret; quin et admonentibus domesticis, quasi plura polliceretur quam praestere posset, non oportere ait quemquam a semone principis tristem discedere; atque etiam recordatus quondam super cenam, quod nihil cuiquam toto die praestitisset, memorabilem illam meritoque laudatam vocem edidit: "Amici, diem perdidit." Populum in primis universum tanta per omnes occasiones comitate tractavit, ut proposito gladiatorio munere, non ad suum, sed ad spectantium arbitrium editurum se professus sit; et plane ita fecit. Nam neque negavit quicquam petentibus et ut quae vellent peterent ultro adhortatus est. Quin et studium armaturae Thraecum prae se ferens, saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ut fautor cavillatus est, verum maiestate salva nec minus aequitate. Ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit. Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesevi montis in Campania, et incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes, item pestilentia quanta non temere alias. In iis tot adversis ac talibus non modo principis sollicitudinem sed et parentis affectum unicum praestitit, nunc consolando per edicta, nunc opitulando quatenus suppeteret facultas. Curatores restituendae Campaniae consularium numero sorte duxit; bona oppressorum in Vesevo, quorum heredes non exstabant, restitutioni afflictarum civitatum

attribuit. Vbis incendio nihil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus, cuncta praetorium suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit praeposuitque complures ex equestri ordine, quo quaeque maturius paragerentur. Medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis nullam divinam humanamque opem non adhibuit, inquisito omni sacrificiorum remediorumque genere. Inter adversa temporum et delatores mandatoresque erant ex licentia veteri. Hos assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri arenam, partim subici ac venire imperavit, partim in asperrima insularum avehi. Vtque etiam similia quandoque ausuros perpetuo coereret, vetuit inter cetera de eadem re pluribus legibus agi, quaeve de cuiusquam defunctorum statu ultra certos annos.

(471) VIII. He was by nature extremely benevolent; for whereas all the emperors after Tiberius, according to the example he had set them, would not admit the grants made by former princes to be valid, unless they received their own sanction, he confirmed them all by one general edict, without waiting for any applications respecting them. Of all who petitioned for any favour, he sent none away without hopes. And when his ministers represented to him that he promised more than he could perform, he replied, "No one ought to go away downcast from an audience with his prince." Once at supper, reflecting that he had done nothing for any that day, he broke out into that memorable and justly-admired saying, "My friends, I have lost a day." More particularly, he treated the people on all occasions with so much courtesy, that, on his presenting them with a show of gladiators, he declared, "He should manage it, not according to his own fancy, but that of the spectators," and did accordingly. He denied them nothing, and very frankly encouraged them to ask what they pleased. Espousing the cause of the Thracian party among the gladiators, he frequently joined in the popular demonstrations in their favour, but without compromising his dignity or doing injustice. To omit no opportunity of acquiring popularity, he sometimes made use himself of the baths he had erected, without excluding the common people. There happened in his reign some dreadful accidents; an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in Campania, and a fire in Rome, which continued during three days and three nights; besides a plague, such as was scarcely ever known before. Amidst these many great disasters, he not only manifested the concern (472) which might be expected from a prince but even the affection of a father, for his people; one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while relieving them to the utmost of his power. He chose by lot, from amongst the men of consular rank, commissioners for repairing the losses in Campania. The estates of those who had perished by the eruption of Vesuvius, and who had left no heirs, he applied to the repair of the ruined cities. With regard to the public

buildings destroyed by fire in the City, he declared that nobody should be a loser but himself. Accordingly, he applied all the ornaments of his palaces to the decoration of the temples, and purposes of public utility, and appointed several men of the equestrian order to superintend the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed, in the way of sacrifice and medicine, all means both human and divine. Amongst the calamities of the times, were informers and their agents; a tribe of miscreants who had grown up under the licence of former reigns. These he frequently ordered to be scourged or beaten with sticks in the Forum, and then, after he had obliged them to pass through the amphitheatre as a public spectacle, commanded them to be sold for slaves, or else banished them to some rocky islands. And to discourage such practices for the future, amongst other things, he prohibited actions to be successively brought under different laws for the same cause, or the state of affairs of deceased persons to be inquired into after a certain number of years.

⁹ Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut puras servaret manus, fidem praestitis, nec auctorem posthac cuiusquam necis nec conscius, quamvis interdum ulciscenti causa non deesset, sed perituum se potius quam perdituum adiurans. Duos patricii generis convicto in adfectionem imperii, nihil amplius quam ut desisteret monuit, docens principatum fato dati, si quid praeterea desiderarent, promitteres se tributuum; et confestim quidem at alterius matrem, quae procul aberat, cursore suos misit, qui anxiae salvum filium nuntiarent; ceterum ipsos non solum familiari cenae adhibuit, sed et insequenti die gladiatorum spectaculo circa se ex industria conlocatis ablata sibi ferramenta pugnantium inspicienda porrexit. Dicitur etiam cognita utriusque genitura imminere ambobus periculum adfirmasse, verum quandoque et ab alio; sicut evenit. Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem, sed paene ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, neque occidere neque seponere ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit, sed, ut a primo imperii die, consorte successoremque testari perseveravit, nonnumquam secreto precibus et lacrimis orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse.

IX. Having declared that he accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus for the purpose of preserving his hands undefiled, he faithfully adhered to his promise. For after that time he was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the death of any person, though he sometimes was justly irritated. He swore “that he would perish himself, rather than prove the destruction of any man.” Two men of patrician rank being convicted of aspiring to the empire, he only advised them to desist, saying, “that the sovereign power was disposed of by fate,” and promised

them, that if there was any thing else they desired of him, he would grant it. He also immediately sent messengers to the mother of one of them, who was at a great distance, and in deep anxiety about her son, to assure her of his safety. Nay, he not only invited them to sup with (473) him, but next day, at a show of gladiators, purposely placed them close by him; and handed to them the arms of the combatants for his inspection. It is said likewise, that having had their nativities cast, he assured them, “that a great calamity was impending on both of them, but from another hand, and not from his.” Though his brother was continually plotting against him, almost openly stirring up the armies to rebellion, and contriving to get away, yet he could not endure to put him to death, or to banish him from his presence; nor did he treat him with less respect than before. But from his first accession to the empire, he constantly declared him his partner in it, and that he should be his successor; begging of him sometimes in private, with tears in his eyes, “to return the affection he had for him.”

¹⁰ Inter haec morte praeventus est, maiore hominum damno quam suo. Spectaculis absolutis, in quorum fine populo coram ubertim fleverat, Sabinos petiit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat quodque tempestate serena tonuerat. Deinde ad primam statim mansionem febrim nactus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis caelum, multumque conquestus eripi sibi vitam immerenti; neque enim exstare ullum suum factum paenitendum, excepto dum taxat uno. Id quale fuerit, neque ipse tunc prodidit neque cuiquam facile succurrat. Quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum, quam cum fratris uxore habuerit; sed nullam habuisse, persancte Domitia iurabat: haud negatura, si qua omnino fuisset, immo etiam gloriatura, quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris.

X. Amidst all these favourable circumstances, he was cut off by an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind than himself. At the close of the public spectacles, he wept bitterly in the presence of the people, and then retired into the Sabine country, rather melancholy, because a victim had made its escape while he was sacrificing, and loud thunder had been heard while the atmosphere was serene. At the first resting-place on the road, he was seized with a fever, and being carried forward in a litter, they say that he drew back the curtains, and looked up to heaven, complaining heavily, “that his life was taken from him, though he had done nothing to deserve it; for there was no action of his that he had occasion to repent of, but one.” What that was, he neither disclosed himself, nor is it easy for us to conjecture. Some imagine that he alluded to the

connection which he had formerly had with his brother's wife. But Domitia solemnly denied it on oath; which she would never have done, had there been any truth in the report; nay, she would certainly have gloried in it, as she was forward enough to boast of all her scandalous intrigues.

¹¹ Excessit in eadem qua pater villa Id. Septb. post biennium ac menses duos diesque XX. quam successerat patri, altero et quadragesimo aetatis anno. Quod ut palam factum est, non secus atque in domestico luctu maerentibus publice cunctis, senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ad curiam concurrit, obseratisque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congessit, quantas ne vivo quidem umquam atque praesenti.

XI. He died in the same villa where his father had died (474) before him, upon the Ides of September [the 13th of September]; two years, two months, and twenty days after he had succeeded his father; and in the one-and-fortieth year of his age . As soon as the news of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relative. The senate assembled in haste, before they could be summoned by proclamation, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises, now he was dead, as they never had done whilst he was alive and present amongst them.

THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN

1 Domitianus natus est VIII. Kal. Novemb. patre consule designato inituroque mense insequenti honorem, regione urbis sexta ad Malum Punicum, domo quam postea in templum gentis Flaviae convertit. Pubertatis ac primae adolescentiae tempus tanta inopia tantaque infamia gessisse fertur, ut nullum argenteum vas in usu haberet; satique constat Clodium Pollionem praetorium virum, in quem est poema Neronis quod inscribitur Luscio, chirographum eius conversasse et nonnumquam protulisse noctem sibi pollicentis; nec defuerunt qui affirmarent, corruptum Domitianum et a Nerva successore mox suo. Bello Vitelliano confugit in Capitolium cum patruo Sabino ac parte praesentium copiarum, sed irrumpentibus adversariis et ardente templo apud aedituum clam pernoctavit, ac mane Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos variae superstitionis, cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipuli sui matrem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit, ut scrutantibus qui vestigia subsecuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit. Post victoriam demum progressus et Caesar consalutatus, honorem praeturae urbanae consulari potestate suscepit titulo tenus (nam iuris dictionem ad collegam proximum transtulit); ceterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut iam tum qualis esset ostenderet. Ne exsequar singula, contrectatis multorum uxoribus, Domitiam Longinam Aelio Lamiae nuptam etiam in matrimonium abduxit, atque uno die super XX. officia urbana aut peregrina distribuit, mirari se Vespasiano dictitante, quod successorem non et sibi mitteret.

(479) I. Domitian was born upon the ninth of the calends of November [24th October], when his father was consul elect, (being to enter upon his office the month following,) in the sixth region of the city, at the Pomegranate, in the house which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is said to have spent the time of his youth in so much want and infamy, that he had not one piece of plate belonging to him; and it is well known, that Clodius Pollio, a man of pretorian rank, against whom there is a poem of Nero's extant, entitled Luscio, kept a note in his hand-writing, which he sometimes produced, in which Domitian made an assignation with him for the foulest purposes. Some, likewise, have said, that he prostituted himself to Nerva, who succeeded him. In the war with Vitellius, he fled into the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus, and a part of the troops they had in the city. But the enemy breaking in, and the temple being set on fire, he hid himself all night with the sacristan; and next morning, assuming the disguise of a worshipper of Isis, and mixing with the priests of that idle superstition, he got over the Tiber, with only one attendant, to the house of a

woman who was the mother of one of his school-fellows, and lurked there so close, that, though the enemy, who were at his heels, searched very strictly after him, they could not discover him. At last, after the success of his party, appearing in public, and being unanimously saluted by the title of Caesar, he assumed the office of praetor of the City, with consular authority, but in fact had nothing but the name; for the jurisdiction he transferred to his next colleague. He used, however, his absolute (480) power so licentiously, that even then he plainly discovered what sort of prince he was likely to prove. Not to go into details, after he had made free with the wives of many men of distinction, he took Domitia Longina from her husband, Aelias Lamia, and married her; and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in the city and the provinces; upon which Vespasian said several times, "he wondered he did not send him a successor too."

² Expeditionem quoque in Galliam Germaniasque neque necessariam et dissuadentibus paternis amicis inchoavit, tantum ut fratri se et opibus et dignatione adaequaret. Ob haec correptum, quo magis et aetatis et condicionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una, sellamque eius ac fratris, quotiens prodirent, lectica sequebatur ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est. In sex consulatibus non nisi unum ordinarium gessit, eumque cedente ac suffragante fratre. Simulavit et ipse mire modestiam, in primisque poeticae studium, tam insuentum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum, recitavitque etiam publice. Nec tamen eo setius, cum Vologaesus Parthorum rex auxilia adversus Alanos ducemque alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depoposcisset, omni ope contendit ut ipse potissimus mitteretur; et quia discussa res est, alios Orientes reges ut idem postularent donis ac pollicitationibus sollicitare temptavit. Patre defuncto, diu cunctatus an duplum donativum militi offerret, numquam iactare dubitavit relictum se participem imperii, sed fraudem testamento adhibitam; neque cessavit ex eo insidias struere fratri clam palamque, quoad correptum gravi valitudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseri iussit; defunctumque nullo praeterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, saepe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis.

II. He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends; and this he did only with the view of equalling his brother in military achievements and glory. But for this he was severely reprimanded, and that he might the more effectually be reminded of his age and position, was made to live with his father, and his litter had to follow his father's and brother's carriage, as often as they

went abroad; but he attended them in their triumph for the conquest of Judaea, mounted on a white horse. Of the six consulships which he held, only one was ordinary; and that he obtained by the cession and interest of his brother. He greatly affected a modest behaviour, and, above all, a taste for poetry; insomuch, that he rehearsed his performances in public, though it was an art he had formerly little cultivated, and which he afterwards despised and abandoned. Devoted, however, as he was at this time to poetical pursuits, yet when Vologesus, king of the Parthians, desired succours against the Alani, with one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he laboured hard to procure for himself that appointment. But the scheme proving abortive, he endeavoured by presents and promises to engage other kings of the East to make a similar request. After his father's death, he was for some time in doubt, whether he should not offer the soldiers a donative double to that of his brother, and made no scruple of saying frequently, "that he had been left his partner in the empire, but that his father's will had been fraudulently set aside." From that time forward, he was constantly engaged in plots against his brother, both publicly and privately; until, falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendants to (481) leave him, under pretence of his being dead, before he really was so; and, at his decease, paid him no other honour than that of enrolling him amongst the gods; and he often, both in speeches and edicts, carped at his memory by sneers and insinuations.

³ Inter initia principatus cotidie secretum sibi horarum sumere solebat, nec quicquam amplius quam muscas captare ac stilo praeacuto configere; ut cuidam interroganti, essetne quis intus cum Caesare, non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo, ne muscam quidem. Deinde uxorem Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatus filium tulerat duxit, alteroque anno consalutavit Augustam; eandem, Paridis histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit, intraque breve tempus impatiens discidii, quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit. Circa administrationem autem imperii aliquamdiu se varium praestitit, mixtura quoque aequabili vitiorum atque virtutum; donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit: quantum coniectare licet, super ingenii naturam inopia rapax, metu saevus.

III. In the beginning of his reign, he used to spend daily an hour by himself in private, during which time he did nothing else but catch flies, and stick them through the body with a sharp pin. When some one therefore inquired, "whether any one was with the emperor," it was significantly answered by Vibius Crispus, "Not so much as a fly." Soon after his advancement, his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son in his second consulship, and whom the year following he complimented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with Paris, the

actor, he put her away; but within a short time afterwards, being unable to bear the separation, he took her again, under pretence of complying with the people's importunity. During some time, there was in his administration a strange mixture of virtue and vice, until at last his virtues themselves degenerated into vices; being, as we may reasonably conjecture concerning his character, inclined to avarice through want, and to cruelty through fear.

⁴ Spectacula assidue magnifica et sumptuosa edidit non in amphitheatro modo, verum et in circo; ubi praeter sollemnes bigarum quadrigarumque cursus proelium etiam duplex, equestre ac pedestre, commisit; at in amphitheatro navale quoque. Nam venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos; nec virorum modo pugnas, sed et feminarum. Praeterea quaestoriis muneribus, quae olim omissa revocaverat, ita semper interfuit, ut populo potestatem faceret bina paria e suo ludo postulandi, eaque novissima aulico apparatu induceret. Ac per omne gladiatorum spectaculum ante pedes ei stabat puerulus coccinatus parvo portentosoque capite, cum quo plurimum fabulabatur, nonnumquam serio. Auditus est certe, dum ex eo quaerit, ecquid sciret, cur sibi virum esset ordinatione proxima Aegypto praeficere Maecium Rufum. Edidit navales pugnas paene iustarum classium, effosso et circumstructo iuxta Tiberim lacu, atque inter maximos imbres perspectavit. Fecit et ludos Saeculares, computata ratione temporum at annum non quo Claudius proxime, sed quo olim Augustus ediderat; in iis circensium die, quo facilius centum missus peragerentur, singulos a septenis spatiis ad quina corripuit. Instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum, equestre, gymnicum, et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronatorum. Certabant enim et prosa oratione Graece Latineque, ac praeter citharoedos chorocitharistae quoque et psilocitharistae; in stadio vero cursu etiam virgines. Certamini praesedit crepidatus purpureaque amictus toga Graecanica capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Iovis ac Iunonis Minervaeque; adsidentibus Diali sacerdote et collegio Flavialium pari habitu, nisi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipsius imago. Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae, cui collegium instituerat, ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur ederentque eximias venationes et scaenicos ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina. Congiarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit, atque inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum. Septimontiali sacro quidem, senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis, initium vescendi primus fecit; dieque proximo omne genus rerum missilia sparsit, et quia pars maior intra popularia decidebat, quinquagenas tesseras in singulos cuneos equestris ac senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit.

IV. He frequently entertained the people with most magnificent and costly shows, not only in the amphitheatre, but the circus; where, besides the usual races with chariots drawn by two or four horses a-breast, he exhibited the representation of an engagement between both horse and foot, and a sea-fight in the amphitheatre. The people were also entertained with the chase of wild beasts and the combat of gladiators, even in the night-time, by torch-light. Nor did men only fight in these spectacles, but women also. He constantly attended at the games given by the quaestors, which had been disused for some time, but were revived by him; and upon those occasions, always gave the people the liberty of demanding two pair of gladiators out of his own school, who appeared last in court uniforms. Whenever he attended the shows of gladiators, there stood at his feet a little boy dressed in scarlet, with a prodigiously small head, with whom he used to talk very much, and sometimes seriously. We are assured, that he was (482) overheard asking him, "if he knew for what reason he had in the late appointment, made Metius Rufus governor of Egypt?" He presented the people with naval fights, performed by fleets almost as numerous as those usually employed in real engagements; making a vast lake near the Tiber, and building seats round it. And he witnessed them himself during a very heavy rain. He likewise celebrated the Secular games, reckoning not from the year in which they had been exhibited by Claudius, but from the time of Augustus's celebration of them. In these, upon the day of the Circensian sports, in order to have a hundred races performed, he reduced each course from seven rounds to five. He likewise instituted, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music to be performed every five years; besides horse-racing and gymnastic exercises, with more prizes than are at present allowed. There was also a public performance in elocution, both Greek and Latin and besides the musicians who sung to the harp, there were others who played concerted pieces or solos, without vocal accompaniment. Young girls also ran races in the Stadium, at which he presided in his sandals, dressed in a purple robe, made after the Grecian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown bearing the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; with the flamen of Jupiter, and the college of priests sitting by his side in the same dress; excepting only that their crowns had also his own image on them. He celebrated also upon the Alban mount every year the festival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of priests, out of which were chosen by lot persons to preside as governors over the college; who were obliged to entertain the people with extraordinary chases of wild-beasts, and stage-plays, besides contests for prizes in oratory and poetry. He thrice bestowed upon the people a largess of three hundred sesterces each man; and, at a public show of gladiators, a very plentiful feast. At the festival of the

Seven Hills, he distributed large hampers of provisions (483) to the senatorian and equestrian orders, and small baskets to the common people, and encouraged them to eat by setting them the example. The day after, he scattered among the people a variety of cakes and other delicacies to be scrambled for; and on the greater part of them falling amidst the seats of the crowd, he ordered five hundred tickets to be thrown into each range of benches belonging to the senatorian and equestrian orders.

⁵ Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit aedem in Capitolio Custodi Iovi, et forum quod nunc Nervae vocatur, item Flaviae templum gentis et stadium et Odeum et naumachiam, e cuius postea lapide maximus circus, deustis utrimque lateribus, exstructus est.

V. He rebuilt many noble edifices which had been destroyed by fire, and amongst them the Capitol, which had been burnt down a second time; but all the inscriptions were in his own name, without the least mention of the original founders. He likewise erected a new temple in the Capitol to Jupiter Custos, and a forum, which is now called Nerva's, as also the temple of the Flavian family, a stadium, an odeum, and a naumachia; out of the stone dug from which, the sides of the Circus Maximus, which had been burnt down, were rebuilt.

⁶ Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario: sponte in Chattos, necessario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato simul caesa, in Dacos duas, primam Oppio Sabino consulari oppresso, secundam Cornelio Fusco, praefecto cohortium praetorianarum, cui belli summam commiserat. De Chattis Dacisque post varia proelia duplicem triumphum egit. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Iovi rettulit. Bellum civile motum a L. Antonio, superioris Germaniae praeside, confecit absens felicitate mira, cum ipsa dimicationis hora resolutus repente Rhenum transituras ad Antonium copias barbarorum inhibuisset. De qua victoria praesagiis prius quam nuntiis comperit, siquidem ipso quo dimicatum erat die statuam eius Romae insignis aquila circumplexa pinnis clangores laetissimos edidit; pauloque post accisum Antonium adeo vulgatum est, ut caput quoque adportatum eius vidisse se plerique contenderet.

VI. He undertook several expeditions, some from choice, and some from necessity. That against the Catti was unprovoked, but that against the Sarmatians was necessary; an entire legion, with its commander, having been cut off by

them. He sent two expeditions against the Dacians; the first upon the defeat of Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank; and (484) the other, upon that of Cornelius Fuscus, prefect of the pretorian cohorts, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of that war. After several battles with the Catti and Daci, he celebrated a double triumph. But for his successes against the Sarmatians, he only bore in procession the laurel crown to Jupiter Capitolinus. The civil war, begun by Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, he quelled, without being obliged to be personally present at it, with remarkable good fortune. For, at the very moment of joining battle, the Rhine suddenly thawing, the troops of the barbarians which were ready to join L. Antonius, were prevented from crossing the river. Of this victory he had notice by some presages, before the messengers who brought the news of it arrived. For upon the very day the battle was fought, a splendid eagle spread its wings round his statue at Rome, making most joyful cries. And shortly after, a rumour became common, that Antonius was slain; nay, many positively affirmed, that they saw his head brought to the city.

Multa etiam in communi rerum usu novavit: sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata rectorum cenarum consuetudine; duas circensibus gregum factiones aurati purpureisque panni ad quattuor pristinas addidit; interdixit histrionibus scaenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem iure concesso; castrari mares vetuit; spadonum, qui residui apud mangones erant, pretia moderatus est. Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio neglegi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta ubi plurimum dimidia parte; nec exsequi rem perseveravit. Quaedam ex maximis officiis inter libertinos equitesque R. communicavit. Geminari legionum castra prohibuit, nec plus quam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi; quod L. Antonium apud duarum legionum hiberna res novas moliens fiduciam cepisse etiam ex depositorum summa videbatur. Addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos.

VII. He made many innovations in common practices. He abolished the Sportula, and revived the old practice of regular suppers. To the four former parties in the Circensian games, he added two new, who were gold and scarlet. He prohibited the players from acting in the theatre, but permitted them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbade the castration of males; and reduced the price of the eunuchs who were still left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. On the occasion of a great abundance of wine, accompanied by a scarcity of corn, supposing that the tillage of the ground was neglected for the sake of attending too much to the cultivation of vineyards, he published a proclamation

forbidding the planting of any new vines in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, nowhere permitting more than one half of them to remain . But he did not persist in the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices he conferred upon his freedmen and soldiers. He forbid two legions to be quartered in the same camp, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier with the standards; because it was thought that Lucius Antonius had been encouraged in his late project by the large sum deposited in the military chest by the two legions which he had in the same winter-quarters. He made an addition to the soldiers' pay, of three gold pieces a year.

Ius diligenter et industrie dixit, plerumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem; ambitiosas centumvirorum sententias rescidit; recipitatores, ne se perfusoriis assertionibus accommodarent, identidem admonuit; nummarios iudices cum suo quemque consilio notavit. Auctor et tr. pl. fuit aedilem sordium repetundarum accusandi iudicesque in eu a senatu petendi. Magistratibus quoque urbicis provinciarumque praesidibus coercendis tantum curae adhibuit, ut neque modestiores umquam neque iustiore extiterint; e quibus plerosque post illum reos omnium criminum vidimus. Suscepta correctione morum, licentiam theatralem promiscue in equitem spectandi inhibuit; scripta famosa vulgoque edita, quibus primores viri ac feminae notabantur, abolevit, non sine auctorum ignominia; quaestorium virum, quod gesticulandi saltandique studio teneretur, movit senatu: probrosis feminis lecticae usum ademit iusque capiendi legata hereditatesque; equitem R. ob reductam in matrimonium uxorem, cui dimissae adulterii crimen intenderat, erasit iudicum albo; quosdam ex utroque ordine lege Scantinia condemnavit; incesta Vestalium virginum, a patre quoque suo et fratre neglecta, varie ac severe coercuit, priora capitali supplicio, posteriora more veteri. Nam cum Oculatis sororibus, item Varronillae liberum mortis permisisset arbitrium corruptoresque earum relegasset, mox Corneliam maximam virginem, absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit, stupratoresque virgis in comitio ad necem caedi, excepto praetorio viro; cui, dubia etiam tum causa et incertis quaestionibus atque tormentis de semet professo, exilium indulxit. Ac ne qua religio deum impune contaminaretur, monimentum, quod libertus eius e lapidibus templo Capitolini Iovis destinatis filio extruxerat, diruit per milites, ossaque et reliquias quae inerant mari mersit.

VIII. In the administration of justice he was diligent and assiduous; and frequently sat in the Forum out of course, to cancel the judgments of the court of The One Hundred, which had been procured through favour, or interest. He

occasionally cautioned the judges of the court of recovery to beware of being too ready to admit claims for freedom brought before them. He set a mark of infamy upon judges who were convicted of taking bribes, as well as upon their assessors. He likewise instigated the tribunes of the people to prosecute a corrupt aedile for extortion, and to desire the senate to appoint judges for his trial. He likewise took such effectual care in punishing magistrates of the city, and governors of provinces, guilty of malversation, that they never were at any time more moderate or more just. Most of these, since his reign, we have seen prosecuted for crimes of various kinds. Having taken upon himself the reformation of the public manners, he restrained the licence of the populace in sitting promiscuously with the knights in the theatre. Scandalous libels, published to defame persons of rank, of either sex, he suppressed, and inflicted upon their authors a mark of infamy. He expelled a man of quaestorian rank from the senate, for practising mimicry and dancing. He debarred infamous women the use of litters; as also the right of receiving legacies, or inheriting estates. He struck out of the list of judges a Roman knight for taking again his wife whom he had divorced and prosecuted for adultery. He condemned several men of the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon the Scantinian law . The lewdness of the Vestal Virgins, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished severely, but in different ways; viz. offences committed before his reign, with death, and those since its commencement, according to ancient custom. For to the two sisters called Ocellatae, he gave liberty to choose the mode of death which they preferred, and banished (486) their paramours. But Cornelia, the president of the Vestals, who had formerly been acquitted upon a charge of incontinence, being a long time after again prosecuted and condemned, he ordered to be buried alive; and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the Comitium; excepting only a man of praetorian rank, to whom, because he confessed the fact, while the case was dubious, and it was not established against him, though the witnesses had been put to the torture, he granted the favour of banishment. And to preserve pure and undefiled the reverence due to the gods, he ordered the soldiers to demolish a tomb, which one of his freedmen had erected for his son out of the stones designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and to sink in the sea the bones and relics buried in it.

⁹ Inter initia usque adeo ab omni caede abhorrebat, ut absente adhuc patre recordatus Virgilii versum:

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata juvencis...

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenicis. edicere destinarit, ne boves immolarentur. Cupiditatis quoque atque avaritiae vix suspicionem ullam aut privatus umquam aut princeps aliquamdiu dedit, immo e diverso magna saepe non abstinentiae modo sed etiam liberalitatis experimenta. Omnis circa se largissime prosecutus, nihil prius aut acrius monuit quam ne quid sordide faceret. Relictas sibi hereditates ab iis, quibus liberi erant, non recepit. Legatum etiam ex testamento Rusci Caepionis, qui caverat ut quotannis ingredientibus curiam senatoribus certam summam viritim praestare heres suus, irritum fecit. Reos, qui ante quinquennium proximum apud aerarium pependissent, universos discrimine liberavit, nec repeti nisi intra annum eaque condicione permisit, ut accusatori qui causam non teneret exilium poena esset. Scribas quaestorios negotiantes, ex consuetudine sed contra Clodiam legem, venia in praeteritum donavit. Subsiciva, quae divisis per veteranos agris carptim superfuerunt, veteribus possessoribus ut usu capta concessit. Fiscales calumnias magna calumniantium poena repressit, ferebaturque vox eius: “princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.”

IX. Upon his first succeeding to power, he felt such an abhorrence for the shedding of blood, that, before his father’s arrival in Rome, calling to mind the verse of Virgil,

Impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenicis...
Ere impious man, restrain’d from blood in vain,
Began to feast on flesh of bullocks slain...

he designed to have published a proclamation, “to forbid the sacrifice of oxen.” Before his accession to the imperial authority, and during some time afterwards, he scarcely ever gave the least grounds for being suspected of covetousness or avarice; but, on the contrary, he often afforded proofs, not only of his justice, but his liberality. To all about him he was generous even to profusion, and recommended nothing more earnestly to them than to avoid doing anything mean. He would not accept the property left him by those who had children. He also set aside a legacy bequeathed by the will of Ruscus Caepio, who had ordered “his heir to make a present yearly to each of the senators upon their first assembling.” He exonerated all those who had been under prosecution from the treasury for above five years before; and would not suffer suits to be renewed, unless it was done within a year, and on condition, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries of the quaestors having engaged in trade, according to custom, but contrary to (487) the Clodian law, he pardoned them for what was past. Such portions of land as had

been left when it was divided amongst the veteran soldiers, he granted to the ancient possessors, as belonging to them by prescription. He put a stop to false prosecutions in the exchequer, by severely punishing the prosecutors; and this saying of his was much taken notice of “that a prince who does not punish informers, encourages them.”

¹⁰ Sed neque in clementiae neque in abstinentiae tenore permansit, et tamen aliquanto celerius ad saevitiam descivit quam ad cupiditatem. Discipulum Paridis pantomimi impuberem adhuc et cum maxime aegrum, quod arte formaeque non absimilis magistro videbatur, occidit; item Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historia figuras, librariis etiam, qui eam descripserat, cruci fixis. Patrem familias, quod Thraecem myrmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e spectaculis in harenam, canibus obiecit, cum hoc titulo: Impie locutus parmularius. Complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus Civicam Cerealem in ipso Asiae proconsulatu, Salvidienum Orfitum, Acilium Glabionem in exilio, quasi molitores rerum novarum; ceteros levissima quemque de causa; Aelium Lamiam ob suspiciosos quidem, verum et veteres et innoxios iocos, quod post abductam uxorem laudanti vocem suam “eutacto” dixerat, quodque Tito hortanti se de alterum matrimonium responderat: Me kai sy gamesai theleis; Salvium Cocceianum, quod Othonis imperatoris patrum sui diem natalem celebraverat; Mettium Pomposianum, quod habere imperatoriam genesim vulgo ferebatur, et quod depictum orbem terrae in membrana contionesque regum ac ducum ex Tito Livio circumferret, quodque servis nomina Magonis et Hannibalis indidisset; Sallustium Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset; Iunium Rusticum, quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros; cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summovit. Occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scaenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset; Flavium Sabinum alterum e patruelibus, quod eum comitiorum consularium die destinatum perperam praeco non consulem ad populum, sed imperatorem pronuntiasset. Verum aliquando post civilis belli victoriam saevior, plerosque pariter adversae, dum etiam latentes conscios investigat, novo questionis genere distortis, immisso per obscaena igne; nonnullis et manus amputavit. Satisque constat, duos dolos e notioribus venia donatos, tribunum laticlavium et centurionem, qui se, quo facilius expertes culpa ostenderet, impudicos probaverant et ob id neque apud ducem neque apud milites ullius momenti esse potuisse.

X. But he did not long persevere in this course of clemency and justice, although he sooner fell into cruelty than into avarice. He put to death a scholar of Paris, the pantomimic, though a minor, and then sick, only because, both in person and the practice of his art, he resembled his master; as he did likewise Hermogenes of Tarsus for some oblique reflections in his History; crucifying, besides, the scribes who had copied the work. One who was master of a band of gladiators, happening to say, "that a Thrax was a match for a Marmillo, but not so for the exhibitor of the games", he ordered him to be dragged from the benches into the arena, and exposed to the dogs, with this label upon him, "A Parmularian guilty of talking impiously." He put to death many senators, and amongst them several men of consular rank. In this number were, Civica Cerealis, when he was proconsul in Africa, Salvidienus Orfitus, and Acilius Glabrio in exile, under the pretence of their planning to revolt against him. The rest he punished upon very trivial occasions; as Aelius Lamia for some jocular expressions, which were of old date, and perfectly harmless; because, upon his commending his voice after he had taken his wife from him, he replied, "Alas! I hold my tongue." And when Titus advised him to take another wife, he answered him thus: "What! have you a mind to marry?" Salvius Cocceianus was condemned to death for keeping the birth-day of his uncle Otho, the emperor: Metius Pomposianus, because he was commonly reported to have an imperial nativity, and to carry about with (488) him a map of the world upon vellum, with the speeches of kings and generals extracted out of Titus Livius; and for giving his slaves the names of Mago and Hannibal; Sallustius Lucullus, lieutenant in Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called "Lucullean;" and Junius Rusticus, for publishing a treatise in praise of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them both "most upright men." Upon this occasion, he likewise banished all the philosophers from the city and Italy. He put to death the younger Helvidius, for writing a farce, in which, under the character of Paris and Oenone, he reflected upon his having divorced his wife; and also Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election to that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, proclaimed him to the people not consul, but emperor. Becoming still more savage after his success in the civil war, he employed the utmost industry to discover those of the adverse party who absconded: many of them he racked with a new-invented torture, inserting fire through their private parts; and from some he cut off their hands. It is certain, that only two of any note were pardoned, a tribune who wore the narrow stripe, and a centurion; who, to clear themselves from the charge of being concerned in any rebellious project, proved themselves to have been guilty of prostitution, and consequently incapable of exercising any influence either

over the general or the soldiers.

¹¹ Erat autem non solum magnae, sed etiam callidae inopinataeque saevitiae. Auctorem summarum pridie quam cruci figeret in cubiculum vocavit, assidere in toro iuxta coegit, securum hilaremque dimisit, partibus etiam de cena dignatus est. Arrecinum Clementem consularem, unum e familiaribus et emissariis suis, capitis condemnaturus, in eadem vel etiam maiore gratia habuit, quoad novissime simul gestanti, conspecto delatore eius, “Vis, inquit, nequissimum servum cras audiamus?” Et quo contemptius abuteretur potentia hominum, numquam tristiores sententiam sine praefatione clementiae pronuntiavit, ut non aliud iam certius atrocis exitus signum esset quam principii lenitas. Quosdam maiestatis reos in curiam induxerat, et cum praedixisset, experturum se illa die quam carus senatui esset, facile perfecerat ut etiam more maiorum puniendi condemnarentur; deinde atrocitate poenae contreritus, ad leniendam invidiam, intercessit his verbis (neque enim ab re fuit ipsa cognoscere): “Permittite, patres conscripti, a pietate vestra impetrari, quod scio me difficulter impetraturum, ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgentis; nam et parcetis oculis vestris et intellegent me omnes senatui interfuisse.”

XI. His cruelties were not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucified a collector of his rents, he sent for him into his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away well pleased, and, so far as could be inferred from his treatment, in a state of perfect security; having vouchsafed him the favour of a plate of meat from his own table. When he was on the point of condemning to death Aretinus Clemens, a man of consular rank, and one of his friends and emissaries, he retained him about his person in the same or greater favour than ever; until at last, as they were riding together in the same litter, upon seeing the man who had informed against him, he said, “Are you willing that we should hear this base slave tomorrow?” Contemptuously abusing the patience of men, he never pronounced a severe sentence without prefacing it (489) with words which gave hopes of mercy; so that, at last, there was not a more certain token of a fatal conclusion, than a mild commencement. He brought before the senate some person accused of treason, declaring, “that he should prove that day how dear he was to the senate;” and so influenced them, that they condemned the accused to be punished according to the ancient usage. Then, as if alarmed at the extreme severity of their punishment, to lessen the odiousness of the proceeding, he interposed in these words; for it is not foreign to the purpose to give them precisely as they were delivered: “Permit me, Conscript Fathers, so far to prevail upon your affection

for me, however extraordinary the request may seem, as to grant the condemned criminals the favour of dying in the manner they choose. For by so doing, ye will spare your own eyes, and the world will understand that I interceded with the senate on their behalf.”

¹² Exhaustus operum ac munerum impensis stipendioque, quod adiecerat, temptavit quidem ad relevandos castrenses sumptus, numerum militum deminuere; sed cum et obnoxium se barbaris per hoc animadverteret neque eo setius in explicandis oneribus haereret, nihil pensi habuit quin praedaretur omni modo. Bona vivorum ac mortuorum usquequaque quolibet et accusatore et crimine corripiebantur. Satis erat obici quaecumque factum dictumve adversus maiestatem principis. Confiscabantur alienissimae hereditates vel uno existente, qui diceret audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi Caesarem esse. Praeter ceteros Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam, vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pendissent. Interfuisse me adulescentulum memini, cum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex an circumsectus esset. Ab iuventa minime civilis animi, confidens etiam, et cum verbis tum rebus immodicum, Caenidi patris concubinae, ex Histria reversae osculumque ut assuerat offerenti, manum praebuit; generum fratris indigne ferens albatos et ipsum ministros habere, proclamavit:

Ouk agathon polykoiranie.

XII. Having exhausted the exchequer by the expense of his buildings and public spectacles, with the augmentation of pay lately granted to the troops, he made an attempt at the reduction of the army, in order to lessen the military charges. But reflecting, that he should, by this measure, expose himself to the insults of the barbarians, while it would not suffice to extricate him from his embarrassments, he had recourse to plundering his subjects by every mode of exaction. The estates of the living and the dead were sequestered upon any accusation, by whomsoever preferred. The unsupported allegation of any one person, relative to a word or action construed to affect the dignity of the emperor, was sufficient. Inheritances, to which he had not the slightest pretension, were confiscated, if there was found so much as one person to say, he had heard from the deceased when living, “that he had made the emperor his heir.” Besides the exactions from others, the poll-tax on the Jews was levied with extreme rigour, both on those who lived after the manner of Jews in the city, without publicly professing themselves to be such, and on those who, by (490)

concealing their origin, avoided paying the tribute imposed upon that people. I remember, when I was a youth, to have been present, when an old man, ninety years of age, had his person exposed to view in a very crowded court, in order that, on inspection, the procurator might satisfy himself whether he was circumcised. From his earliest years Domitian was any thing but courteous, of a forward, assuming disposition, and extravagant both in his words and actions. When Caenis, his father's concubine, upon her return from Istria, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her his hand to kiss. Being indignant, that his brother's son-in-law should be waited on by servants dressed in white, he exclaimed, —

Ouk agathon polykoiranie.

Too many princes are not good.

¹³ Principatum vero adeptus, neque in senatu iactare dubitavit, et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illo sibi reddidisse; neque in reducenda post divortium uxore edicere revocatam eam in pulvinar suum. Adclamari etiam in amphitheatro epuli die libenter audiit: Domino et dominae feliciter! Sed et Capitolino certamine cunctos ingenti consensus precantes, ut Palfurium Suram restitueret, pulsum olim senatu ac tunc de oratoribus coronatum, nullo responso dignatus, tacere tantum modo iussit voce praeconis. Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: "Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet." Vnde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter. Status sibi in Capitolino non nisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit ac ponderi certi. Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot exstruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: arkei. Consulatus septemdecim cepit, quot ante eum nemo; ex quibus septem medios continuavit, omnes autem paene titulo tenus gessit, nec quemquam ultra Kal. Mai., plerosque ad Idus usque Ianuarias. Post autem duos triumphos Germanici cognomine assumpto Septembrem mensem et Octobrem ex appellationibus suis Germanico Domitianumque transnominavit, quod altero suscepisset imperium, altero natus esset.

XIII. After he became emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the senate, "that he had bestowed the empire on his father and brother, and they had restored it to him." And upon taking his wife again, after the divorce, he declared by proclamation, "that he had recalled her to his pulvinar." He was not a little pleased too, at hearing the acclamations of the people in the amphitheatre on a day of festival, "All happiness to our lord and lady." But when, during the

celebration of the Capitoline trial of skill, the whole concourse of people entreated him with one voice to restore Palfurius Sura to his place in the senate, from which he had been long before expelled — he having then carried away the prize of eloquence from all the orators who had contended for it, — he did not vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded silence to be proclaimed by the voice of the crier. With equal arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus: “Our lord and god commands so and so;” whence it became a rule that no one should (491) style him otherwise either in writing or speaking. He suffered no statues to be erected for him in the Capitol, unless they were of gold and silver, and of a certain weight. He erected so many magnificent gates and arches, surmounted by representations of chariots drawn by four horses, and other triumphal ornaments, in different quarters of the city, that a wag inscribed on one of the arches the Greek word Axkei, “It is enough.” He filled the office of consul seventeen times, which no one had ever done before him, and for the seven middle occasions in successive years; but in scarcely any of them had he more than the title; for he never continued in office beyond the calends of May [the 1st May], and for the most part only till the ides of January [13th January]. After his two triumphs, when he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus, he called the months of September and October, Germanicus and Domitian, after his own names, because he commenced his reign in the one, and was born in the other.

¹⁴ Per haec terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est amicorum libertorumque intimorum conspiratione, simul et uxoris. Annum diemque ultimum vitae iam pridem suspectum habebat, horam etiam, nec non et genus mortis. Adulescentulo Chaldaei cuncta praedixerant; pater quoque super cenam quondam fungis abstinentem palam irriserat ut ignarum sortis suae, quod non ferrum potius timeret. Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis etiam suspicionibus praeter modum commovebatur; ut edicti de excidendis vineis propositi gratiam faceret, non alia magis re compulsus creditur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant:

*Kan me phages eti rizan, omos epi kartophoreso,
Osson epispeisai soi, trage, thyomeno.*

Eadem formidine oblatum a senatum novum et excogitatum honorem, quamquam omnium talium appetentissimus, recusavit, quo decretum erat ut, quotiens gereret consulatum, equites R. quibus sors obtigisset, trabeati et cum hastis militaribus praecederent eum inter lictores apparitoresque. Tempore vero

suspecti periculi appropinquante sollicitior in dies porticum, in quibus spatium consuevit, parietes phengite lapide distinxit, e cuius splendore per imagines quicquid a tergo fieret provideret. Nec nisi secreto atque solus plerasque custodias, receptis quidem in manum catenis, audiebat. Vtque domesticis persuaderet, ne bono quidem exemplo audendam esse patroni necem, Epaphroditum a libellis capitali poena condemnavit, quod post destitutionem Nero in adipiscenda morte manu eius adiutus existimabatur.

XIV. Becoming by these means universally feared and odious, he was at last taken off by a conspiracy of his friends and favourite freedmen, in concert with his wife . He had long entertained a suspicion of the year and day when he should die, and even of the very hour and manner of his death; all which he had learned from the Chaldaeans, when he was a very young man. His father once at supper laughed at him for refusing to eat some mushrooms, saying, that if he knew his fate, he would rather be afraid of the sword. Being, therefore, in perpetual apprehension and anxiety, he was keenly alive to the slightest suspicions, insomuch that he is thought to have withdrawn the edict ordering the destruction of the vines, chiefly because the copies of it which were dispersed had the following lines written upon them: —

*Kan me phages eti rizan, omos epi kartophoreso,
Osson epispeisai soi, trage, thyomeno.*
Gnaw thou my root, yet shall my juice suffice
To pour on Caesar's head in sacrifice.

(492) It was from the same principle of fear, that he refused a new honour, devised and offered him by the senate, though he was greedy of all such compliments. It was this: “that as often as he held the consulship, Roman knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him, clad in the Trabea, with lances in their hands, amongst his lictors and apparitors.” As the time of the danger which he apprehended drew near, he became daily more and more disturbed in mind; insomuch that he lined the walls of the porticos in which he used to walk, with the stone called Phengites, by the reflection of which he could see every object behind him. He seldom gave an audience to persons in custody, unless in private, being alone, and he himself holding their chains in his hand. To convince his domestics that the life of a master was not to be attempted upon any pretext, however plausible, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his secretary, because it was believed that he had assisted Nero, in his extremity, to kill himself.

¹⁵ Denique Flavium Clementem patrualem suum, contemptissimae inertiae, cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat abolitoque priore nomine alterum Vespasianum appellari iusserat, alterum Domitianum, repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso eius consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium. Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit: "Ferat iam, quem volet." Tactum de caelo Capitolium templumque Flaviae gentis, item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius, atque etiam e basi statuæ triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellae in monumentum proximum decidit. Arbor, quæ privato adhuc Vespasiano eversa surrexerat, tunc rursus repente corrui. Praenestina Fortuna, toto imperii spatio annum novum commendanti laetam eandemque semper sortem dare assueta, extremo tristissimam reddidit nec sine sanguinis mentione. Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario ***** negantemque ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Iove. Nulla tamen re perinde commotus est, quam responso casuque Ascleparionis mathematici. Hunc delatum nec infitiantem, iactasse se quæ providisset ex arte, sciscitatus est, quis ipsum maneret exitus; et affirmantem fore ut brevi laceraretur a canibus, interfici quidem sine mora, sed ad coarguendam temeritatem artis sepeliri quoque accuratissime imperavit. Quod cum fieret, evenit ut, repentina tempestate deiecto funere, semiustum cadaver discerperent canes, idque ei cenanti a mimo Latino, qui praeteriens forte animadverterat, inter ceteras diei fabulas referretur.

XV. His last victim was Flavius Clemens, his cousin-german, a man below contempt for his want of energy, whose sons, then of very tender age, he had avowedly destined for his successors, and, discarding their former names, had ordered one to be called Vespasian, and the other Domitian. Nevertheless, he suddenly put him to death upon some very slight suspicion, almost before he was well out of his consulship. By this violent act he very much hastened his own destruction. During eight months together there was so much lightning at Rome, and such accounts of the phaenomenon were brought from other parts, that at last he cried out, "Let him now strike whom he will." The Capitol was struck by lightning, as well as the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine-house, and his own bed-chamber. The tablet also, inscribed upon the base of his triumphal statue was carried away by the violence of the storm, and fell upon a neighbouring (493) monument. The tree which just before the advancement of Vespasian had been prostrated, and rose again, suddenly fell to the ground. The goddess Fortune of Praeneste, to whom it was his custom on new year's day to commend the empire for the ensuing year, and who had always given him a favourable reply, at last returned him a melancholy answer, not without mention

of blood. He dreamt that Minerva, whom he worshipped even to a superstitious excess, was withdrawing from her sanctuary, declaring she could protect him no longer, because she was disarmed by Jupiter. Nothing, however, so much affected him as an answer given by Ascletrio, the astrologer, and his subsequent fate. This person had been informed against, and did not deny his having predicted some future events, of which, from the principles of his art, he confessed he had a foreknowledge. Domitian asked him, what end he thought he should come to himself? To which replying, "I shall in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs," he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, in order to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried. But during the preparations for executing this order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and the body, half-burnt, was torn to pieces by dogs; which being observed by Latinus, the comic actor, as he chanced to pass that way, he told it, amongst the other news of the day, to the emperor at supper.

¹⁶ Pridie quam periret, cum oblatos tubures servari iussisset crastinum, adiecit: "Si modo uti licuerit," et conversus ad proximos affirmavit, fore ut sequenti die luna se in aquario cruentaret factumque aliquod existeret, de quo loquerentur homines per terrarum orbem. At circa mediam noctem ita est exterritus ut et strato prosiliret. Dehinc mane haruspitem ex Germania missum, qui consultus de fulgure mutationem rerum praedixerat, audiit condemnavitque. Ac dum exulceratam in fronte verrucam vehementius scalpit, profluente sanguine, "Vtinam," inquit, "hactenus." Tunc horas requirenti pro quinta, quam metuebat, sexta ex industria nuntiata est. His velut transacto iam periculo laetum festinantemque ad corporis curam Parthenius cubiculo praepositus convertit, nuntians esse qui magnum nescio quid afferret, nec differendum. Itaque summotis omnibus, in cubiculum se recepit atque ibi occisus est.

XVI. The day before his death, he ordered some dates, served up at table, to be kept till the next day, adding, "If I have the luck to use them." And turning to those who were nearest him, he said, "To-morrow the moon in Aquarius will be bloody instead of watery, and an event will happen, which will be much talked of all the world over." About midnight, he was so terrified that he leaped out of bed. That morning he tried and passed sentence on a soothsayer sent from Germany, who being consulted about the lightning that had lately (494) happened, predicted from it a change of government. The blood running down his face as he scratched an ulcerous tumour on his forehead, he said, "Would this were all that is to befall me!" Then, upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five o'clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they purposely told him it was

six. Overjoyed at this information; as if all danger were now passed, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius, his chamberlain, stopped him, by saying that there was a person come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, which would admit of no delay. Upon this, ordering all persons to withdraw, he retired into his chamber, and was there slain.

¹⁷ De insidiarum caedisque genere haec fere divulgata sunt. Cunctantibus conspiratis, quanto et quo modo, id est lavantemne an cenantem, adgrederentur, Stephanus, Domitillae procurator, et tunc interceptarum pecuniarum reus, consilium operamque optulit. Ac sinisteriore brachio, velut aegro, lanis fasciisque per aliquot dies ad avertendam suspicionem obvoluto, ad ipsam horam dolorem interiecit; professusque conspiracy indicium et ob hos admissus, legenti traditum a se libellum et attonito suffodit inguina. Saucium ac repugnantem adorti Clodianus cornicularius et Maximus Partheni libertus et Satur decurio cubiculariorum et quidam e gladiatorio ludo vulneribus septem contrucidarunt. Puer, qui arae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit caedi, hoc amplius narrabat, iussum se a Domitiano ad primum statim vulnus pugionem pulvino subditum porrigere ac ministros vocare, neque ad caput quidquam excepto capulo, et praeterea clausa omnia repperisse; atque illum interim arrepto deductoque ad terram Stephano colluctatum diu, dum modo ferrum extorquere, modo quamquam laniatis digitis oculos effodere conatur. Occisus est XIII. Kal. Octob. anno aetatis quadragesimo quinto, imperii quinto decimo. Cadaver eius populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina via funeravit, sed reliquias templo Flaviae gentis clam intulit cineribusque Iuliae Titi filiae, quam et ipsam educarat, commiscuit.

XVII. Concerning the contrivance and mode of his death, the common account is this. The conspirators being in some doubt when and where they should attack him, whether while he was in the bath, or at supper, Stephanus, a steward of Domitilla's, then under prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance; and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and bandages for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the hour appointed, he secreted a dagger in them. Pretending then to make a discovery of a conspiracy, and being for that reason admitted, he presented to the emperor a memorial, and while he was reading it in great astonishment, stabbed him in the groin. But Domitian, though wounded, making resistance, Clodianus, one of his guards, Maximus, a freedman of Parthenius's, Saturius, his principal chamberlain, with some gladiators, fell upon him, and stabbed him in seven places. A boy who had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, and was then

in attendance as usual, gave these further particulars: that he was ordered by Domitian, upon receiving his first wound, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and call in his domestics; but that he found nothing at the head of the bed, excepting the hilt of a (495) poniard, and that all the doors were fastened: that the emperor in the mean time got hold of Stephanus, and throwing him upon the ground, struggled a long time with him; one while endeavouring to wrench the dagger from him, another while, though his fingers were miserably mangled, to tear out his eyes. He was slain upon the fourteenth of the calends of October [18th Sept.], in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign . His corpse was carried out upon a common bier by the public bearers, and buried by his nurse Phyllis, at his suburban villa on the Latin Way. But she afterwards privately conveyed his remains to the temple of the Flavian family, and mingled them with the ashes of Julia, the daughter of Titus, whom she had also nursed.

¹⁸ Statura fuit procera, vultu modesto ruborisque pleno, grandibus oculis, verum acie hebetiore; praeterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in iuventa, et quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores habebat; postea calvitio quoque deformis et obesitate ventris et crurum gracilitate, quae tamen ei valitudine longa remacruerant. Commendari se verecundia oris adeo sentiebat, ut apud senatum sic quondam iactaverit: “Vsque adhuc certe et animum meum probastis et vultum.” Calvitio ita offendebar, ut in contumeliam suam traheret, si cui alii ioco vel iurgio obiectaretur; quamvis libello, quem de cura capillorum ad amicum edidit, haec etiam, simul illum seque consolans, inserverit:

Ouch oraas oios kago kalos te megas te?

Eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in adulescentia senescentem. Scias nec gratius quicquam decore nec brevius.

XVIII. He was tall in stature, his face modest, and very ruddy; he had large eyes, but was dim-sighted; naturally graceful in his person, particularly in his youth, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward, he was at last disfigured by baldness, corpulence, and the slenderness of his legs, which were reduced by a long illness. He was so sensible how much the modesty of his countenance recommended him, that he once made this boast to the senate, “Thus far you have approved both of my disposition and my countenance.” His baldness so much annoyed him, that he considered it an affront to himself, if any other person was reproached with it, either in jest or in earnest; though in a small tract he published, addressed to a friend, “concerning the preservation of the

hair,” he uses for their mutual consolation the words following:

Ouch oraas oios kago kalos te megas te;
Seest thou my graceful mien, my stately form?

“and yet the fate of my hair awaits me; however, I bear with fortitude this loss of my hair while I am still young. Remember that nothing is more fascinating than beauty, but nothing of shorter duration.”

¹⁹ Laboris impatiens, pedibus per urbem non temere ambulavit, in expeditione et agmine equo rarius, lectica assidue vectus est. Armorum nullo, sagittarum vel praecipuo studio tenebatur. Centenas variis generis feras saepe in Albano secessu conficientem spectavere plerisque, atque etiam ex industria ita quarundam capita figentem, ut duobus ictibus quasi cornus efficeret. Nonnumquam in pueri procul in stantis praebentisque pro scopulo dispansam dexterarum manus palmam, sagittas tanta arte derexit, ut omnes per intervalla digitorum innocue evaderent.

XIX. He so shrunk from undergoing fatigue, that he scarcely ever walked through the city on foot. In his (496) expeditions and on a march, he seldom rode on horse-back; but was generally carried in a litter. He had no inclination for the exercise of arms, but was very expert in the use of the bow. Many persons have seen him often kill a hundred wild animals, of various kinds, at his Alban retreat, and fix his arrows in their heads with such dexterity, that he could, in two shots, plant them, like a pair of horns, in each. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, and expanded as a mark, with such precision, that they all passed between the boy's fingers, without hurting him.

²⁰ Liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandream qui describerent emendarentque. Numquam tamen aut historiae carminibusque noscendis operam ullam aut stilo vel necessario dedit. Praeter commentarios et acta Tiberii Caesaris nihil lectitabat; epistolas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio. Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis, dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, “Vellem,” inquit, “tam formosus esse, quam Maetius sibi videtur”; et cuiusdam caput varietate capilli subrutilum et incanum, perfusas nivem mulso dixit; condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat, quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.

XX. In the beginning of his reign, he gave up the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore, at a vast expense, the libraries which had been burnt down; collecting manuscripts from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy or correct them. Yet he never gave himself the trouble of reading history or poetry, or of employing his pen even for his private purposes. He perused nothing but the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius Caesar. His letters, speeches, and edicts, were all drawn up for him by others; though he could converse with elegance, and sometimes expressed himself in memorable sentiments. “I could wish,” said he once, “that I was but as handsome as Metius fancies himself to be.” And of the head of some one whose hair was partly reddish, and partly grey, he said, “that it was snow sprinkled with mead.”

²¹ Quotiens otium esset, alea se oblectabat, etiam profestis diebus matutinisque horis, ac lavabat de die, prandebatque ad satietatem, ut non temere super cenam praeter Matianum malum et modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumeret. Convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed paene raptim; certe non ultra solis occasum, nec ut postea comisaretur. Nam ad horam somni nihil aliud quam solus secreto deambulabat.

XXI. “The lot of princes,” he remarked, “was very miserable, for no one believed them when they discovered a conspiracy, until they were murdered.” When he had leisure, he amused himself with dice, even on days that were not festivals, and in the morning. He went to the bath early, and made a plentiful dinner, insomuch that he seldom ate more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a (497) draught of wine, out of a small flask. He gave frequent and splendid entertainments, but they were soon over, for he never prolonged them after sun-set, and indulged in no revel after. For, till bed-time, he did nothing else but walk by himself in private.

²² Libidinis nimiae, assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus clinopalen vocabat; eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse develleret nataretque inter vulgatissimas meretrices. Fratris filiam, adhuc virginem oblatam in matrimonium sibi cum devictus Domitiae nuptiis pertinacissime recusasset, non multo post alii conlocatam, corripit ultro et quidem vivo etiam tum Tito, mox patre ac viro orbatam ardentissime palamque dilexit, ut etiam causa mortis extiterit coactae conceptum a se abigere.

XXII. He was insatiable in his lusts, calling frequent commerce with women,

as if it was a sort of exercise, *klinopalen*, bed-wrestling; and it was reported that he plucked the hair from his concubines, and swam about in company with the lowest prostitutes. His brother's daughter was offered him in marriage when she was a virgin; but being at that time enamoured of Domitia, he obstinately refused her. Yet not long afterwards, when she was given to another, he was ready enough to debauch her, and that even while Titus was living. But after she had lost both her father and her husband, he loved her most passionately, and without disguise; insomuch that he was the occasion of her death, by obliging her to procure a miscarriage when she was with child by him.

²³ Occisum eum populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tulit statimque Divum appellare conatus est, paratus et ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent; quod quidem paulo post fecit, expostulatis ad poenam pertinacissime caedis auctoribus. Contra senatus adeo laetatus est, ut repleta certatim curia non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo adclamationum genere laceraret, scalas etiam inferri clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi iuberet, novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnes memoriam decerneret. Ante paucos quam occideretur menses cornix in Capitolino elocuta est: *Estai panta kalos*, nec defuit qui ostentum sic interpretaretur: —

Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix.
“*Est bene,*” non potuit dicere; dixit, “*Erit.*”

Ipsam etiam Domitianum ferunt somniasse gibbam sibi pone cervicem auream enatam, pro certoque habuisse beatiorem post se laetioresque portendi rei publicae statum, sicut sane brevi evenit abstinentia et moderatione insequentium principum.

XXIII. The people shewed little concern at his death, but the soldiers were roused by it to great indignation, and immediately endeavoured to have him ranked among the gods. They were also ready to revenge his loss, if there had been any to take the lead. However, they soon after effected it, by resolutely demanding the punishment of all those who had been concerned in his assassination. On the other hand, the senate was so overjoyed, that they met in all haste, and in a full assembly reviled his memory in the most bitter terms; ordering ladders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be pulled down before their eyes, and dashed in pieces upon the floor of the senate-house passing at the same time a decree to obliterate his titles every where, and abolish all memory of him. A few months before he was slain, a raven on the Capitol

uttered these words: “All will be well.” Some person gave the following interpretation of this prodigy: —

(498) *Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix.*

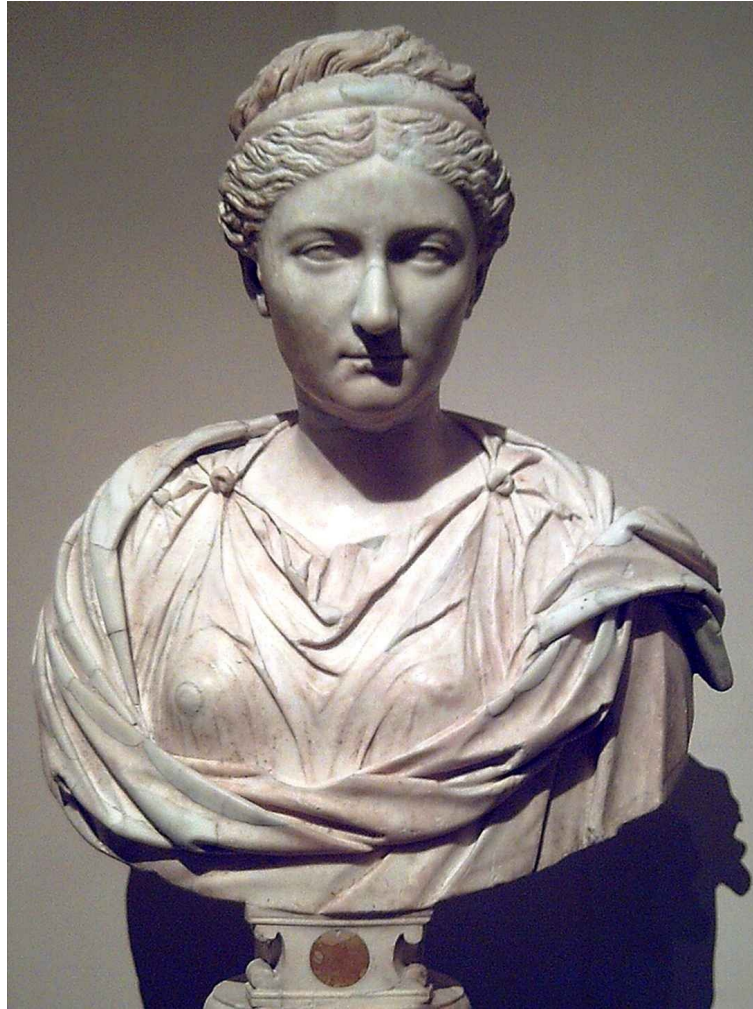
“Est bene,” non potuit dicere; dixit, “Erit.”

Late croaked a raven from Tarpeia’s height,

“All is not yet, but shall be, right.”

They say likewise that Domitian dreamed that a golden hump grew out of the back of his neck, which he considered as a certain sign of happy days for the empire after him. Such an auspicious change indeed shortly afterwards took place, through the justice and moderation of the succeeding emperors.

The Biographies



Vibia Sabina (83–136/137AD) was a Roman Empress and the wife of Hadrian. In 119, the Emperor dismissed Suetonius for an affair he had with the Empress Vibia Sabina.

LIFE OF SUETONIUS by Alexander Thomson



C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS was the son of a Roman knight who commanded a legion, on the side of Otho, at the battle which decided the fate of the empire in favour of Vitellius. From incidental notices in the following History, we learn that he was born towards the close of the reign of Vespasian, who died in the year 79 of the Christian era. He lived till the time of Hadrian, under whose administration he filled the office of secretary; until, with several others, he was dismissed for presuming on familiarities with the empress Sabina, of which we have no further account than that they were unbecoming his position in the imperial court. How long he survived this disgrace, which appears to have befallen him in the year 121, we are not informed; but we find that the leisure afforded him by his retirement, was employed in the composition of numerous works, of which the most important was “The Lives of the Twelve Caesars.” The plan adopted by Suetonius in his Lives of the Twelve Caesars, led him to be more diffuse on their personal conduct and habits than on public events. He writes Memoirs rather than History.

When we stop to gaze in a museum or gallery on the antique busts of the Caesars, we perhaps endeavour to trace in their sculptured physiognomy the characteristics of those princes, who, for good or evil, were in their times masters of the destinies of a large portion of the human race. The pages of Suetonius will amply gratify this natural curiosity. In them we find a series of individual portraits sketched to the life, with perfect truth and rigorous impartiality. La Harpe remarks of Suetonius, “He is scrupulously exact, and strictly methodical. He omits nothing which concerns the person whose life he is writing; he relates everything, but paints nothing. His work is, in some sense, a collection of anecdotes, but it is very curious to read and consult.”¹ This edition of Suetonius’ Caesars, is appropriately embellished by the celebrated series of portraits copied from authentic Busts of the Emperors by Visconti and now re-engraved for the illustration of this work. The perfection of marble or statue portraiture was attained in Rome soon after the conquest of Greece, B.C. 200, when not only the choicest works of Grecian art were transferred to Rome, but the most accomplished sculptors and painters also. Portraiture in Marble became a passion and a fashion, and we learn from the contemporary literature of the period, how faithful these portraits were. It flourished till the “decline” began

under Commodus. When successive revolutions and conquests laid Rome in ruins, the majority of those statues were buried in the fall; many thrown into the Tiber, and nearly all forgotten in the dark ages which fell like a pall over the vanquished city: and it was not till Art in Rome had a new birth (after sleeping a thousand years) that those marble and bronze portraits were begun to be resurrected, and gradually, down to the present day, restored to the museums of Rome and other Capitals of Europe. Combining as it does amusement and information, Suetonius's "Lives of the Caesars" was held in such estimation, that, so soon after the invention of printing as the year A. D. 1500, no fewer than eighteen editions had been published, and nearly one hundred have since been added to the number. Critics of the highest rank have devoted themselves to the task of correcting and commenting on the text, and the work has been translated into every European language. Of the English translations, that of Dr. Alexander Thomson, published in 1796, has been made the basis of the present. By the suppression of about two dozen lines in the entire work, which have been indicated by * * * * we have produced a work unobjectionable for general reading; the suppressed passages refer to grossly unnatural crimes which probably never were committed - but the relation of which was likely prompted by the political party rancour of the period. In order to more fully "paint the picture of the times," we have had written and interspersed in chronological order, the lives of all the distinguished associates of the Twelve Caesars, male and female, which we trust will be a great improvement on any previous edition.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SUETONIUS by J. C. Rolfe



GAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS is one of the numerous Roman writers who give us little information about themselves. He only tells us that he was the son of Suetonius Laetus, a Roman knight, who took part in the battle of Betriacum as tribune of the thirteenth legion; for four other casual allusions add nothing of importance, although they are of assistance in conjecturing the date of his birth, which Mommsen assigns to the year 77 A.D., Macé with somewhat greater probability to 69. The rest of our information is derived from the *Letters* of the Younger Pliny and from a single allusion in Spartianus, who in the time of Diocletian wrote a biography of Hadrian.

His birthplace is unknown, and it is possible that he was one of the few Roman writers who were born in the city of Rome. The date of his death is also uncertain. Our last reference to him is in 121, but the number and extent of his works, and the implication in one of Pliny's *Letters* that he was slow to publish, suggest that he must have lived to a good old age, perhaps including a part of the reign of Antoninus Pius. From Pliny we learn that he practised at the bar, although it was apparently only for a short time. That he was a schoolmaster, which is asserted by Macé and others, seems to lack evidence. He took no part in political life, and although he secured a military tribuneship through Pliny's good offices, he soon had it transferred to a relative. He received from Trajan the *ius trium liberorum*, but this was not justified by the number of his offspring. Apparently he had no children, but there is no evidence that his marriage was unhappy as well as unfruitful, as some assert. That he received the privilege from an emperor so reluctant to grant it to those who could not legally lay claim to it, is perhaps evidence of his high character. In his letter to Trajan Pliny refers to Suetonius as *contubernalis*, which indicates an intimate friendship and an approximately equal age. The latter is not inconsistent with Pliny's language in *Epist.* 3. 8. 1, since his position was so much higher than that of Suetonius, and it is in accord with *Epist.* 9. 34, where Pliny consults his friend as to the advisability of reading his verses in public.

The letters of Pliny which refer to Suetonius cover approximately the period from 96 to 112. From Spartianus we learn that he held the position of secretary to Hadrian, probably during the period when his friend and patron Gaius

Septicius Clarus was a prefect of the praetorian guard (119 to 121). It was doubtless at this time that Suetonius gave Hadrian the little statuette of Augustus, referred to in *Aug* vii. 1. Spartianus tells us that both Suetonius and Septicius were discharged by Hadrian, “quod apud Sabinam uxorem *iniussu eius* familiaris tunc se egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat.” While this statement is far from clear or definite, the words *iniussu eius* suggest some violation of court etiquette, rather than any more serious misconduct. From this time on we lose sight of Suetonius, and it seems probable that he lived in retirement and devoted himself to literary work.

The references to his works are considerably more numerous. A catalogue of them is preserved by Suidas, to which additions have been made from other sources. He was a man of scholarly tastes and habits, and according to the fashion of his later years, when the greater part of the work appears to have been done, apparently wrote in Greek as well as in Latin. His writings were in the fields of history (biography), antiquities, natural history and grammar, and may be listed as follows: —

I. — BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

1. — The Lives of the Caesars.
2. — On Illustrious Men (in the field of literature).
3. — On Famous Courtesans.
4. — On the Kings.

II. — ANTIQUITIES.

1. — On Rome (*Roma*).
 - (a) — Manners and Customs.
 - (b) — The Roman Year.
 - (c) — The Roman Festivals.
 - (d) — Clothing.
 - (e) — The Games of the Greeks.
2. — On Public Offices.
3. — On Cicero's *De Re Publica*.

III. — NATURAL HISTORY (Pratum).

1. — On Mankind (On Bodily Defects).
2. — On the Reckoning of Time.
3. — On Nature.

IV. — GRAMMATICAL.

1. — On Terms of Abuse in Greek.
2. — Grammatical Questions (*De Rebus Variis*).
3. — On the Critical Marks used in Books.

Of all these the only work which has come down to us entire, or nearly so, is the *Lives of the Caesars*, published in 120. It includes the biographies of twelve "Caesars," from Julius to Domitian, and except for some inconsiderable lacunae, lacks only the first few chapters of the life of Julius. From a reference of Johannes Lydus, of the sixth century, it appears that he used a codex with the dedication to Septicius Clarus, and hence presumably with the missing portion of the *Julius*. This must therefore have been lost between the sixth century and the early part of the ninth century (see p xxi). Preud'-homme believes that he has demonstrated the existence of a complete manuscript of the fifth century, written in capitals.

Besides the *Lives of the Caesars* we have considerable fragments of the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, of which those which are generally regarded as authentic and offer a continuous text of any length are given in Part II.

The voluminous publications of Suetonius gave him lasting fame and were used as sources by later writers in various fields. In this way a great number of detached passages from his lost works and from the missing portions of the *De Viris Illustribus* have been preserved, in the form of more or less literal excerpts. The historical writers, such as Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and Orosius drew on him freely, and so frequently reproduce his exact language as to be of occasional help in the criticism of his text.

He exercised a great influence on the form of historical writing, which took a biographical turn for some centuries. He found imitators and successors in Marius Maximus (165-230), whose works have perished, and in the writers of the Augustan History (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*), whose biographies have come down to us, while Tacitus did not find a follower until the time of Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400). His influence extended to the Christian writers and is seen in the form of the *Life of Ambrosius* by his secretary Paulinus, and even to the Middle Ages, when Einhardus wrote a *Life of Charles the Great*

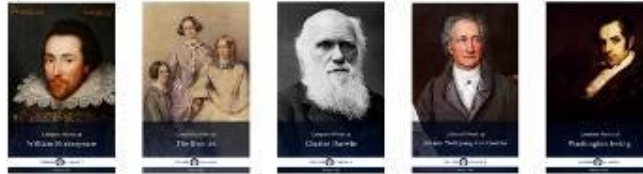
on the model of Suetonius, perhaps using the manuscript which is the archetype of those that have come down to us (see p xxi).

His other works were no less esteemed as authorities. Tertullian in his *De Spectaculis* made use of Suetonius's work of a similar title, and we find his influence in Cénsoirinus, Solinus, Macrobius, in the scholiasts on Germanicus, Horace, and Juvenal, in the commentator Servius, and especially in Isidore, who has preserved many fragments of the lost works of Suetonius.



Explore our many series of eBooks...

Main Series 1 to 5



Ancient Classics Series



Delphi Poets Series



Masters of Art Series



www.delphiclassics.com

Free downloads and buy an entire series at a special discounted price



Very little is known of Suetonius' life, with Rome being most likely the location of his death

Table of Contents

The Translations

THE TWELVE CAESARS: ALEXANDER THOMSON TRANSLATION

CONTENTS

PREFACE

CAIUS JULIUS CASAR.

D. OCTAVIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS.

TIBERIUS NERO CAESAR.

CAIUS CAESAR CALIGULA.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CAESAR.

NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR.

SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

A. SALVIUS OTHO.

AULUS VITELLIUS.

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

THE TWELVE CAESARS: J. C. ROLFE TRANSLATION

CONTENTS

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS

THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS

THE LIFE OF CALIGULA

THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS

THE LIFE OF NERO

THE LIFE OF GALBA

THE LIFE OF OTHO

THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS

THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN

THE LIFE OF TITUS

THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN

CONTENTS

LIVES OF EMINENT GRAMMARIANS

LIVES OF EMINENT RHETORICIANS.

LIVES OF THE POETS.

[THE LIFE OF TERENCE.](#)
[THE LIFE OF JUVENAL.](#)
[THE LIFE OF PERSIUS.](#)
[THE LIFE OF HORACE.](#)
[THE LIFE OF PLINY.](#)

[AUGUSTAN HISTORY](#)

[CONTENTS](#)

[The Life of Aelius](#)

[The Two Valerians](#)

[The Lives of](#)

[The Latin Texts](#)

[DE VITIS CAESARUM](#)

[CONTENTS](#)

[VITA DIVI IVLI](#)

[VITA DIVI AVGVSTI](#)

[VITA TIBERI](#)

[VITA GAI](#)

[VITA DIVI CLAVDI](#)

[VITA NERONIS](#)

[VITA GALBAE](#)

[VITA OTHONIS](#)

[VITA VETELLII](#)

[VITA DIVI VESPASIANI](#)

[VITA DIVI TITI](#)

[VITA DOMITIANI](#)

[DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS](#)

[CONTENTS](#)

[DE GRAMMATICIS](#)

[DE RHETORIBVS](#)

[DE POETIS](#)

[VITA TERENCE](#)

[VITA VERGILI](#)

[VITA HORATI](#)

[VITA TIBULLI](#)

[VITA AULI PERSI FLACCI](#)

[VITA LUCANI](#)

[DE HISTORICIS](#)

[VITA PLINII SECUNDI](#)

[VITA PASSIENI CRISPI](#)

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

CONTENTS

DE VITA HADRIANI AELII SPARTIANI

AELIUS AELII SPARTIANI

ANTONINUS PIUS IULI CAPITOLINI

VITA MARCI ANTONINI PHILOSOPHI IULI CAPITOLINI

VERUS IULI CAPITOLINI

AVIDIUS CASSIUS VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDI

HELVIUS PERTINAX IULI CAPITOLINI

DIDIUS IULIANUS IULI CAPITOLINI

AELI SPARTIANI SEVERUS

PESCENNIUS NIGER AELI SPARTIANI

VITA CLODII ALBINI IULII CAPITOLINI

ANTONINUS CARACALLUS AELI SPARTIANI

ANTONINUS GETA AELI SPARTIANI

OPILIUS MACRINUS IULI CAPITOLINI

DIADUMENUS ANTONINUS AELII LAMPRIDII

ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS AELI LAMPRIDI

ALEXANDER SEVERUS AELII LAMPRIDII

MAXIMINI DUO IULI CAPITOLINI

GORDIANI TRES IULI CAPITOLINI

MAXIMUS ET BALBINUS IULI CAPITOLINI

VALERIANI DUO TEBELLI POLLIONIS

GALLIENI DUO TREBELLI POLLIONIS

TYRANNI TRIGINTA TREBELLI POLLIONIS

DIVUS CLAUDIUS TREBELLI POLLIONIS

DIVUS AURELIANUS FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII

FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII TACITUS

FLAVI VOPISCI SYRACUSII PROBUS

FIRMUS SATURNINUS PROCULUS ET BONOSUS

CARUS ET CARINUS ET NUMERIANUS

The Dual Text

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT

CONTENTS

THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS

THE LIFE OF CALIGULA

THE LIFE OF CLAUDIUS

THE LIFE OF NERO

[THE LIFE OF GALBA](#)

[THE LIFE OF OTHO](#)

[THE LIFE OF VITELLIUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF VESPASIAN](#)

[THE LIFE OF TITUS](#)

[THE LIFE OF DOMITIAN](#)

[The Biographies](#)

[LIFE OF SUETONIUS by Alexander Thomson](#)

[THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SUETONIUS by J. C. Rolfe](#)